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# The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1901.

THE first year of the twentieth century is the fifteenth year in the existence of the *Classical Review*. Arrived at the age of maturity according to just classical standards, it would be wanting in piety if it deferred the acknowledgments due to its father and first editor Prof. J. B. Mayor, to its second parent Mr. G. E. Marindin and to its tutor Mr. Alfred Nutt; not forgetting the numerous friends and supporters, both British and American, without whose generous aid it must have died in infancy. All these it asks to join in its wish: *At tu, natalis, multos celebrande per annos, candidior semper candidiorque ueni.*

The publisher of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has asked us to state that the editing committee were in no way responsible for the English prospectus of the work, upon which some strictures were passed in the last issue of the *Classical Review*. We are glad also to hear that a revision of the prospectus is contemplated; and we take this opportunity of adding that subscribers to the *Thesaurus* may find it convenient to know that they can obtain temporary covers, specially designed for the purpose of preserving the current parts until ready for binding, for the moderate sum of two and a half marks each.

*Hermathena* has lost none of its old verve. The last number deals almost exclusively with matters of interest to Classical scholars. A special feature in its vigorous editing is the number of reviews, of which the majority are unsigned. The new series of Oxford texts comes in for a large share of attention, the texts of Aeschylus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Apollonius Rhodius

and Tacitus receiving more or less favourable notice. When the reviewers find fault, it is generally for excessive conservatism.

The thirtieth volume of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* includes two noticeable papers; an attack successful up to a certain point upon current views on 'the Origin of the Latin letters G and Z' by Prof. G. Hemphill of Michigan, and one on 'the Scepticism and Fatalism of the Common People of Rome as illustrated by the Sepulchral Inscriptions' by Prof. A. G. Harkness of Brown University. We shall await with interest the promised second paper which is to show 'that Juvenal was right when he said (I. 149) that only children believed in the existence of the Manes.'

We have received from the compiler Mr. E. Cutler Shedd of the Lewis Academy, Wichita, Kansas, a booklet which embodies a useful idea. His 'Word Lists for Livy Books i., xxi., xxii., are arranged on the principle of relative frequency of occurrence. First come those words which occur over 100 times, in which list we find the seven verbs *ago, capio, do, facio, habeo, mitto* and *sum*, then those that occur over 75 times and so on. Information of this kind is not merely of considerable value to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of a vocabulary of a writer or a people with the greatest expedition but it furnishes linguistic and literary students with highly instructive data. It is a pity that Mr. Shedd has to a certain extent impaired the usefulness of his little book by including in it several unattested forms.

## THE CLASSICAL REVIEW AND ANGLO-SAXON CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

THE foundation of the *Classical Review* at the beginning of the year 1887 was not the first or the sole indication of an increased interest in classical antiquity throughout the English-speaking world. In proof of this we may cite the inauguration of the Hellenic Society and the commencement of its *Journal* in 1880, and the establishment in the same year of the *American Journal of Philology* which from the first was freely opened to cis-Atlantic contributions. But these channels, even with the assistance of the long-established *Journal of Philology*, were not enough to carry off the new activities, as Professor Mayor and his coadjutors in the new undertaking rightly divined. The needs which this satisfied and the stimulus which it supplied may perhaps be best gathered from the following figures. The seven volumes of the *Journal of Philology* immediately preceding the date of its foundation contained contributions from some fifty-four English scholars, three or four of whom however wrote on subjects outside the range of classical Philology: to the first seven volumes of the *Classical Review* about 150 English scholars contributed.<sup>1</sup> It may, therefore, be fairly claimed that the hope expressed in the first editorial preface 'that the Review would turn wasted power to account by inducing some who are at present unproductive scholars to take a more active part in promoting the advancement of learning' has been more than fulfilled.

And if not all the anticipations of its founders have been realized and the *Classical Review* of to-day is in some respects different to what they desired and so if it may seem a not unnatural expression of surprise *amphora coepit institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?*, yet let it not be forgotten that the wheel is that of the blind goddess whom none can guide. And accordingly if for example it be thought, as indeed it is sometimes said, that the purging of classical texts occupies too much space in these columns, it should be remembered that the last few years have seen a Herondas, a lost Aristotle and a Bacchylides rescued from the dead and crying for the 'first aid' which was to salve the wounds of age and accident, and that if English scholarship has played a not wholly undistinguished part in rendering this help, the very possibility of its doing so is due to the *Classical Review*.

<sup>1</sup> Names of writers of reviews are not counted in this comparison.

It may well be asked whether this critical activity is a sign of general life or merely the effect of an unhealthy stimulation of a single part of the organism; or, to give the inquiry a wider scope, does the higher classical scholarship of the last fifteen years evince on the whole an advance on the period which preceded it? Without lapsing into optimism I think we may say that in the main it does. The vigour of our archaeological studies cannot be denied: the decipherment and interpretation of papyri is a new and growing department of research in which at the least we hold our own; in Greek and Latin philology in the narrower sense our scholars have not failed to secure recognition in the mother country of that study. History no doubt still languishes somewhat, as indeed has been the case since its remarkable activity in the middle of the century; but there are signs of a revival. But to pass from what the dilettante in classics might call special or technical branches, insufficiently worthy of the attention 'of a scholar and a gentleman,' may we not say that the intelligent appreciation of the literatures has made some noteworthy advance? I do not now refer to professed literary criticism, though here too recent years have given us work of which we may well be proud; but to its practical expression in translations of, and after, the ancient models. If we compare even an average translation of the present day with the bulk of those in Bohn's Standard Library, we see at once how great a change has been wrought by the movement of which the late Master of Balliol was the leading spirit. For this reformation we are indebted in the main to Oxford, though there were Cambridge scholars who early struck in with the movement and forwarded it substantially.<sup>2</sup> The full value of the reform those accustomed to it can hardly realize—at least not so keenly as one who learned for the first time in the lecture-room of the present Cambridge Professor of Greek, the vast difference which exists between a construe and a translation.

Nor has translation from English into Greek and Latin lagged far behind. The

<sup>2</sup> In the period with which I am comparing the present Cambridge was ever ready with a certain contempt for the inaccurate freedom of Oxford as Oxford for the stiff grammatical precision of Cambridge. But in the interval each has learned from the other; and accuracy is as much honoured at Oxford as style can be at Cambridge.



volumes of versions recently issued by the two Universities are generally admitted to mark a distinct advance upon their respective predecessors. They show no less spirit and more fidelity: a nicer appreciation of idiom and a more conscientious use of the file.

The source of this improvement must be sought in what is itself a hopeful sign—the improvement in editions, and especially in school editions, of the classics. So marked is this that it is sometimes doubted, and not without reason, whether for educational purposes they are not too good and tend by their very excellence to destroy independence of thought and to engender a groundless feeling of unquestioning security. If so, we may point with some relief to the wholesome corrective supplied by the prevalence of critical speculations in the *Classical Review*.

For this amelioration our thanks are chiefly due to the editors and publishers of the numerous Classical Series: the schools have the passive merit of adopting them. This (and here we have to turn to the darker side of our prospects) is, I fear, the only merit that the schools can claim. For the most part their directors remain still unconscious of their responsibilities and unafraid of the reckoning that must surely come—when the price will have to be paid for blind adherence to obsolete methods and inferior weapons. We know that in the fourfold rôle of hotel-keeper, policeman, patron of sports and educator which custom imposes (not without an adequate consideration) upon the headmaster of a public school, it is not unnatural that the interests of education should suffer; we know the crass ignorance and stolid complacency of ‘the average British parent.’ But if singly headmasters are too feeble to fight their fate, collectively they are strong enough, and may still hope to save an imperilled position if instead of discussions, whose outcome is but further disintegration, and resolutions, the last intention of which is to bind, they will take action in that thorough revision of the modes and materials of classical, and especially elementary classical, teaching which is so urgently needed. Though we of the Universities have a serious grievance against the schools in that they send so many to us mistaught on elementary points and, what is worse, emptied of all desire to learn, we must not forget our own deficiencies. Academical studies are directed too much towards the literary side of antiquity and too little towards its real and tangible life. Our students are left practically without inducement

to think their own thoughts in either Greek or Latin while they are exercised continually in the far more difficult and, under the circumstances, often impossible task of reminting the coinages of modern thought into passable counterfeits of the antique. That most stimulating institution of Germany and America, the professorial *Seminar*, is still a rarity in our teaching. And what of the examinations—to speak of a feature of our educational system which has grown out of all reasonable proportions? It is enough to point to the spectacle of leaders of classical studies at both Universities devoting themselves to the task of maintaining obsolete or inventing temporary compromises between aims and aspirations which were never less easy to reconcile than at the present moment—those of science and those of culture—the thirst after knowledge in itself and the desire for intellectual gratification.

This survey of the past and the present, short and imperfect as it is, must not omit a reference to the country whose contributions have helped since 1889 to make our Review what it is. I trust that our American friends will excuse and supply the inevitable deficiencies of the notice. The Classical Scholarship of America is the daughter not of England but Germany: and England can view with no touch of maternal jealousy the great and rapid growth of the progeny.

Two features in this development at once arrest attention, the prosperity of its schools of archaeology whose active centres are Athens and Rome; and the increase in its output of classical publications. As at present America does not itself offer much encouragement to the pursuit of classical archaeology, those Americans who have devoted themselves to it abroad drift on their return into more literary and philological studies to the great advantage of these latter. The American translation of the *Schulkommentar* is becoming a thing of the past; the annotated edition which has supplanted it is no doubt too often marked by crudity and immaturity: but it shows at least a healthy independence. The increase in the number of academical publications, including monographs, is no less noteworthy: it promises to constitute ere long a veritable *embarras de richesse*.

American scholarship has always leaned towards syntax and in particular towards the statistics of syntax. These otherwise somewhat arid regions supply a crop of convenient subjects for investigation in the

*Seminar* and, provided the winnowing is intelligently done, of very useful ones. There is however a certain danger of excess. Principal B. J. Wheeler in a very suggestive address to the first meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific coast Dec. 30, 1899 says, 'The exaggerated attention paid to syntax at present in American class-rooms of Greek and Latin constitutes the severest menace to the usefulness and therefore to the continuance of classical study which now exists,' and again 'In the philological class-rooms of Germany and America pure literary study has been reduced dangerously near to a minimum...On every hand one marks the effort to establish aesthetic criteria by measuring and counting and classifying.'

Possibly Mr. Wheeler somewhat over-

states the evil. At any rate there are indications of counteracting tendencies, first in the recognition, which has been very plain in certain recent syntactical work, of the paramount importance of the context for determining the essential character of an idiom; and secondly in the growth of a school of refined and sympathetic interpretation, to which the *Nation* of Dec. 27, 1900 in a review of Prof. Smyth's Greek Melic Poets refers in words which may fitly close this article. 'Here is a book displaying an erudition and thoroughness which we usually call German, a lucidity, neatness, balance and judgment which we may fairly call French, associated with a breadth and delicacy of literary culture which we expect from Cambridge and Oxford.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

## THE NATURE OF THE ANCIENT HOMERIC VULGATE.

I RETURN from the mediaeval text of Homer, its content and the manner of its formation, to the third century B.C. and the times of the Alexandrians. Here I wish to consider the ordinary or common text.

In a previous article (October, 1899) I endeavoured to find methods by which the readings of this text, so neglected in our sources,<sup>1</sup> might be recovered. I suggested that beside the thirty-one<sup>2</sup> cases in which the *κοινή* is distinctly mentioned, its reading was (I) the opposite of that offered by *ἄπασαι, αἱ πλείους*, and other expressions for the majority, (IIa) the opposite of Aristarchus' reading where Aristarchus only is mentioned, or where the non-Aristarchean reading is attributed to *ἄλλοι, τινές*, etc., (IIb), the non-Aristarchean reading held by a single critic provided it is found in the

majority of our MSS. Experience since writing that article inclines me to put *ἄλλοι, τινές*, etc, on the level of the single individual, i.e. into class IIb, and to require MS. backing before I reckon their reading as the *κοινή*. With this alteration I maintain the rule.

The readings ascertainable as the result of these methods give us the *κοινή* as far as it can be recovered. Though a good deal has been written about the ancient vulgate, and Ludwich in his well-known book has vindicated its age, and though we have adequate accounts of the changes undergone by the early Homeric written text in general (e.g. in Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, p. 35 sqq.), no attempt has been made to represent the intrinsic character of the Vulgate. This I wish to consider here.

The total of readings which results from putting these rules into operation is over 600, far too great a number to be exhibited or discussed in a magazine-article. I will content myself with giving specimens from two books, and collecting classes of characteristics, premising explicitly that I nowhere aim at exhaustiveness, nor enter into greater detail than is necessary to permit of a general conclusion.

I mark the readings according to the classes given above; an asterisk implies an explicit statement in the scholia.

<sup>1</sup> We have, strictly speaking, no direct information about the Homeric text. The two grammarians on whom we mostly depend are entirely concerned with Aristarchus; one ascertains his readings, the other assigns meanings to his signs. The real text, from which Aristarchus differed, and to which his signs referred, did not interest them; moreover it was common property, in the hands of everyone. Aristarchus himself assumed it, dealt with it, scarred it with obeli, and imported endless readings into it, but rarely mentions it by name, and is never content with its authority. Therefore it is that our scholia are taken up with everything else but the *κοινή*, and our direct references to it are survivals of obiter dicta of commentators on Aristarchus.

<sup>2</sup> Really 32; I omitted T 189 in B.

|                 |                          | A                                                |                     |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Vulgate.</i> |                          |                                                  | <i>Aristarchus.</i> |
| 91              | ἐνὶ στρατῷ               | ἀχαιῶν (Zen. Aristoph. Sosig.)                   | I.                  |
| 108             | οὐδέ—οὐδ' <sup>1</sup>   | οὔτε—οὔτ' (Aristoph.)                            | I.                  |
| 117             | σόνον                    | σῶν                                              | II.a                |
| 124             | πω                       | πον (Aristoph. Sosig.)                           | I.                  |
| 142             | ἐς                       | ἐν                                               | II.a                |
| 157             | σκιόεντα                 | σκιόωντα                                         | II.a                |
| 168             | ἐπ' ἦν                   | ἐπεῖ                                             | II.a                |
| 169             | φθίην                    | φθίηνδ' (Zen.)                                   | I.                  |
| 203             | ἴδης                     | ἴδῃ                                              | II.a                |
| 204             | τετελείσθαι              | τελείεσθαι                                       | II.a                |
| 241             | τοῖς                     | τότε                                             | II.a                |
| 258             | βουλῇ                    | βουλὴν (ἡ πολύστιχος)                            | I.                  |
| 298             | μαχέσσομαι (Heracleo)    | μαχήσομαι (Mass. Argol. Sinop. Antim. Aristoph.) | I.                  |
| 304             | the same                 |                                                  |                     |
| 332             | τε                       | τι (Cypria)                                      | I.                  |
| 350             | οἶνοπα                   | ἀπείρονα                                         | II.a                |
| 404             | βίῃ                      | βίην                                             | II.a                |
| 424             | μετὰ (ἐνιοι)             | κατὰ (Mass. Sinop. Cyp. Antim. Aristoph.)        | I.                  |
| 423             | ἔποντο                   | ἔπονται (πάντες)                                 | I.                  |
| 432             | ἐντὸς                    | ἐγγὺς                                            | II.a                |
| 434             | ὑφέντες (Zen.)           | ἀφέντες                                          | II.b                |
| 435             | προέρυσσαν               | προέρεσσαν (Argol. Sinop. Sosig.)                | I.                  |
| 447             | κλειτὴν                  | ιερὴν                                            | II.a                |
| 484             | μετὰ                     | κατὰ                                             | II.a                |
| 522             | μή σε                    | μή τι (πᾶσαι)                                    | I.                  |
| 524             | ἐπινεύσομαι <sup>1</sup> | κατανεύσομαι                                     | II.a                |
| 531             | διέτμαγον                | διέτμαγεν (πᾶσαι)                                | I.                  |
| 553             | οὐδέ—οὐδ' <sup>1</sup>   | οὔτε—οὔτε (Rhian. Aristoph.)                     | I.                  |
| 585             | χειρὶ                    | χειρὶ (Mass. Sosig. Aristoph.)                   | I.                  |
| 598             | ὠνοχόει                  | οἰνοχόει (Argol. Mass. Antim. Zen. Aristoph.)    | I.                  |

## Δ

|     |                            |                     |      |
|-----|----------------------------|---------------------|------|
| 17  | αὐτως (Aristoph.)          | αὐ' πως             | II.b |
| 148 | τ'                         | δ'                  | II.a |
| 170 | μοῖραν                     | πότμον              | *    |
| 205 | ἴδης                       | ἴδῃ                 | II.a |
| 213 | εἴλκεν                     | εἴλκεν (αἱ πλείους) | I.   |
| 238 | δ'                         | om. δ'              | II.a |
| 260 | κρητῆρσι                   | κρητῆρι             | II.a |
| 277 | ἰόι τι <sup>1</sup> (Zen.) | έόντι               | II.b |
| 319 | κατέκτα                    | κατέκταν            | II.a |
| 321 | ικάνει                     | ὀπάζει              | II.a |
| 333 | θ'                         | θ' om.              | II.a |
| 400 | ἀμείνω                     | ἀμείνων             | II.a |
| 426 | έόν                        | ἰόν                 | II.a |
| 456 | φόβος                      | πόνος               | II.a |
| 527 | ἐπessυμένον                | ἀπεssυμένον         | II.a |

This list of pairs of opposed readings—the vulgate on the one hand and the grammarians' preference on the other—deserves consideration. It will be seen that the difference is

of very various sorts, now of forms, now of entire words or phrases. I proceed to draw up classes of the former type of divergence between the *κοινή* and the eccentric editions.

<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt about the tradition.



## 1. The vulgate adds the augment to verbs :

ὄνοχόει = οἶνοχόει, A 598.  
 εἴλκεν = ἔλκεν, Δ 213 al.  
 ὀπλίζοντο = ὅπλίζοντο, Θ 55.  
 εἰστήκει(ν) = ἐστήκει(ν), Ψ 691 al.  
 ἤλπετο = ἔλπετο, P 603.  
 ὑπεσεῖετο = ὕποσεῖετο, Ξ 285.  
 ἐτέτυκτο = τέτυκτο, Ψ 455 ; Θ 163.  
 ἀμφεφόβηθεν = ἀμφιφόβηθεν, Π 290.

2. The vulgate writes *ει* for *η* in these cases :

δαμείης = δαμήης, Γ 436.  
 θείης = θήης, Z 432.  
 θειοῖο = θηοῖο, Ω 418.  
 περιστείωσ' = περιστήωσ', P 95.  
 σαπείη = σαπήη, T 27.  
 φανείη = φανήη, X 73.  
 καθείατο = καθήατο, Ω 473.  
 ῥῆει = ῥῆη, E 64.  
 πορφύρει = πορφύρη, Ξ 16.

3. The vulgate forms the future of *μάχομαι* in -εσσ- :

μαχέσσομαι = μαχήσομαι, A 298, 304 ; Γ 290 ; I 32.  
 μαχεσσόμεθ' = μαχησόμεθ', B 377.

4. The *κοινή* assimilates consonants :

πασσυνδίη = πανσυνδίη, B 12.  
 ἀστήσων = ἀνστήσων, K 32, 176.  
 ἄσχεο = ἄνσχεο, Ψ 587 ; Ω 518.  
 ἀδδύεται = ἀνδύεται, N 22.  
 ἀλλέξαι = ἀνλέξαι, Φ 321.

5. The *κοινή* contracts vowels :

πολεῖς = πολέας, Φ 131.  
 ἀκληεῖς = ἀκλέεες, M 318.  
 νεμεσσηθώμεν = νεμεσσηθέωμεν, Ω 53.

6. The *κοινή* affects crasis :

κάκειθι = καὶ κείθι, Γ 402.  
 κακέινψ = καὶ κείνψ, O 45, 179 ; Π 648.

7. The *κοινή* prefers *α*-forms to *ε*-forms (aorist to imperfect, etc.) :

πέτατ' = πέτετ', X 198.  
 ἐπεβήσατο = ἐπεβήσετο, K 513.  
 ἔσαγείρατο = ἔσαγείρετο, O 240.  
 ἀφυσσάμενοι = ἀφυσσόμενοι, Γ 295 ; K 579.  
 ἀγασσάμενοι = ἀγασσόμενοι, H 41.  
 παύσασθαι = παύεσθαι, Γ 434.

8. The *κοινή* prefers the singular verb with neuter plurals :

φύγεν = φύγον, Θ 137 ; Δ 128.  
 πῖσεν = πῖσον, O 714.  
 φέρεν = φέρον, Ω 341.

9. The *κοινή* prefers optatives to subjunctives :

ἐθέλομι = ἐθέλωμι, Θ 23 ; I 397.  
 πεπιθοιμεν = πεπιθωμεν, I 112.

10. The *κοινή* avoids apponent hiatus :

τ' αἰδρεῖη = τε ἰδρεῖη, H 198.  
 ἔργ' εἰδυίας = ἔργα ἰδυίας, *passim*.

Other similar classes might be established, but the usage of the *κοινή* fluctuates in them, and in several even of the ten just given, occasional contradictory examples may be found. On the whole, however, these heads indicate the real nature and tendency of the *κοινή*. To characterise these ten classes means an incursion into the field of linguistic, which I make with becoming modesty. I imagine it may be safely said that the *κοινή*-forms are later in time than those of the editions and Aristarchus. εἴλκεν is later than ἔλκεν, τεθνηώς than τεθνηώς, μαχέσσομαι than μαχήσομαι, ἐθέλομι than ἐθέλωμι, the singular verb with neuters plural than the plural verb, elision than the digamma, crasis than division, contracted than open vowels. We find, therefore, in the *κοινή* a tendency in the cases mentioned to assimilate the older forms and usages, which remained intact in all or most of the eccentric editions, to the later language. The *κοινὰ* underwent the influence of contemporary and Attic Greek in a way which the eccentric editions did not.<sup>1</sup>

Several observations are to be made on this conclusion.

1. The statement covers but a part of the variants of the *κοινὰ*. The variants which come under the ten heads given above do not amount to more than 70-80, and allowing 20 for similar but less constant variations, the total will not be more than 100, that is less than one-sixth of the whole. The specimens from books A and Δ yield a smaller proportion, for out of 47 cases one can hardly find more than 6 or 7 which are due to the influence of current Greek. The remainder of the variants are substantial, and consist of words or phrases.

2. The tendency to assimilate the dialect of an author to later or current Greek is not peculiar to the Homeric vulgate. There are good grounds for supposing all prae-Attic writers to have been affected by it.

<sup>1</sup> And hence probably come the depreciatory epithets 'careless,' 'inferior,' αἱ εἰκαιότεραι, τὰ φανλότερα, which the grammarians apply to it. They do not imply an inferior source of text, but that the vulgate, or part of the vulgate, had not 'worn well.'

(I may refer to Fick's articles on the Lyric Poets in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, vols. ix., xi. and elsewhere.) In the later world of scribes it is to be seen actively at work in the MSS., not only of Homer but of most other Greek authors. In the published Homeric material it may be studied most evidently in 'G' (Vindob. 39): this MS. substitutes the Attic for the Ionic, the prose for the poetical form in cases like ταῖς for τῆς, ναυσὶ for νηυσί, Ἀθηνῶν or Ἀθηναίων for Ἀθηνεων, πόλεως for πόλιος, ἐληλυθὼς for εἰληλουθὼς, φύλακας for φυλακούς, μάρτυρες for μάρτυροι, γούνασι for γούνεσι.

On this account I think one is justified, in the case of the κοινή, in considering the tendency as unintentional; it is true that for one or another of the variants deliberate ancient authority may be found (Zenodotus approved of μάρτυρες, and Heracleon read μαχέσσομαι), but apart from the fact that even Zenodotus is long junior to the κοινή, it is not to be supposed that these variants are due to their bidding. The vulgarisations of the κοινή arise rather from its being the edition in constant use. Ex hypothesi it was continually copied, and continual copying brought with it the usual average of graphical variant. Ναυσὶ for νηυσί was substituted not in obedience to the canon of a grammarian, but from the unconscious association of a copyist, and the larger variants in this province, φνοχόει, σαπείη, πασσυδίη, κάκκινος, which were not considered errors but substantive variae lectiones, are also the work of the scriptorium. They represent the standard of the publishing-office at a given moment, and the history of the changes in spelling of the Authorised Version, the Book of Common Prayer, Shakespeare, Milton and our other classics in English, is a sufficiently exact parallel. The changes in the spelling of the Bible from generation to generation have been the work not of the antiquary or the scholar, but of the Queen's Printers. They have not dislodged whole words, but they have assimilated and modernised spelling.<sup>1</sup> The variants in which the κοινή shews a specifically later text than that of the eccentric editions are due to causes similar in kind.<sup>2</sup>

These formal variants, as I have said, cover about one-sixth of the total differences in the κοινή. The remainder do not share the character of lateness which these possess. They are *prima facie* as old and as original

as their opposites. In the specimens given from A and Δ, ἐνὶ στρατῷ, σόον, σκιοέντα, οἶνοπα, προέρεσσον, κλειτήν, χερσί, μοῖραν, κρητήρσι, ἱκάνει do not carry the traces of degeneration from ἀχαιῶν, σῶν, σκιοῶντα, ἀπείρονα, προέρεσσαν, ἱερήν, χερί, πότμον, κρητήρι, ὁπάξει. The intrinsic superiority, where such exists, of one member of each pair over the other, must be decided by special investigation. It is impossible to say, as we may of the formal variants, that the readings of the κοινή are later than, or are derived from, their opposites in the eccentric editions. In five-sixths of the ancient vulgate readings are presented as old, and *prima facie* as intrinsically good as those of the eccentric editions; in the remaining sixth the vulgate has suffered an external modernisation.

Ludwich has shewn the vulgate to be attested by the quotations as far back as the former half of the fifth century: are we to take it some generations farther, and say that Pisistratus established it, in other words that ἡ κοινή = ἡ Πεισιστράτειος?

The question of the truth of the tradition which made Pisistratus order an edition of Homer has been fully and recently discussed.<sup>3</sup> The investigation has been somewhat at cross purposes. Lehrs treated the subject with elegant derision, Wilamowitz emphasised and interpreted the testimony of Dieuchidas (suggested indeed long before by Ritschl) but with some perversity declined to believe in the substantiality of the tradition; Ludwich, while combating Wilamowitz's arguments step by step, arrives at the same conclusion, a result repeated in his book on the Homeric Vulgate and singular in one who has done so much to assert the claims of the Lower Criticism and written historical evidence. Cauer treats the matter with his usual judgment, but Ritschl's treatise, some few details apart, contains as acceptable an account as any.

It is unnecessary for me to state the arguments or to take a decided position. The essential is already won, the age, the character, and the authority of the κοινή: Pisistratus, Solon, Hipparchus are but figure-heads, and mostly indifferent to the Lower Criticism. However, if Solon or

<sup>1</sup> The same comparison—with printed German classics—has been made by Cauer, *l.c.* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> One particular case of which was recognised by the ancients, who called it μεταχαρακτηρισμός.

<sup>3</sup> Wolf, *Prol.* p. cxlii. sq.; Ritschl, *Opuscula*, i. 1, sq. (1838); Lehrs *Aristarchus*, p. 434, sq. (1862); Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, 235, sq. (1884); Flach, *Pisistratos und seine literarische Thätigkeit* (1885); Ludwich, *Aristarchs Hom. Textkritik*, ii. 390 sq. (1885); Cauer, *Grundfragen d. Homerkritik*, 80 sq. (1896).

Pisistratus did establish any text of Homer, that text can have been no other than the *κοινή*, and however inferior the direct evidence for their achievement may be, we have the only real proof that can be given *in tali materia*, agreement with later conditions. If Pisistratus were the reputed father of the *κοινή* it is natural that we find no mention of him in the scholia. The grammarians ignore the *κοινή*, because it was in everyone's hands and because it had suffered by transmission; they *a fortiori* ignored also its author; they may, or they may not, have disbelieved the tradition which gave Pisistratus that title. It is more important to realise that the same account explains the absence of reference to an Athenian edition, Ἀττικὴ ἐκδόσις. We are informed explicitly that Aristarchus thought Homer an Athenian; the Attic edition to him therefore was not one among the *κατὰ πόλεις*, but the *κοινή* itself. In his silence with regard to the *κοινή* is included silence upon its origin and its putative author.<sup>1</sup> While therefore I do not find it necessary to assert the authenticity of the Pisistratean legend, I find that it agrees with all the conditions, and that the omission to notice it in the scholia is no impediment to its probability.

Here I might stop, but a line which has been used by both sides to support their views may be better for impartial discussion.

#### B 557

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας  
στήσῃ δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο φάλαγγες.

<sup>1</sup> This is only Ritschl's account (*l.c.* p. 50) in other words: 'Fragt man nun, wie es zugehe, dass auch dieses Textes in der Alexandrinischen Kritik angeblich so selten Erwähnung geschehe, so ist die Behauptung, seiner kritischen Unsicherheit halber sei er keiner sonderlichen Beachtung gewürdigt worden, ein so unbestimmter als willkürlicher Nothbehelf. Vielmehr bildet sich, wenn man sich nach den erhaltenen Andeutungen die kritische Thätigkeit der Alexandriner zu vergegenwärtigen sucht, sofort die Ueberzeugung, dass diese, mitten unter einem reichen Vorrathe abweichender Ueberlieferungen, von irgend einer Grundlage ausgingen, die ihnen als das Gegebene galt, was durch vergleichende Zuziehung anderer Autoritäten zwar im einzelnen vielfach modificirt werden konnte, für die Anordnung im Ganzen aber als feste Norm betrachtet wurde. Diese Unterlage ihres kritischen Geschäftes war aber, den klarlichsten Anzeigen zufolge, keine andere als der Pisistrateische Text, der gleichsam die Vulgata geworden war. Die Nothwendigkeit stets wiederholter namentlicher Anführung würde nun schon dadurch wegfallen, dass eben jenes Verhältniss die allgemeine Voraussetzung war, worauf alle Ausübung Homerischer Kritik beruhte, und worüber eine ausdrückliche Verständigung niemand begehrte oder nöthig hatte.'

The second line it is well known is stated by various late authorities to have been inserted by Solon or Pisistratus. The data are as follows. It stands in all known MSS. with the exception of seventeen—the families *b g h*, the Venetus A and several other single minuscule MSS. and apparently the papyrus Bodl. Gr. class. a. 1 (P) s. iv.–v. (Petrie Hawara &c. 1889 p. 24–8). There is no scholion on the line in A, T omits the whole of the catalogue, in B and L (on B 494 and 557) the legend (with Solon's name) is repeated. The line however is alluded to in the A scholia on Γ 230: ὅτι πλησίον ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ἐτάσσετο κατὰ τὴν ἐπιπόλησιν συμφώνως, παραιτητὸν ἄρα ἐκείνον τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον, στήσῃ δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο φάλαγγες. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον Αἴαντος Ἀθηναῖοι. The questions which have been asked, and differently answered, on this evidence, are (1) what did Aristarchus exactly do with regard to the line, (2) was it in the *κοινή* or no?

Wilamowitz for instance considers the line a proof that Aristarchus knew and believed the legend about Pisistratus: and that on this ground he ejected the line and it is consequently wanting in many MSS. Ludwig, naturally, knows that Aristarchus' operations did not affect the text of Homer, but both he and Cauer think the line was not in the vulgate: the former thinks the whole story about Pisistratus a fable, the latter believes that Pisistratus did introduce the line but that his interpolation did not take effect.

(1) The word *παραιτεῖν* in the scholion on Γ 230 is of itself vague: its usage in scholastic Greek rests on two passages (which I find in Ludwig's index). K 1 (on ἄλλοι) *παραιτητέον τοὺς γράφοντας ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ζηνόδοτος ὁ ἄλλοι μὲν*. He 'deprecates' Zen.'s reading. A 365 is a better parallel: ὅτι παλλιλογεῖν παρήτῃται ἀλλότριον ἄρα οἱ ἐπιγραφόμενοι στίχοι εἰκοσι ἐπτά. The obeli are appicted to vv. 366–393. In the version of this scholion in B we find οἱ δὲ ἀθετοῦντες τοὺς στίχους οὐκ ἔδωσι μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅθεν ἦλω χρυσῆς. It is a case of ordinary *a priori* athetesis, and *παραιτεῖν* = *ἀθετεῖν*. The case of B 558 appears similar; it is a line, not a reading, and the ground for the censure is also intrinsic, viz., the contradiction of other passages (Δ 273, 327, N 681 given by Strabo 394). We miss the evidence of the obelus, since the line is omitted in Ven. A, and apparently in the papyrus, but the probability seems considerable that athetesis is meant. The expression would be excessively mild for an



οὐκ ἔγραφε (besides that there are not more than three instances where Ar. is said to have had recourse to this extreme step).

(2) The second question, did the verse stand in the *κοινή*? is closely connected with this. The phrase τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον, suggests perhaps at first sight that Aristarchus is combating the reading of an individual which was not generally received. In reality, however, it is the language of athetesis, by which Ar. conveys his view as to the sources of the *κοινή*. Cf. A 474 ἀθ. ὅτι νομίσας τις τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Παιῖονα εἰρῆσθαι προσέθηκεν αὐτό. B 319 ἀθ. προεῖρηται δὲ ἡ αἰτία (sc. 318 ὅτι Ζηνοδότος γράφει ἀρίδην καὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον προσέθηκεν), ib. 668 σεσημειώται πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς ἀθετούμενον· οὐ γὰρ νοήσας τις ὅτι τὸ σημαζόμενον τοιοῦτόν ἐστι...ἐξήτησεν ὑπὸ τίνος ἐφιλήθησαν διὸ προσέθηκε τὸν ἐκ διός. E 183 ἀθ. ὅτι δεξάμενός τις εἰ μὴ τις θεός ἐστιν ὁ ἐναντιούμενος ἐνέγραψεν αὐτόν. I 416 ἀθ. ὅτι νομίσας τις κρέμασθαι τὸν λόγον προσέθηκεν αὐτόν. N 658, 9 ἀθ. ὅτι πλανηθεὶς τις...ἔταξεν αὐτούς. H 353 ὅτι τις...προσανεπλήρωσεν. (Cf. also Π 97, Σ 444, Υ 256, Φ 570, Ω 45, 130).<sup>1</sup> The wording of these passages is at least as personal as that of the note on Γ 230; we are therefore not to see any reference to the Pisistratus legend in the ὑπὸ τινων; Aristarchus athetised as he everywhere does, on intrinsic grounds.

There are of course references in the scholia to lines certainly not in the ordinary text; but the formulas are different (ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται, ὑποτάσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα in A, ὅτι τινες ἐπάγουσι in T), and also the MSS. shew no trace of them. B 558 stands in the bulk of the MSS. and is alluded to in the

<sup>1</sup> The tone of these passages—dissatisfaction with the *κοινή* as an authority, and search for some personal source beyond it—may temper our surprise at one extraordinary scholion. Γ 406 (ἀπέειπε κελεύθους) Ἀρίσταρχος ἀπέειπε διὰ τοῦ ἡ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ κελεύθου. θαυμάσειε δ' ἢν τις ἡ ἑτέρα διὰ τοῦ π πόθεν παρέδν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρισταρχείοις οὔτε ἐν ἑτέροις τῶν γούν λεγόμενων ἐπιφερόμενον πέφικεν. Ἀπέειπε κελεύθους codd.) A true grammarian's utterance, whether it is Aristarchus or Didymus that speaks. No 'decent' edition had the reading, and the grammarian cannot think how it 'got in' to the *κοινή*. It was always there. The other reading started in some eccentric edition, and all the μέτριοι, Antimachus, Euripides, Philetas, Rhianus, *vrais moutons de Panurge*, copied it.

Similarly A 97 the grammarian will not rest with the vulgate as the authority for the anti-Aristarchean reading: he will 'give it a name,' *ἔοικεν οὖν ἡ ἑτέρα Ζηνοδότου εἶναι*. A 455 Didymus makes a shot at schoolmasters, *γραμματισταί*, as the originators of the vulgate: γ 269-273 he divines sophists behind the text. Γ 18 he expresses simple surprise that the reading, not Aristarchus', has merits: *ἔχει δὲ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν χαρακτήρα καὶ ἡ σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ γραφή, καίτερ οἱ κ οἷσα Ἀριστάρχειος*.

formula of athetesis. I therefore conclude that in Aristarchus' day it was part of the vulgate.<sup>2</sup>

The line, however, is actually wanting in the MSS. I have mentioned, and Quintilian (v. 11, 40) notices its absence from some texts: *neque est ignobile exemplum Megarios ab Atheniensibus cum de Salamine contendere victos Homeri versu, qui tamen ipse non in omni editione reperitur, significans Aiacem naves suas Atheniensibus iunxisse*. (Strabo 394, when he says οὐ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀνιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς seems to use a fuller version of the note on Γ 230 or on the line itself.) This is not due to Aristarchus' athetesis: Aristarchus' athetesis consisted in the affixing of a sign to the particular line and its effect stopped there. This, as I have mentioned, Ludwich, *l. c.* p. 398, makes good against Wilamowitz: I add the figures. 366 lines are athetised by Aristarchus, 8 are omitted by our MSS. (6 in single MSS., one in two, one in a quotation). The probability that B 558 is omitted in some MSS. on account of Aristarchus' athetesis is nil.

I presume its omission is really owing to the effect of the legend, reduced to such a form as that in which we find it in the B scholia: (γράφει δὲ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος λόγον, ὡς τινες, παραλόγως, τὸ ἢν Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρέτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ποιήσει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκολουθία οὕτως, οἱ δ' Ἄργος εἶχον). There were a certain number of omissions, as of variants, within the *κοινή* in antiquity: this was one of them. I think therefore that Aristarchus athetised the line on intrinsic grounds: and that no conclusion can be drawn from his action as to whether he believed the legend, either that Pisistratus inserted this particular line, or that he made an edition of Homer generally.

I conclude that the ancient vulgate, though it suffered from the natural conditions of transmission in spelling, dialect and syntax, appears as to the bulk of its text at least the equal in age and goodness of the only other existent authority, the eccentric editions. The quotations carry it back into the fifth century, and it is a question of merely historical interest whether the name of the legendary Athenian Ptolemy should be attached to it.

The enquiry proceeds to the non-vulgate or eccentric editions. T. W. ALLEN.

<sup>2</sup> The story also as believed in antiquity implies that the line was usually if not always read, no less than the other lines which schol. B quotes (836, 868: schol. on B 491) as having decided similar political cases.

## ON PINDAR'S OLYMPIAN ODES.

Ol. 1, 62-4 [the numbering of Gildersleeve's edition for Olympians and Pythians has been followed in this paper: i.e. of course, the left hand (Böckh's) numeration].

νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε  
δῶκεν, οἷσιν ἄφθιτον  
ἔθεσαν.

The antistrophic verse (75) demands a trochee at the beginning of 64. 'It is better to admit a tribrach [*ἔθεσαν· εἰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*] than to accept the MS. *θέσαν*, or Mommsen's *θέν νιν*, although we miss an object.' So Gildersleeve. But according to the most recent edition of Pindar, that of Otto Schröder in Teubner's series—which, though apparently a fifth edition of Bergk's work on Pindar completed under Schröder's guidance, is virtually independent of Bergk's influence—the *optimi libri* have *θέσαν αὐτόν*, while *θέσαν αὐτόν* is only given by *pars Thomm(anorum)*, i.e. of the interpolated *codices* influenced by Thomas Magister.

*θήκαν* has the support of Rauchenstein: Comm. Pind. II. 11. According to Rumpel's Lexicon, however, we have no instance of this form. The ordinary alternation of *ἔθηκα*: *ἔθεμεν* is observed throughout: *θηκάμενος* is not enough as evidence that Pindar could violate in *this* verb the settled prerogatives of strong and weak Aorist forms: while to my ear at least *θήκαν* after *δῶκεν* (v. 63) is unpleasantly cacophonous. This is intensified by the form *προήκαν*, v. 65, as Schneidewin saw.

The other suggestions may be seen in Schröder's note to the passage. Remembering that the number of uncial corruptions in the MSS. of Pindar is considerable, a state of affairs which the papyrus of Bacchylides has more recently illustrated, I propose a reading which seems to satisfy the conditions of the problem at least as well as any already put forward: viz.

οἷσιν ἄφθιτόν·  
ἔσαν.

*f* for *fε* has disappeared from view in the text *für sich*: but *αὐτόν* faithfully represents it. Similar subsidence of this pronoun is familiar in the text of Homer, but without the gloss. *ἔσαν* from *ἔζω = κτίζω* may be supported by *ἔσαντο* in Pyth. 4, 204, where the explanation of the scholiast is *ἔκτισαν*.

Finally, the passage Pyth. 9, 63, which is at first sight parallel and in favour of some

form of *τίθημι*, when examined is seen to be different:

νέκταρ ἐν χεῖλεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίαν στάξεισι,  
θήσονται τέ νιν ἀθάνατον κ.τ.λ.

There *θήσονται* is to be taken in the sense of 'give him a name,' familiar in tragedy. It may have been a false interpretation of that passage, however, which led Ahrens to propose the ridiculous reading *θήσαν* (*lactabant*) in Ol. 1. 64.

Ol. i. 103 sqq.

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον  
μή τιν' ἀμφοτέρα καλῶν τε Φίδριν ἄμμε καὶ  
δύναμιν κυριώτερον  
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνον πτυχαῖς.

*ἄμμε* is a correction for metrical reasons of the MSS. *ἄμα*. In support of it may be cited the corruption of *ἄμμε* to *ἄμα* at Ol. 9, 106. Sch. Vet. has *πέπεισμαι ἀκριβῶς μηδένα μ' ἔτι φίλον τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκωμιάσαι*: where the aorist Inf., probably a mere mistake for *ἐγκωμιάσειν* as so often, gives no support to Mommsen's view that *δαιδαλωσέμεν* is aorist; nor again is *ἄμμε* supported by the previous words of the Scholiast. It is not at all probable that Pindar should after the emphatic *ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι κείνον* of v. 100 with its correspondence in prominence of the singer and the king, weaken his claims on his patron by sharing them in the next clause with the whole chorus.

There is yet another word confused in the MSS. of Pindar with *ἄμα*, viz. *ἀμφί*. See Nem. 9, 52, where the reverse corruption of *ἄμα* to *ἀμφί* points to the form *ἀμαῖ* (ΑΜΑΙ to ΑΜΦΙ) on which cf. Schröder's introduction, p. 37. *ἔδριν ἀμφί καλῶν*<sup>1</sup> for the more familiar *ἔδριν καλῶν* is not unlike the use in Ol. 12, 8 *σύμβολον—πιστόν ἀμφὶ πρᾶξις ἐσσομένης εἴρε θεόθεν*, where to our grammatical sense *ἀμφί* would be better absent, and in a prose author would probably have succumbed to the knife of a physician of Cobet's school. The uses of *ἀμφί*, evidently a favourite with Pindar, can be most conveniently studied in Rumpel: the present passage is not as striking in its divergence from the noun as many where the dat. occurs.

This leads me to speak of Ol. 1, 113 where a syllable is wanted to complete antistrophic

<sup>1</sup> I find that Maur. Schmidt has conjectured *ἀμφί* already: but he couples *ἀμφί καὶ δύναμει* (which he reads for *δύναμιν*).

correspondence at the beginning of the line. It seems to me that Schröder is right in reading ἀμφ' ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, not ἐπ' ἄλλοισι of the *codices interpolati*. He compares ὅσα δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις Nem. 2, 17, and τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ πόνοις ὑπερώτατα Nem. 8, 4: also the paraphrase of ἀμφὶ by ἐπὶ at Ol. 9, 14 may be used, in case ἐπὶ is as Schröder thinks a genuine mark of antiquity and not as I prefer to believe itself an interpolation.

Here again the form AMAI is to be posited as the preliminary stage of the corruption: the similarity of AMAI to AAA[OICI then led to the disappearance of the preposition. The faintness of meaning inherent in ἀμφὶ furthered this: contrast Ol. 7, 80 κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις with Pyth. 4, 253 ἔνθα καὶ γυνὼν ἀέθλοις ἐπέδειξαντο κρίσιν ἔσθῃτος ἀμφίς. Here the only change needed is the restoration of the active ἐπέδειξαν: cf. Nem. 11, 14 ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν. Κρίσιν before ἔσθῃτος presents no difficulty, and the word is not at all likely to be due to a corrector of e.g. *Fiv*, of Kayser, Christ, and Gildersleeve. I would only suggest, comparing Ol. 3, 21 μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν, that we should interchange the terminations of γυνὼν and ἀέθλοις, a common resource of criticism and one well justified by facts.<sup>1</sup> Then too I find some plausibility in the belief that γυνὼν came in through a misunderstanding of the force of ἐπέδειξαν (really = *παρέσχον*) which is faithfully mirrored in the middle. From this point of view I think Kayser's ἐπέδειξαντο *Fiv* represents well enough the conception of the passage formed by ancient critics. Thus Sch. ἐπέδειξαντο τῶν μελῶν τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν (i.e. probably τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. Compare for the use of καὶ = *id est*, Lehrs' Pindar-Scholien). Before dismissing Pyth. 4, 253 on which I may now say,

\* Ἡ ρ' ὦ φίλοι κατ' ἀμεισίπορον τρίοδον  
ἐδύνει, *μιν*  
ὄρθαν κέλευθον ἰὼν τόπριν,

I should like to remark that ἔσθῃτος ἀμφίς most probably means according to one view of the Scholiast τῆς ἔσθῃτος χωρὶς, *τουτέστι γυμνοί*. There is clear point in mentioning this, for it was only possible in certain places e.g. Doric states, for the presence of women to be permitted in spite of the lack of the διάζωμα. Now Ol. 4, 24 shews that

*garlands* were given to the victors on this particular occasion. That 'clothing' of any kind was a prize in addition is a mere unsupported inference of the Scholiast: ἡ τὸ ἔπαθλον ἔσθῃς. We are plainly not at liberty to compare the ψυχρὰν εἰδιανὸν φάρμακον αἰρᾶν of Ol. 9, 104 (1) because this was an institution peculiar to Pellene, and (2) because there was a special reason for the institution of a prize so bizarre, viz. that the games at Pellene were held *in winter*. (Sch. ad loc. ἐν Πελλήνῃ χλαῖν' ἐδίδοτο τῷ νικῶντι χειμῶνος ὥρα). But there is another passage which throws some light on Pindar's intention when he emphasizes this point, that the competitors were naked. Pyth. 9, 115 *sqq.* shews that girls even were allowed to be present at the games in Cyrene, as one of the institutions perhaps of the Ὑλλίς στάθμα (Pyth. 1, 62). One of the Argonauts who competed in the games at Lemnos before Lemnian women was the ancestor of the kings of Cyrene (v. Pyth. 4 *passim*). It is clear to me that Pindar is finding mythological support for the custom as practised at Cyrene, of admitting women. Taken this way the words ἔσθῃτος ἀμφίς bear (to the *συμετοί*) a clear sign of Pindar's manner. Aesthetical criticism is dangerous in these odes; but the thought of the Argonauts racing one another for overcoats is a decided fall below the epic dignity of Pyth. 4. At Pellene the prize was probably regarded as a piece of comicality.

I have in the foregoing laid no stress on the entire absence of proof that ἀμφίς ever did equal ἀμφί. Rumpel cites no other example of the word in Pindar, nor can I find any evidence elsewhere of the assumed meaning. Thus to Dissen's 'ἀμφίς pr. seorsim non dixit Pindarus' the *tu quoque* 'ἀμφίς pr. ἀμφί non dixit Pindarus aliusue quisquam' is too tempting to be avoided.

Ol. 2, 65. The peculiar reading ταμίους of BD\* for τιμίους in the strange phrase παρὰ μὲν τιμίους θεῶν is not enough to build conjectures upon. It probably is a mere variant spelling of τιμίους, i.e. *τειμίους*, as we see by comparing κρασόνων, D's reading at N. 10, 72 for κρεισ(σ)όνων. Written in ligature εἰ as αἰ (εἰ and εἰν) were often confused with ἀ. The latter confusion is better known, and has been treated by Cobet: an example in Pindar is at Ol. 2, 90 where Δ has εὔμαχον for ἄμαχον.

Ol. 2, 86 *sqq.* In attempting to say anything new on this passage, I fear I am aspiring Ζεὺς γενέσθαι. But it seems to me that a correction of three letters will restore an intelligible construction to these verses.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Agamemnon 649, Dindorf: χερσὶν Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν (Ἀχαιῶν -θεοῖς M.).



σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φύᾱ·  
μαθόντες δὲ λίσσροι  
παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὥς ἄκραντα γαρεύετον  
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

We are met at the outstart by a cloud of witness: γαρεύετον *libri c. Scholl. et testimoniiis* (Aristid. ii, 34 D, Theophyl. Bulg. Epp. 6 p. 12 Meurs., Greg. Cor. p. 218) *omnibus*. So Schröder. The use of the dual for the plural is not tolerable, as Gildersleeve rightly says. In the theories which introduce now Simonides and Bacchylides, now Corax and Teisias as Pindar's rivals, I for one can put no belief. But with a reading of such antiquity as γαρεύετον, and with such persistence in the MS. tradition, the ordinary methods of criticism are not likely to lead us to a definite conclusion. We can alter the text as we please, but we cannot explain how, in our opinion, the corrupt reading found its way into the text. All I aim at is to shew that there was once a variant reading, with all the marks of genuineness. In Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo* (the passage and reference, p. 42, 17 Hbg., I take from Schröder) we find these words: κόραξ, μᾶλλον δὲ κολοῖός, ἄκραντα γαρνόμενος Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον. Schröder says merely *non refragatur*, i.e., *lectioni γαρεύετον*. But surely the Middle γαρνόμενος in a prose writer ought to be clear evidence that the quotation is following very closely the words of the original. The participle in Simplicius is required by the turn of the sentence: restoring the indicative, we light upon γαρεύεται which Tycho Mommsen had already adopted, accepting the construction as *Schema Pindaricum*. Now we cannot argue that γαρεύεται if original was replaced by γαρεύετον in order to get rid of this *Schema*, for the construction is a favourite with the old interpreters, as even a casual survey of the Scholia will shew. Why then was γαρεύεται not kept? I can suggest two reasons: (1) The use of the Present Middle may have seemed impossible to a scribe familiar with the frequent active form. The case of the Future at Isth. 1, 34, where we have γαρεύσομαι without any variant is different, on account of the common occurrence of Future Middle with words of hearing, seeing, &c., while αἶδω but αἰέσομαι may have exercised an influence. This analogy indeed is recognised by Gildersleeve as an agent in the formation of γαρεύομαι (Introduction p. cii.: he cites the list in Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* p. 383).

(2) There may have been a misreading

of the abbreviation for the termination—ταρ as—τον.<sup>1</sup>

This may be thought mere speculation; but what are we to make of the rest of Simplicius' quotation? The use of the singular in κόραξ μᾶλλον δὲ κολοῖός is very remarkable, considering the unanimity of ancient scholars in regarding the enemies of the eagle as a *flock* of crows, or as Simplicius would prefer, jackdaws, the noisier bird (cf. κολφός in Homer). This indeed is at first sight the intention of the poet.

The picture of 'the eagle (Pindar) sitting quiet and disdainful on the sceptre of Zeus,' seems to gain by contrast with the numbers of his ineffective assailants: cf. Soph. *Aias* v. 171, of the lesser birds in the presence of the μέγας αἰγυπιός. Yet the custom of poets varies. Thus Theocritus can in contrasting similarly rival claimants to poetic merit say (7, 41)

βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

So Vergil with his *Argutos inter strepere anser olores* (*Ecl.* 9, 36). If then both these varieties can exist, we may expect to find cases where only one of each class is used to point the contrast.<sup>2</sup> What if we have such a case before us? A slight correction must then be made: for κόρακες read κόρακος, a side-form to κόραξ as φύλακος to φύλαξ cett. The construction is then seen to be μαθόντες δὲ... (γαρεύονται) ὥς κόραξ γαρεύεται, and another of the examples of *Schema Pindaricum* disappears. I speak of course with reference to the reading γαρεύεται not γαρεύετον: assuming, however, that the existence of the reading γαρεύεται is proved from Simplicius we must bear in mind the results which an apparent example so early in the collected poems would have on the criticism of following passages. I have little doubt that such readings as ἀρχαὶ for ἀρχὰ, *Ol.* 11 (10), 6, (where see Gildersleeve's note) are largely due to the syntactical irregularity which the passage under consideration presented even while γαρεύεται was still read; the corruption

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the reading of B in 91-2 τανύσας αὐδάσμεν for αὐδάσομαι; also of Codex D at Isth. 1, 15 καὶ τανν for καὶ τὰ; that is, the abbreviation for ον, has been wrongly added. I do not lay stress on the frequent corruption of neuter adjectives used adverbially from pl. into sg. as at *Pyth.* 10, 63: it may be due to other causes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fulgentius, *Mythology*, i. 13: *corvus secundu[m] Pindarum solus inter omnes aves sexaginta quatuor significationes habet vocum*. This is put as *Frag.* 285 (with a query) in Schröder. The conjecture of Welcker that *Ol.* 13, 99 is referred to (by a corruption of κάρκος to κόρακος?) is very wild. I see no reason to suppose Fulg. to be mistaken.

of κόρακος to κόρακες removed the only means by which the construction could be maintained as regular. It is certainly a remarkable fact that in the first case where *Schema Pindaricum* could be assumed (with the reading γαρνέται) there should now be no trace in the Scholl. of its being invoked as a θεός ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. This can only be due to a very early corruption of γαρνέται, on the lines suggested above. I should not consider as equally probable a suggestion to which Bergk's reading γαρνέτων, 'garrulant licet,' might give birth: viz., that γαρνέτον came from the imperative (with which Schröder compares ἴτων for ἰόντων, Aesch. Eum. 32) by the depravity of the μεταγραφάμενοι (see Christ on these passages: Ol. 6, 97; 14, 12. Pyth. 1, 69; 3, 60. Nem. 1, 24; 7, 83. Isth. 1, 26).

Ol. 2, 107-8: said of κόρος:

τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων κρύφον τε θέμεν ἐσλῶν  
καλοῖς  
ἔργοις: ἐπεὶ ὑάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφηνεν  
ἐκείνος ὅσα χάρματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,  
τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο;

We should certainly read καὶ κείνος with Mommsen for ἐκείνος in v. 99. ἐπεὶ is used merely to introduce a new aspect of Hiero's generosity, and affects equally all that follows: cf. Nem. 4, 31. ἀπειρομάχας ζῶν κε φανείη λόγον ὁ μὴ συνιείς: ἐπεὶ ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν. The Paratactic construction is frequent in Pindar: a notable instance is Ol. 10, 11. sqq. (where the doubt as to the reading does not touch the point at issue). The MSS. of the better class have κἀκείνος, the *interpolati* present ἐκείνος. I am not quite satisfied however with the construction κρύφον θέμεν ἔργοις though adopting in the main the necessary corrections of Aristarchus. The verb should I think be ἐπιτιθέναι not the simple τιθέναι: cf. the adjective ἐπί-κρυφος which Pindar uses at Ol. 8, 68. Kaibel has proposed ἔργοις ἔπ'· εἰ ψάμμος κ.τ.λ. which is very harsh, though the use of εἰ is idiomatic: cf. Ol. 1, 77, Nem. 7, 86. It would be preferable to read ἔργοις ἔπιν ψάμμος κ.τ.λ. with Asyndeton. Dissen has an *excursus* (II) in his edition on the subject of Asyndeton where instances can easily be found of the abrupt manner in which Pindar turns to a fresh topic. The end of an ode is frequently marked by Asyndeton: cf. Ol. 3 and 13. For the Anastrophe of ἐπὶ cf. γαῖταισι ζευχθέντες ἐπὶ στέφανοι Ol. 3, 6: also P. 5, 124. δόμεν - ἐπιν = ἐπιδούναι. At Bacchyl. 7, 8. Blass prints νείμης ἐπιν for ἐπινείμης.

Ol. 8, 54, sq.

εἰ δ' ἐγὼ Μελησία ἐξ ἀγενείων κῦδος ἀνέδρα-  
μον ἱμνω  
μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος.

κῦδος ἐξ ἀγενείων is often taken to mean 'glory derived from beardless youths.' But comparing the phrases κῦδος ἀνδρῶν Ol. 9, 88, and, for the use of the preposition, κῦδος ἐξ ἀμφικτιόνων Pyth. 4, 66, we ought more probably to take the phrase as 'glory won at the expense of beardless youths.'<sup>1</sup> So in Latin *triumphare de aliquo*. This has the advantage of making ταύταν χάριν below somewhat easier. This is usually paraphrased by τοιαύτην, 'the same kind of honour as Alcimedon': as however Alcimedon himself won against ἀγένοιοι, we have to separate ταύταν χάριν decisively from ἐξ ἀγενείων κῦδος lest a wrong (*ex hypothesi*) meaning of the latter phrase should be suggested. It is preferable to assume a meaning for v. 54 which will lead more naturally up to what follows. ταύταν χάριν then means 'the same kind of victory' viz. over ἀγένοιοι, referring back to v. 54. We could also take v. 54 to mean 'a victory won in the past by Melesias.' ταύταν χάριν is then this same victory. This does not seem so good, for apart from other points φθόνος in v. 55 is naturally the jealousy excited by Melesias' success as a trainer, not that engendered by his past exploits as a competitor in the games, which as the whole passage shews had more or less passed out of the memory of the Aeginetans. Finally, there is no reason to doubt with Christ (p. lxxv) that a distinction was made between παῖδες and ἀγένοιοι: cf. Blass Bacchylides<sup>2</sup> p. lxxv. Ol. 9, 13 sqq.

οὔτοι χαριαιπετέων λόγων ἐφάψαι  
ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαισμάτων β-ρηγῆ' ἐλελίζων  
κλεινῶς ἐξ Ὀπόντος, αἰνήσαις ἔ καὶ νίον.

A striking instance of the perpetuation of error is seen in the interpretation of v. 15 here. Following the lead of the Scholiast all modern editors take ἔ to be the city of Opus. νίον then has to accept the meaning of 'citizen' 'son of the state, his mother.' As confidently as possible one may assert that this sense of νίος is impossible. It must mean 'son' in the natural and primitive sense: *filius*. ἔ then is clearly Ephar-mostus, the victor on this occasion, the date

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth while pointing out that συλαθεὶς ἀγενείων in Ol. 9, 90 means 'deprived of the beardless, his prey.' For the savage tone of boyish exultation cf. Gildersleeve on Ol. 8, 69.

of which is recoverable from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. ii. as 468 B.C.

This error has had considerable effect in determining the relations of the second person celebrated in the ode, Lampromachus (v. 90) to Epharmostus. The Scholiast on that verse simply says that Lampromachus was a kinsman of Epharmostus. This was no more than the circumstances of the ode made probable of themselves. Now we have, apart from the statement of v. 15 above, other indications of a limiting kind. In v. 67 we find *θετὸν υἱὸν* used in such a way as to be significant of one or other of the victors; while the parallel of Achilles and Patroclus in v. 82 *sqq.* shews that ties of special closeness held the two together. It is not unnatural to assume that Lampromachus was first the *παιδικὰ* of Epharmostus, who subsequently adopted him as his son. It would be, I fear, *ἐχθρὰ σοφία* to see in the words *Θέτιος γόνος* in v. 82 a trace of a Mezgerian respersion to *θετὸς υἱός*. The word *γόνος* is corrupt, a trochee being needed. Hartung has already suggested *γ' υἱός*, and though Gildersleeve may be right in thinking *γ'* 'a poor piece of patchery,' yet its presence may be a finger-post to guide us in the way. Otherwise we may as well read *κοῖρος* as any other of the words proposed.

Ol. 13, 40 *sqq.*

ἐν δ' ἀμφάλοισι Ποτειδαῖος τεθμοῖσιν  
Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι  
Τερψία θ' ἔψοντ' Ἐριτίμῳ τ' αἰοδαί.

The Scholiast has preserved the true reading in the last verse instead of the curious corruptions *τέρψιες* and *ἐρίτιμοι*. We are prepared then to give ear to any further counsel with which he may favour us. Indirectly he does help us by his note on *Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ* in which he mentions that the sons of Terpsias were Eritimus and Namertidas, while Ptoiodorus was the father of Thessalus, father of Xenophon the victor: according to others Namertidas was another name of Eritimus, who became the father of Autolycus. In the face of this confused statement editors have usually recoiled. There are two names included in it which Pindar does not mention explicitly, and for which no niche has been found. But on closer inspection we see that the construction is really *Πτοιοδώρῳ ἔψονται σὺν πατρὶ* (on the tense I shall speak presently). There is no case in Rumpel of *ἔπεισθαι* taking *σὺν* besides the dative (cf. the later *συνέπεισθαι*), and the suspicion arises that it is a mistake to connect *σὺν* with the verb at all. *σὺν πατρὶ* sc.

*Πτοιοδώρου* is to be taken separately, and very possibly the Scholiast's Namertidas may have been, in the account from which he derived his list of names, the father of Ptoiodorus. With this theory of course goes the demolition of the belief that the father of Thessalus, and grandfather of Xenophon, was Ptoiodorus.

It is a certain advantage to have four persons at our disposal instead of three, for the passage being obviously in *crescendo*, we now distribute more than seven victories over these four, not as formerly three. Failure to observe that Pindar is thus ascending in the scale of glory won has led to various views about *μακρότεραι* other than the simple and true one, that of Disson, which makes *μακρότεραι*—*αἰοδαί* the outward emblem of 'more numerous victories.' Certainly *μακρότεραι* cannot mean 'too long,' a 'self-check' as Gildersleeve thinks. The climax does not come until v. 45. *ἔσποντο* is required, finally, as a correction of *ἔψοντ'* (Bothe).

Ol. 13, 107.

ὅσα τ' Ἀρκὰς ἀνάσσω  
μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἀναξ.

The MSS. have *Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσω*, where the second word is clearly a gloss on *ἀναξ*. Of the conjectures made already Christ's *Ἀρκάσιν ἵστωρ* (cf. Ol. 9, 98), and Mommsen's *Ἀ. ἄσσω* please me most: in the latter it is the sense and not the closeness to the *ductus* of the interpolated *ἀνάσσω* that is to be approved. Christ's reading however is more satisfactory. The word *Λυκαίου* does not seem to have been noticed. I find it taken as an *ethnicon*, *Διὸς* being supplied. Is this possible? In the absence of proof I should prefer to take the word from *Λύκαιον* (the mountain) making the genitive depend on *ἀναξ* 'lording it over Lycaenum' i.e. 'towering over L.' This would explain how *ἀνάσσω* came to be taken as a rendering of *ἀναξ* instead of some more lucid word, as *ὑψηλός*. Plainly *ἀναξ* was thought to govern *Λυκαίου*. The name of the mountain occurs at Nem. 10, 48 unless the *τέμενος* of the god is there meant.

The alternative to Christ's *ἵστωρ* and the construction and meaning which I assign to *Λυκαίου* is to regard the lost word in the first line as a noun other than proper on which *Λυκαίου* now an *ethnicon* depends. I say 'noun other than proper' because neither *Διὸς* nor *Ζηνός* will satisfy the metre. Now at Nem. 5, 10 we find *παρ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου στάντες* i.e. *Διὸς Ἑλλανίου*. I propose to insert *πατρός* after *Ἀρκάσι*. Written



προς this would become unmeaning and be omitted. It may be observed that prepositions are exposed to various dangers in the MSS. of Pindar as may be seen from Schröder, p. 10. An instance of a prep. omitted in the archetype (so Schröder) and in Codex A is at Ol. 8, 40 ὅρονσε A for

ἀρόρονσε the true reading: cf. also [ἐκ] διδάσκησεν Pyth. 4, 217 Ambrr. [προς]βάλλοντα Pyth. 4, 271 Ambrr. while at Pyth. 9, 62 the missing syllable has been similarly supplied, <προς>θηκάμεναι (others κατθηκ.).

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

## NOTES ON EURIPIDES.

THE numeration is that of Kirchhoff's text, which has been the basis of my work. My plan has been the same which I follow in all authors,—to read a plain text first, and then, after making what I can of it myself, to turn and see what others think. Hitherto I have been content to compare Kirchhoff's notes and Paley and Nauck's text; and their omissions have sometimes led me to publish as my own conjectures made already—even by Musgrave and Hermann long ago. But that has done no harm, since Dr. Wecklein has undertaken, and nearly completed, for Euripides what he has performed for Aeschylus, the immense task of collecting all conjectures and assigning them to their original inventors; in which he may be relied upon for the most scrupulous accuracy. Considered even from this point of view alone—for the body of suggestion it contains—his work is of incalculable help to students; I cannot sufficiently express my grateful sense of the service he has done for both these authors. His text gives also more perfect collations of the MSS., which I have consulted, and the next time I read Euripides it will be with Dr. Wecklein's text; but at present I have only had leisure to consult it for these new contributions. Many of mine, as usual, I have found anticipated; but a few of these, not being generally accepted, are mentioned here with the name of their originator for the sake of the consideration they may claim from coincident opinion.

Except to critics, it might seem ungraceful to welcome a new text by proposing alterations in it, but critics know how the effect of any marked advance is to quicken and help them in removing blemishes that still remain. The few small suggestions on Sophocles dispersed among these notes are chiefly the result of studying the text published by Sir Richard Jebb in 1897 on the completion of his great edition. It leaves but scanty grains for others to glean after;

there is nothing among mine so good as Prof. Tyrrell's ἀλλ' εἰ θελόντων γ' in *O.C.* 590 or his ἐπιὼν in 1454.

### ALCESTIS (with Wecklein 1899).

The earlier lyrics in this play have been grievously interpolated. So far as metre goes, this is my view of the original:

- 21> ἰὼ Ζεῦ πᾶ τις ἂν πόρος κακ' ἔν  
 ~ γένοιτο καὶ λυσὶς τέχης  
 220 . . . . .  
 ἐξεῖσι τις; ἢ τέμψ' ἑλπίδα καὶ  
 μέλαρα στολὴν ἢ τελευτῶν  
 223 ἀμφιβαλόμεθ' ἤδη;  
 = 232 παπαῖ ὦ παῖ Φέρητος οἶ·  
 234 . . . . .  
 ἄρ' ἄξια καὶ σφαγῆς τὰδε καὶ  
 πλεον ἢ βρόχῳ δέρην  
 οὐρανίῳ πελάσσαι;

In 218 I write πᾶ τις ἂν or πᾶ τίς ἂν . . . ejecting πῶς which is an explanation of πᾶ<sup>1</sup> (schol. τίς ἂν πόρος τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γένοιτο ἢ πῶς ἢ ποῦ).—In 220 = 234 it seems to me that the metre was either ᾠ πάρα κοιράνοισιν as 223, 225, 265 (and this accounts best for the MS. ᾠ πάρεστι κοιράνοις), or ᾠ κοιράνοις πάρεστι as 263. But what Musgrave conjectured, ᾠ πάρεστίν κοιράνοις = ξας δάμαρτῶς σᾶς στερεῖς is quite foreign to this metre—or I would invite those who approve it to produce a parallel.

- 228 πόριζε δὴ πόριζε· καὶ πάρος γὰρ  
 τοῦδ' ἐφέρες, καὶ νῦν  
 λυτήριος ἐκ θανάτου γενοῦ  
 = 242 βόασον ὦ στέναξον ὦ Φεραία  
 χθὼν τὰν ἀρίσταν  
 γυναιῖκα μαραινόμεναν ἰόσω

<sup>1</sup> So in *Philoct.* 834 where L gives ποῖ δε βίση· πῶς δέ μοι τὰν τεύθεν... the original I suppose was πᾶ δέ... βάση; *Hec.* 1059 πᾶ βῶ;



Soph. *O.C.* 587 ὄρα γε μὴν *El.* 1243 ὄρα γε μὲν δὴ . . . . When μὴν had been omitted before μῆ, the metre was filled out with τι.

ANDROMACHE (with Wecklein 1900)

137 δμῳς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας πόλεος  
 ἐνθ' οὐ φίλαν τιν' εἰσορᾷς  
 = 143 ἡσυχίαν ἄγομεν τὸ δὲ σὺν  
 οἴκτῳ φέρουσα τυγχάνω

Bothe for πόλεως. The tribrach is a link between two rhythmical phrases.

279 ἔριδι στυγερᾷ κεκορυθμένον εὐμορφίας  
 = 288 παραβαλλόμεναι· Κύπρις εἶλε λόγοις  
 δολίοις

Though Wecklein places my suggestion as well as Musgrave's in his margin, I incline to think now that Musgrave was right in taking δολίοις to be the faulty word. For the rhythm with εὐμορφίας and αἰόλοις compare *Ran.* 675=706.

466 μίαν μοι στεργέτω πόσις γάμοις  
 ἀκοινώνητον ἀνδρὸς εὐνάν  
 = 471 τεκτόνουν θ' ὕμνοι ἐργάταιν δυοῖν  
 ἔριν Μοῦσαι φιλοῦσι κραίνειν

There is no doubt about the metre of the strophe, 466 like 121=130, 294=302, *Surr.* 601, 604, *H.F.* 408, and the consecution of the pair like 281—2=291—1; but in 471 L has τεκτόνων θ' ὕμνοι ἐργάταιν with a correction ὕμνοι ἐργάται, P τεκτόνων θ' ὕμνοι (with final s erased) ἐργάται. First, τεκτόνων is not open to suspicion; see Blaydes on τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων in *Ar. Eq.* 530; and the usual explanation of it would have been τεχνιτῶν or ποιητῶν, as e.g. on *Eq.* 530 τέκτονες πάντες οἱ τεχνίται. Therefore it is unlikely that ἐργάταιν should be ejected. The MSS. readings have the air to me of being corruptions of an unfamiliar compound, and there are two ways by which you can regain metre: δυοῖν θ' ὕμνοιο τεκτονεργάταιν, or δυοῖν ὕμνεργάταιν τε τεκτόνων, of which the second seems the better; it is more favoured by the MS., and the compound is more in character with others formed of ἐργάτης that I have noted—they are few at present: μυλεργάτας ἀνὴρ *A.P.* vii. 394 σίδαρον αὐλακ-εργάταν of a plough-share *A.P.* ix. 742, in Doricising epigrams; ναρδεργάτης, κακεργάτης.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that with this termination they formed their words in -εργ- rather than in -οεργ- or -ουεργ-: cf. *Lobeck Path.* i. 303, *Phryn.* 675.—It is worth noting the various

distortions experienced by the compound καρικευργέος as Bergk writes it in *Anacreon fr.* 91 (iii. p. 279) διὰ δὴ τε Καρικευργέος δῆλ' οὐο χεῖρα τιθέμεναι:—this is what various MSS. make of it: by one process καρικοεργέος, καριοεργέος, καριεργέος: by another καρικοεργέος, καρικὰ ὁ ἔργος, καρικὰ δεγέος, καρικὰ εὐεργέος, καρικὸν εὐεργέος, καρικοῦ εὐεργέος.

It was as natural,—far more, for Greek poetry to form compounds at its will than in English to connect them with a hyphen; Shakespeare says 'thought-executing', Aeschylus τελεσσόφρων: and it cannot be too often repeated that this is the way in which the baffled scribes habitually deal with them. Few, probably, realise how many of those which they are most familiar with are due to modern restoration, as ἰσάργυρον, καρδιόδηκτον, διοσδότῳ γάνει, δορυκανεῖ μόρῳ, δρακοντόμιλον, ἀνελληϊστόλον, θετοσκεθροπῶν, τοσουτάριθμον, οὐρανοστεγῇ, ἀπικτόπληκτα. They were not of course used by Euripides so freely or so boldly as by Aeschylus in whose style they were so notorious a feature; but they frequently occur, and when they do, they are mostly mangled in the MSS., as in *Andr.* 463 ἀμφὶ μάτερας v.l. for ἀμφιμάτορας, 1016 δορὶ μῆστορι, ἔρημος πόλις *Tr.* 605 for ἔρημόπολις, ἀπειροὶ δρόσον for ἀπειρόδροσοι *El.* 732, δώδεκα στόλοι ναῶν for δωδεκάστολοι vāes *I.A.* 272, ἀμφ' ἑλκτὸν *H.F.* 399, θηρῶν λάχνα γνίων for λαχνογνίων *Hel.* 379. It would be easy to fill pages with the like, as in *Dion. Hal. de comp. verb.* 17 for πολεμοκέλαδε the variants πολέμοιο κέλαδε and πολεμοικέλαδε: but I will only invite consideration for one or two new-comers: *Plut. Mor.* 950 B says οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοῦναντίον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθείρεται τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ὁ μὲν Αἰσχύλος, εἰ καὶ τραγικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς εἶπε 'παῦε ὕβριν δίκην πυρός'. The old reading was παῦ ὕδωρ which has misled Nauck (*fr.* 360) and Mr Sidgwick, but Bernardakis gives it as παῦε ὕβριν. What then was the term 'true, if tragic,' that Aeschylus applied to water? Plainly what Bernardakis has now restored, παύσῃβριν δίκην πυρός, an adjective like φίλυβρις (which he quotes) and μίσυβρις 'the justice that stops the insolence of fire': nothing could be more Aeschylean.—I am convinced that πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότηρωτα πάθια προσμένει τοκέσιν μεταδῆς ἐν χρόνῳ in *Eum.* 499 should be ἐτυμολογώματα πάθια 'from wounds dealt by their own ἔτυμοι παῖδες': for ἔτυμα πάθια could only mean 'real', 'genuine', implying that the πάθος of Clytemnestra had not been a real one; as in *Opp. Hal.* v. 305 when he says τότε δὴ

<sup>1</sup> Add μαρμαεργατεῖν, πρωτεργάτης.



μιν ἐτήτυμος ὤρσεν ὀλεθρός.—στύγος στρατῶ  
in *Ag.* 552 I think should simply be *στνγο-*  
*στράτῳ*, and in *Aesch. fr.* 206

ἐξευλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ σε προσβάλῃ στόμα  
πέμφιξ· πικρὰ γὰρ ΚΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΖΩΗC 'ΑΤ-  
ΜΟΙ

nothing could be more appropriate to the sense and closer to the MS. than *πικρὰ γὰρ, κοῦ λιαζόεις ἀτμοί* 'and *deadly-scorching its hot breaths*'—parching like the Sun or Sirius, οὐλιος ἀστήρ *Hom. A* 62, κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄξει, αἰαλέος δέ τε χρῶς ὑπο καύματος *Hes. Op.* 585, εἰσόκεν ἄζης 'Ἡέλιος παύσεται καὶ οὐλομένου κυνὸς ἀστήρ *Opp. Cyn.* iii. 324: cf. *Eum.* 138 ἀτμῷ κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρί, and for the crasis, κοῦλομένης ἀλόχου in the epigram *Bergk ii. p.* 344; for the plural form, κίχλας ὑψιπετήεις in *Matro's Epic parody (Ath.* 136 c), *Nicand. Alex.* 266 ἀμπελοῖς ἑλικας, 293 πόσις φαρμακοῖς, *fr.* 74. 26 κάλυκες ἀργῆεις *p.* 101 *Schneider.*

## TROADES

- 513 ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον ὦ  
Μούσα κακῶν ὕμνων  
515 ἐν δακρύοις ᾄδειν  
ὥδ' αὖν ἐπικιρήσειν

515=535 *πείκα ἐν οὐρεῖα*, and there can be no doubt that is the right metre (cf. *Med.* 833 sqq., *Philoct.* 827 sqq.) The MS. *ἄεισον ἐν δακρύοις* must be a gloss,—I suppose upon *αἰεῖδεν*, as *Hom. hymn.* xxxi. "Ἴλιον ὕμνεῖν αὐτε. In explaining such infinitives, they often use the *aorist* imperative though the infinitive is in the present tense.

597 This in Mr. Coleridge's version is the passage immediately preceding: ANDROM. 'Come my husband come to me! *HECUBA.* Ah hapless wife, thou callest on my son who lieth in the tomb. ANDR. Thy wife's defender, come! *HEC.* Do thou, who erst didst make the Achaeans grieve, eldest of the sons I bare to Priam in the days gone by, take me to thy rest in Hades halls!—Then, as I understand it, Andromache says

οἷδε πόθοι μεγάλοι· σχετλιαστὰ δὲ πάσχομεν  
ἄλγῃ  
οἰχομένας πόλεως, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κεῖται

sorrow upon sorrow, the public ruin besides the private losses, πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμιον τυχεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων ἄνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ, δίλογχον ἄτην φωνίαν ξυνωρίδα *Ag.* 645. That surely is her meaning; therefore you

want δὲ to contrast these other ἄλγῃ with οἷδε πόθοι. The MS. has *σκέτλια τάδε*, and my first notion was *σκέτλιοι*: τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν ἄλγῃ, but *σχετλιαστὰ* δὲ (a synonym of *ἀγανακτητά*) seems to me altogether better—in rhythm for instance, and because *σκέτλια παθεῖν* is such a common phrase in Euripides and elsewhere. The alteration is of course the smallest possible, and reminds me of *Wecklein's* excellent correction of *Pers.* 1019 τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν, μέγ' ἄλαστε, Περσῶν; for *μεγάλατε Περσῶν*.

- 1090 εἴθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα  
μέσον πέλαγος ἰούσας  
δίπαλτον ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλάταν πέσοι  
Αἰγαίου κερανοφαῆς πῦρ  
Ἰλιόθεν ὅτε με πολὺδακρυν  
Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα γάθεν ἐξορίζει.

*πλάταν* Seidler corrected to *πλατᾶν*: but how are you to explain *Αἰγαίου*? Scholiasts can explain anything, and the scholiast here has no hesitation in explaining, *πορευομένης τῆς νεὸς τοῦ Μενελάου κατὰ τὸ μέσον πέλαγος τοῦ Αἰγαίου*. But no one is likely to feel as easy as the scholiast about it, and attempts have been made already to emend it, *Αἰγαῖον* 'the Aegean lightning' Paley, *ἀγνόν* Hermann. Now, studying these lyrics from the metrical side, I came to the conclusion, before I had examined the sentence and before I knew of other views, that *Αἰγαίου* is metrically impossible; and that the scansion required is  $\cup - -$ , the true division of the verses being this:

- εἴθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα μέσον  
πέλαγος ἰούσας δίπαλτ' ὦν  
ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλατᾶν  
1092 πέσοι  $\cup - -$   
κερανοφαῆς πῦρ,  
Ἰλιόθεν ὅ σ τ ε με πολὺδακρύν

In the strophe read *φθίμενος* with Musurus, but retain *τείχεα* in 1078. The verse corresponding to 1092 is *σκάφος αἴσσον*. Well, assuming this to be correct, what is *αἰγαίου* a mistake for? I imagine, for *ἀγαῖον*—unless *Διός* could be understood with *Ἀγαίου*. It is a poetical adjective<sup>1</sup> recorded in several lexicons, as *Hesych.* *ἀγαῖον*: ἐπίφθορον. *Bekk. An.* 334. adds οἱ δέ, *θαυμαστόν*. οἱ δέ, *φθονερόν*. *Suid.* *ἀγαῖομαι*: φθονοῦμαι (meaning *φθονῶ*). καὶ *ἀγαῖος* ὁ ἐπίφθορος. And *jealous* was probably its only meaning; *θαυμαστόν* is *ἀγαστόν*, ἀξιάγαστον: cf. *Eust.* 734. 63 ἔστι δὲ ἀγαίσσθαι μὲν φθόνου, ἀγάσσεσθαι δὲ ἐκπλήξεως.—It is

<sup>1</sup> See the *Thesaurus*. Liddell and Scott requires correction.

possible there may be other places where this adjective should be restored, just as the substantive, which we know to have been used by Aeschylus in the *Θρήσσαι*, has been restored by Hermann in *Ag.* 136 οἶον μή τις ἄγα θεόθεν... *Ag.* 654 occurs as a possible place, χεῖμων' ἀγαίων οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν—If *οὔτε* or *εὔτε* were right in 1094, we should have to read ἐξορίζοι. With Nauck's *ὄς* we could read πολυδάκρυον as in *H.F.* 425.

1280 πάτερ ἀνάξια Δαρδάνων  
γονᾶς τὰδ' οἷα πάσχομεν·δέδορκας ;

ejecting *tās* or *tῆς* or *τῆσδε* before Δαρδάνων

1285 λέλαμπεν Ἴλιος <τὰ> Περ-  
γάμων τε πυρὶ καταίθεται τέραμνα

1296 τιθεῖσα μέλεα καὶ  
χέρεσσι γαῖαν...

1305 ἄταφος <ἄταφος> ἄφιλος <ἄφιλος>  
= 1322 μὸν ἔχνος ἐπὶ τάλαιναν ἔτ' ἔτε.

#### SUPPLICES (with Wecklein 1898)

οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίον  
δεινοί, νέμοντες τῷ φθόῳ πλέον μέρος,  
εἰς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφίεναι κακά ;

that is, δεινοὶ εἰσιν ἀφίεναι 'are very prone, apt, much given to', as e.g. *Mimnermus* (?) *Trag. fr.* p. 829 Nauck δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἔσμεν εὐκλεῖ ζῶντι φθονῆσαι καθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι. The scribe, not perceiving the construction, wrote ἀφίᾱσι—for I cannot believe that Euripides did not write ἀφίεναι: at any rate the conjecture, which is *Musgrave's*, I made also independently.—In *v.* 242 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὄντες (*v.* *Wilamowitz-Moellendorff*) would be better, as *ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς...νικᾷ* in *fr.* 285. 15, a passage worth comparing.

377=381 For reasons of metre this I think should run as follows :

τί μοι πόλις κρανεῖ ποτ' ; ἄρα φίλιά μοι  
377 τεμῖ <τε> καὶ τέκνοις ταφᾶς ληψό-  
μεσθα  
= σὺ τοι σέβεις δίκαν τὸ δ' ἦρσον ἀδικία  
381 νέμους' αἰεὶ τὰ δυστυχῇ πάντα ῥῆγῃ

*Antig.* 363=375 is an example. The MS. reading is νέμεις αἰεὶ τὴν δυστυχῇ, and I take νέμους' from *Canter*. The neuter τὰ δυστυχῇ is of course good Greek, as τὰ μὲν πανοῦργα καὶ παλιντριβῇ...τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ τὰ χρηστά *Philoct.* 448.—With *τε* καὶ they are apt to omit the *τε*.

604 γένοιτ' ἂν κέρδος· εἰ δ' ἀρείφατοι  
φόνου, μάχαι, στερνοτυπῆες ἄμ πόλιν

κόποι, κτύποι φανήσεται,  
607 τίν' ἢ τάλαινα ψόγον,  
τίν' ἂν τῶνδ' αἰτίαν λάβοιμι ;  
= 614 φόβω γὰρ τῷ πάρος διόλλυσαι  
δίκαι δίκαν δ' <ἐξ> ἐκάλεσε καὶ φόνος  
φόνον, κακῶν δ' ἀναψυχὰς  
617 θεοὶ βροτοῖσιν νέμους'  
ἀπᾱπτω· τέρμ' ἔχοντες αἰτίαι.

This I feel sure is the right metre, a few examples of which are indicated in my note on *Andr.* 471. The MSS. give in 607 *ἔ* τάλαινα τίνα λόγον and in 617 θεοὶ βροτοῖς νέμονται L, θεοὶ βροτοῖσι νέμονται P altered to νέμονται and πάντων altered to ἀπάντων. In 605-6 they give στερνοτυπῆς γ' ἂν τὰ τόπον πάλιν κτύποι φανήσονται: for the conjectures see *Wecklein's Appendix*. There is no place in this metre for a choriambus στερνοτυπῆς, and it must have been some form which scanned \_ \_ \_ \_ . ἂν τὰ πόλιν (*Markland*) or ἄμ πόλιν seems probable, as 724 βοῇ δὲ καὶ κωκυτὸς ἦν ἂν τὰ πόλιν, and κόποι or κόπων or some form of it may possibly have been the origin of τόπον.

946 'No', says Theseus, 'the mothers must not go and see their fallen sons; ὄλονται ἰδοῦσαι τοῦσδ' ἂν ἡλλοιωμένους. 'True,' says *Adrastus*,

πικραὶ γὰρ ὄψεις κάμα τῷ τέλει νεκρῷ

L taking this to be καὶ ἄμα, writes it so in full ('ut videtur' *Wecklein*), a very common practice: it has been altered to χ' ἄμα. P has been altered to χ' ἀμάτω πέλει. *Kirchhoff's* account is 'καμάτω πέλει νεκρῷ a prima

manu B. χᾱμα τῷ τέλει C. χᾱμα etiam in B dedit man. sec.' What I conjectured from this does not appear to have been proposed; it has the advantage of explaining καὶ, and seems to me to account better for the MSS. than other readings that have been suggested,—κῶμάτων 'Even the look' or 'the sight (πικρὰ γὰρ ὄψις *Reiske*) of dead men's eyes is grievous', apart from any wounds they may have suffered. Let one *μ* be omitted (which often happens with doubled letters), and you get κῶμάτων.

974 μέλεα παιδὸς ἐν οἴκοις  
κεῖται μνήματα. πένθητοι

977 κουραὶ καὶ στέφανοι κόμας  
λοιβαὶ δὲ φθιμένοι ἀοιδ—  
αἱ τε τὰς ὁ χρυσόκομας  
'Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται,

981 γόοισιν ὁ ὀρθρονομήνα  
δάκρυσιν νοτέρ' αἰεὶ πέπλων  
982 προστέρνον πτύχα τέγξω.

This is the form that, consulting metre, I would present the passage in. 977 is omitted in the MSS., but supplied by Plutarch—quoting no doubt from memory—in *Mor.* 394 Β λοιβαὶ νεκῶν φθιμένων αἰοδαὶ ἄς ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. By omitting Plutarch's νεκῶν and combining the rest with the MS. αἰοδαὶ τὰς χρυσοκόμας I get both metre and what is much to be desired, the article with χρυσοκόμας.—In 981, where the MSS. have νοτρήν, I read νοτέρ' for metre's sake, instead of νοτερόν; and in 982 προστέρων or πρόστερον as *Cho.* 29 πρόστεροι στολμοὶ πέπλων: if it had been read as προστερνω, that would easily cause πρὸς στέρνω.

993 Evadne lamenting her dead husband Capaneus; the metre is bacchiac leading to glyconic:

- τί φέγγος, τίν' αἶγλαν  
ἐδίφρενε τόθ' Ἄλιος  
995 Σελάνα τε κατ' αἰθέρ' ἅ  
λαμπάδ' ὠκυθόαν ἄννυφ'  
ἱππεύουσα δι' ὄρφνας...  
= 1015 ὁρῶ δὴ τελευτᾶν  
ἵν' ἔστακα· τύχα δέ μοι  
1017 ξυνάπτει· ποδὸς ἄλμα τὰς  
εὐκλείας χάριν ἐνθεν ὄρμ-  
άσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας.

995 'and Selene, that chariots her swift lamp unwedded through the gloom,'—in unwedded state (ἄννυφα as an adverb, *Soph. El.* 926 ἀλεκτρα γηράσκουσιν ἀννέμενά τε) and therefore without sympathy—'when Argos hymned the happiness of my fatal marriage!' My contributions here are ἅ in 995 and ἄννυφ': λαμπάδ' ὠκυθόαν and ἱππεύουσα had been restored already. The prime origin of the MS. reading λαμπάδ' ἵν' ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι ἱππεύουσι may have been

### ΛΑΜΠΑΔΩΚΥΘΟΑΝΑΝΥΜΦΑ

meaning λαμπάδι ὠκυθόα (but of course the accusative λαμπάδα is as easy as ἄρμα ἱππεύουσα). ὠκυθόαι would lead to νύμφαι, and that to ἱππεύουσι.

In 1015 she thinks of suicide—and chance fits with her design; she is standing on a high rock and will leap down from it. Punctuating at ξυνάπτει (as rhythm indicates), we have merely to write ἄλμα for ἀλλὰ as in Menander *fr.* 312 (Strabo 452) ῥῖψαι πέτρας ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς ἄλμα... Wordsworth for ἀλλὰ. Hermann had conjectured ἄλματ' for ἀλλὰ τῆς, but the long final syllable was my first requirement in the corresponding line 995.

HELENA (with Wecklein 1898).

124 οὐκουν ἐν Ἀργεὶ <γ'> οὐδ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα  
ῥοαῖς

Mr. Coleridge mistranslates this, 'No; he is neither in Argos, nor yet by the streams of Eurotas.' Paley is right in saying "the γ' added by Musgrave is as essential to the sense as to the metre; for οὖν—γε is equivalent to γοῦν. The meaning is 'Certainly he is not at Argos nor at Sparta' (wherever else he may be)." Concerning particles combined with οὖν there is a radical misconception which it is important to correct. It is generally assumed that the inferential sense of οὖν is primary, whereas it is acquired. When used by itself as a connecting particle, it comes to mean 'so' or 'well then': so does δὴ, but in combination with another particle it has no more inferential sense than δὴ has, or than τοι, which is another of its equivalents. It merely strengthens and emphasises or *italicises* what it is combined with. οὐκουν... γε is the negative of γοῦν (in which it is the γε that is essential to the meaning, not the οὖν, just as in δ' οὖν it is the δέ which is essential); for though you could say γοῦν οὐκ you could not use οὐ γοῦν any more than οὐ γε. Thus *Eccles.* 343 οὐκουν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ means—'at any rate I couldn't find them anywhere.' γε is there omitted by two MSS.; but it cannot be omitted, nor could it be omitted in *Ar. Eq.* 465, nor in *Soph. Ant.* 320

KP. οἴμ' ὡς λάλημα (or ἄλημα) δῆλον ἐκπε-  
φυκὸς<sup>1</sup> εἶ.

ΦΥ. οὐκουν τό γ' ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας ποτέ.

where τό γ' is Reiske's correction of τόδ': and equally in *Philoct.* 872

οὐκουν Ἀτρεῖδαι τοῦτ' ἔτλησαν εὐφόρως  
οὕτως ἐνεγκέιν

where the meaning is '—at any rate the Atridae never submitted to endure them so patiently,' the sentence is incapable of that meaning without γε. It might be inserted after οὕτως, but I have no doubt that what Sophocles wrote was οὐκουν Ἀτρεῖδαί γ' αὐτ' ἔτλησαν εὐφόρως οὕτως ἐνεγκέιν.—Again in 'Euripides' *fr.* 953

27 φέρ' ἦν ὁ νῦν δὴ λαμβάνειν μέλλων μ'  
ἀνήρ  
—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, Ζεῦ φίλ', οὐδ' ἔσται ποτέ

<sup>1</sup> If ἐκπεφυκός is correct, ποιήσας will depend on δηλός εἰμι or γενήσομαι, implied from δηλον. But I may suggest that ἐκπεφυκός would be natural for it to depend upon (as *Pers.* 788, *Trach.* 666, 1129, *O. C.* 801). It is a common enough confusion.



[οὐκ οὖν θελούσης οὐδὲ δυναμένης ἐμοῦ]—  
ἦν (δ') οὗτος αὖθις ἀποβάλλῃ τὴν οὐσίαν

it is necessary (before ejecting the verse) to insert γ' after θελούσης: the place is of course vacant to insert it in. But Wecklein justly questions the use of δυναμένης, and I think that (as Nauck suggests) the verse is spurious. It was added by some one who imagined that the absolute assertion οὐδ' ἔσται ποτέ required to be so qualified, not knowing that it was a formula: Aristotle's will in Diog. Laert. v. 1. 11 ἔσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίνει, . . . 12 ἐὰν δὲ τῇ παιδὶ συμβῇ τι—ὅ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται—, . . . Eur. *Ion* 456 εἰ δ'—οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι—, δίκας βιαίων δώσετε: cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 737.

362 ἰὼ Τροία τάλαινα <φεῦ φεῦ> for metre: cf. *Alc.* 887=904.

367 Read ὄλεσαν for metre instead of ὤλεσαν.

371 is mutilated; ἀνάνδρον would be a most appropriate adjective, and if written with a stroke for the -ον it will be seen how easily it might be omitted: βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' ἀνάνδρον Ἑλλάσ' ἐκελάδησ' ἀνωτότυξεν.

380. For σχῆμα λεαίνης I had conjectured σχῆμ' ἀλαείνεις 'Keep your shape warm in your furry coat,' but I see that there is much to take account of on this line. Kirchhoff thought it was the remnant of a passage referring to the Boeotian Atalanta; it had not occurred to me it should be ejected altogether. But Dingelstadt ejects it, and it is bracketed by Wecklein. Is it their theory that σχῆμα λεαίνης was a marginal comment on v. 377, to be explained by Ar. *Lys.* 231 schol.?

1218 Ποῦ δαὶ τὸ πεμφθὲν ἀντὶ σοῦ Τροία κακόν; for ποῦ δὲ, as πῶς δαὶ in 1246, seems to me eminently in character with the blatant Theoclymenus, as it is with Polus in the *Gorgias*, and with the Chorus in the *Cyclops* 417. It expresses violence or impatience, and is suitable therefore to Electra in *El.* 1116; nor would I venture to alter it for Pylades in *Cho.* 899. Sir Richard Jebb's judgment on the subject (*Ant.* 318 *Appendix*) generally seems to me, as usual, right.

1354 seqq. ὦν οὐ θέμις οὐθ' ὅσια ἐπύρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις . . . is the passage that most piques me in Euripides. It looks as though it were quite capable of being explained and restored, but I have done no more than gather some material and only call attention

to it here in the hope that others will turn their hands to it. But it seems clear that Helen is exhorted to propitiate the deities of love and joy and revelry.

1485-6 and 1502-3 do not correspond. I am persuaded by metrical reasons that 1485 ποιμένος ὅς ἄβροχα is sound and the error is in 1502 γλαυκὸν ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον. Now ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον<sup>1</sup> and ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα are familiar stock poetic phrases, and I take it that one of them has been substituted where Euripides varied it to the plural, γλαῦκ' ἐφ' ἄλλ' οἶδματα.

1536 ταρσόν τε χειρὶ λευκά θ' ἰστί' εἰς ἐν ἦν: van Herwerden, I find, has conjectured and renounced εἰσένει (from εἰς—νέω like ἐπινέω, προσνέω) 'heaped in the sails,' and I also thought of εἰσένουν, the plural: ἦν is apt to be substituted for οὖν. A yachtsman perhaps would know what they should be doing with the sails: they are not yet hoisting them, of course. In Theocr. xiii. 69 the heroes waiting for Heracles filled their time up with cleaning the sails, ἰστία . . . ἐξεκάθαρον.

1590 καί τις τόδ' εἶπε, 'δόλιος ἦ ναυκληρία, πάλιν πλέωμεν,' ἃ εἰ ὦν 'κέλευε σύ, σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἶακ'

exactly as in the *Phaethon* fr. 779. 8 πατήρ δ' ὅπισθε . . . ἔππενε, παῖδα νουθετῶν 'ἐκεῖσ' ἔλα, τῇδε στρέφ' ἄρμα, τῇδε.' The MS. is ἀξίαν, for which Hermann had already conjectured ἀξιώ. The first requisition is addressed to the κελευστής, the second to the steerer.

1667 ὅταν δὲ κάμψης καὶ τελευτήσης βίον

So *El.* 954, *Hipp.* 86, *O.C.* 91. I can never read *O.C.* 1551 without thinking it should be

ἦδη γὰρ ἔρω τὸν τελευταῖον βίον  
κάμψων παρ' Ἄιδην

'I am now upon the road to make the final turn (πύματον καμπτήρα Meleag. *A.P.* xii. 257, οὐπέκεινα τοῦ βίον καμπτήρ, beyond 60 years, Herodas) and ending of my life—to reach its goal—with Hades': ἐς Ἄιδαν καταλύσουσ' ἔμμοχθον βίον Eur. *Supp.* 1007. As indeed it had been foretold to him ἐνταῦθα κάμψων τὸν ταλαίπωρον βίον, v. 91. If the MSS. reading κρύψων is an error, it would be the easier because μοῖρ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε τῇδε κρυφθῆναι χθονὶ had been written a few lines before in 1546. It is the adjective

<sup>1</sup> It was unworthy of Bergk to alter Pind. fr. 221. 3 τέρεται δὲ καί τις ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον.

τελευταῖον that seems to me to call for κάμψιν.

CYCLOPS (with Wecklein 1898)

63 οὐ τὰδε Βρόμιος, οὐ [τάδε] χόροι  
βάκχαι τε θυρσοφόροι

Metre shows that the second τὰδε should be ejected. The sentence then is exactly like 202 οὐχὶ Διόνυσος τὰδε, οὐ κρόταλα χαλκοῦ τυμπάνων τ' ἀράγματα: *Andr.* 168 οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' Ἔκτωρ τὰδε, οὐ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ χρυσός: Eriphus, (*Ath.* 137d, *Kock* ii p. 430) τὰδ' οὐ Κόρινθος οὐδὲ (*Dindorf* for οὔτε) Λαῖς ὦ Σῦρε, οὐδ' εὐτραπέζων Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί.—It is their way in repeating a phrase to repeat it in full; as in *Trach.* 98 for πόθι μοι, πόθι παῖς they write πόθι μοι, πόθι μοι παῖς.

366 νηλῆς, ὦ τλᾶμον (τλάμων?) ὅστις  
δωμάτων ἐφεστίους

368 ἱκτῆρως ἐκνύει δόμων  
κόπτων, βρύκων,

ἐφθά τε δαινύμενος μυσάροισιν ὁδοῦσιν

371 θέρμ' ἀπ' ἀνθράκων κρέα.

ξενικούς before ἱκτῆρας in 368 I think with Bothe and Hermann should be ejected; and I feel sure with Hermann that ἀνθρώπων should be removed from the beginning of 371. Then the metre will be that which is repeated in *Ar. Ran.* 814–829, as 824 ῥήματα γομφοπαγῇ πινακηδὸν ἀποσπῶν | γηγενεῖ φνστήματι. It is a Dorian rhythm, and used there because it was associated with big and *Herculean* themes, whether the hero were ascending to Heaven through his ἀρετή, or eating oxen whole: as in the fragment of Pindar I was emending in the February number of last year, *fr.* 168 (*Ath.* 411b) which ends βαρὶν ἦν αἰόντα διακρίναι στεναγμὸν | πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος. Heracles there is ἀπανθρακίζων oxen as the Cyclops is preparing ἀπανθρακίζειν men (242). They were the oxen of Theiodamas, *Philostr. Imag.* ii. 24, and the story is told also by Pherecydes in *schol. Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1212, *Apollodor.* p. 97 *Wagner, Tzetz. Chil.* ii. 465; another story of Heracles βουφάγος ('*Lucian*' ii. 401, *A.P.* ix. 59. 7), βουθόας (*A.P.* xvi. 123) is that he took one of the oxen from a cart and ate it while the βοηλάτης cursed him from a hill, *Apollod.* p. 86, *Tzetz. Chil.* ii. 386: add *Eur. fr.* 687 (*Philo* ii p. 461), *Ar. Ran.* 506 βοῦν ἀπηνθράκιζ' ὄλον for Heracles, and cf. *Blaydes on Acharn.* 85.—I take the first occasion of withdrawing my advocacy of λευρόν (*v. Herwerden*) in *Pind.* *N.* viii. 46: it is right in so far as λάβρον is clearly wrong, but the true correction is *Cookesley's*

Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν, as *N.* vii. 77 and *P.V.* 279, 'is a light task.'

434 εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἵδοιμεν ἡμέραν  
Κύκλωπος ἐκφυγόντες ἀνόσιον κᾶρα·  
ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον  
χρηεῦομεν τόνδ' οὐκ ἔχοιμεν καταφαγεῖν.

The clue to this is διὰ χρόνον, which the editors accept in the sense 'for a long time past'; but the Greek for that would be ἐκ πολλοῦ or πολλὸν ἤδη χρόνον, whereas διὰ μακροῦ means 'after a long interval'. ὥς, therefore, does not mean 'since', but 'in order that', and must be followed by ἔχοιμεν or σχοίμεν, a sentence like *Vesp.* 1251 τὸ δεῖπνον συσκεύαζε νῶν, ἵνα καὶ μεθυσθῶμεν (μεθύωμεν *Cobet*) διὰ χρόνου. I would offer merely as a tentative suggestion

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γοῦν, οἳ γε τόνδε τὸν φίλον  
χρηεῦομεν σίφων', ἔχοιμεν καταφαγεῖν

if καταφαγεῖν is the right word—for even as a matter of language καταφαγεῖν ἔχω (in spite of καταφαγᾶς) sounds as strange as καταπιεῖν δίδωμι, φέρω, would be for πείνι: the simple verb of course is good, φαγεῖν ἔδωκε. *Antiphanes* 248 (*Ath.* 71e) ἐνθάδ' οἴσεις [τι] καταφαγεῖν; cannot be urged, because the line is incomplete.—One of the copies has καταφυγεῖν, and Hermann conjectured καταφυγήν: *Suupp.* 269 ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγήν.

HECUBA (with Prinz 1883)

I Ἦκω νεκρῶν κεθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
λιπὼν ἔν' Αἰδῆς χωρὶς ὥκισται θεῶν.

'apart' that is 'from the Gods of Heaven' (τῶν οὐρανίων as the scholiast explains it), occupying οἰκία...τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί *περ* *Hom.* *Y* 64, *regna...dis inuisa Verg. A.* viii. 245. So *Orpheus* says it was assigned for men χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ναίειν ἔδος (*Proclus Tim.* p. 38 A). θεοὶ and ἀθάνατοι are often used in discrimination from the χθόνιοι δαίμονες: *Apollodor.* p. 14 *Wagner*, *Persephone* was compelled to remain the third part of the year μετὰ Πλούτωνος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς: frequently by *Aeschylus* in the *Eumenides*, 109, 352, 363,<sup>1</sup> 414, who have λάχῃ θεῶν διχυστατοῦντα 389. Explain accordingly *Agam.* 642, which has been in-

<sup>1</sup> This should be perhaps σπενδομένα δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τάσδε μερίμνας θεῶν—ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς (μελέταις) ἐπικραίνειν μῆδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν 'and while I am at such pains to relieve (*Xen. Cyr.* vii. 1. 44) one of the gods (Apollo) of this troublesome concern,—that he should make my (determinations) of none effect! annul them, without even coming to first question,—for we are debarred from speech with Zeus.'

terpreted in many ways but never, I think, in the only way the Greek admits :

εὐφῆμον ἡμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλω  
γλώσση μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν·

‘—that observance is separate from the Gods of Heaven’, χωρὶς θεῶν ἔστιν ἡ τιμή. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 361.

1057 σφακτὰν κυσί τε φονίαν δαῖτ’ ἀνήμερον  
οὐρείαν τ’ ἐκβολάν

This, which is no metre as it stands, should probably be three dochmiacs. Hesych. explains φόνος: ὁ διὰ σφαγῆς θάνατος, and I take σφακτὰν here to be an adscript. Then you can easily get metre with

κυσὶ τε δαῖτ’ ἀνήμερον φόνιον οὐρ—  
εἶαν τ’ ἐκβολάν.

BACCHAE (with Wecklein 1898)

Has it ever been suggested that the name Βρόμιος is not originally derived from βρόμος meaning *fremitus*, but from the grain called βρόμος? so that the title is virtually equivalent to *John Barleycorn* (Frazer *The Golden Bough* i 284) and the same as the Mariandynian Βῶρμος of Bithynian *Thrace*. If it has not been worked out, it would be an interesting enquiry—not least from an ethnological point of view, considering the Malay word *bram* or *brum* ‘an intoxicating liquor made from burnt palm-sugar or molasses, and fermented rice’, from which Prof. Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*) derives our English *rum*. References must be sought in Hehn *Kulturpflanzen* pp. 536 sqq. and the *Thesaurus s.v.* βρόμος, Βώριμος: to which I may add an epigram by the Emperor Julian on a Celtic corn-liquor, where the meaning of βρόμον has commonly been misunderstood; *A.P.* ix. 368. 3

ἡ ρά σε Κελτοὶ  
τῇ πενίῃ βοτρυῶν τεύξαν ἀπ’ ἀσταχύνων·  
τῷ σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον, οὐ Διόνυσον,  
πυρογενῇ μᾶλλον, καὶ Βρόμον, οὐ  
Βρόμιον.

‘πυρογενῇ’ instead of ‘πυριγενῇ’. It is very clever; but Βρόμιος, as I suggest, was actually Βρόμος, and Σεμελήιον certainly no other than Δημήτριον, for Σεμέλη, Mr. J. H. Moulton tells me, is merely ‘Phrygian-Thracian’ for *Earth*, and appears in *Nova Zembla*: see Hehn *op. cit.* pp. 69, 552.

233 ἀνασειόντά τε κόμας: metre requires this verb in *Cycl.* 75 ξανθὰν χαίταν <ἀνα> σείεις, and it should be restored I think in

Autocrates Com. (Ael. *N.A.* xii. 9) i p. 807 Kock:

οἷα παίζουσιν φίλαι  
παρθέναι Λυδῶν κόραι  
κούφα πηδῶσαι <ποσὶν  
κάνασεῖσθαι> κόμην· ε.λ. κόμας  
καὶ ἀκροῦσθαι χερσὶν  
Ἐφεσίαν παρ’ Ἄρτεμιν  
καλλίσταν, [καὶ] τοῖν ἰσχύοιν

326 κεῖ μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ὡς σὺ  
φῆς,  
παρὰ σοὶ λεγέσθω

The sense appears to require what Paley suggests, κεῖ μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν οὗτος, ὡς σὺ φῆς, θεός or κεῖ μὴ θεός γὰρ ἔστιν.

330 ὄρᾱς τὸν Ἀκταίωνος ἄθλιον μόνον;  
‘Look at Actaeon’s miserable fate!’ This use of ὄρᾱς; in pointing to an example occurs in *fr.* 420. 1, 1052. 3, *Soph. Ant.* 712, *Menand.* 350 and commonly enough in later prose, *Lucian*, *Dion Chrysostom*, *Maximus Tyrius*; but when *Polus* employs it in the *Gorgias* 471 D, he is snubbed by *Socrates*: ΠΩΛ. Ἀρχέλαον δῆπου τοῦτον τὸν Περδίκκου ὄρᾱς ἄρχοντα Μακεδονίας; ΣΩ. εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλ’ ἀκούω γε. It may have been one of the rhetorician’s mannerisms.

395 ἰκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον  
νᾶσον τὰς Ἀφροδίτας  
ἐν ᾗ θελξίφρονες νέμονται θνατοῖσιν  
Ἐρωτες,  
Πάφον θ’, ἄν<θ’> ἐκατόστομοι  
βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ  
καρπίζουσιν ἄνομβροι (ἄνομβρον *Matthiae*)

‘Cyprus and Paphos (which *Strabo* remarks and illustrates as being habitually named together so, p. 33, p. 341) and’ of course ‘Egypt’, which also, as *Herodas* says was οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ: the *unshowered* land made fruitful by the *barbarous* river *many-mouthed*—what other could it be but Egypt, which is constantly called *barbarous* in the *Helena*? To describe it by a relative ἄν θ’ (as *Schoene* and *Prof. Tyrrell* rightly read) is a very common form of expression, e.g. *Callim. h. Del.* 20 καὶ Μακρὶς Ἀβαντιάς Ἐλλοπιήων, Σαρδῶ θ’ ἱμερόεσσα, καὶ ἦν ἐπενήξατο Κύπρις...—*Dr. Verrall’s* view (*Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 86), that these are aspirations which the *Bacchanals* repudiate, is to me convincing.

446 ἐκ παρασκευῆς ‘*Hermann*o monente *Kirchhoff*’. See *Lucian* i. 206, and compare *Alexis* 264 (*Ath.* 565 b) ἂν πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν’ ἢ ξηρούμενον ὄρᾱς, one of two things must



be the matter with him: ἡ γὰρ ἐρατεῦειν<sup>1</sup> ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία, ἡ πλουσιακὸν τοῦτ' τι προσπίπτει κακόν 'it is either because he intends to play the ἐρατός, or else it is one of the vices belonging to the πλουσιακὴ διαγωγή' (see Gataker on Marc. Antonin. i. 3).

419 σοφὸν δ' ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε  
περιστῶν παρὰ φωτῶν

I cannot mend this, but it is worth remarking, that ἀπέχω τι παρὰ τινος is 'I have received a debt', the perfect of ἀπολαμβάνω: in acknowledging the receipt of a debt you said ἀπέχω (τὸ χρέος παρὰ σοῦ δηλ.)

623 It strikes me that δώματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμάζε should be ἔρραξεν 'dashed', and that in *H.F.* 856 we should read καταρράξω for καταρρήξω, and in 1045 καταρ<ρ>άξω with the MSS., as in 1129 συνήραξ' οἶκον. Ordinary Greek used ῥήσσω, ῥήξαι in this sense, and the error at any rate is common.

996 τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ should in my opinion be τὸ σοφὸν οὐ ζηλῶ (*Journ. Philol.* xxvi. p. 235), of which φθονῶ is a mistaken explanation. Observe now that in substituting it in the text for ζηλῶ the copyist has got not only wrong meaning but wrong Greek. You could say οὐ φθονῶ σοι τοῦ σοφοῦ, or with an infinitive οὗτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος: and that you could continue by saying τοῦτο μὲν οὐ φθονῶ, but τοῦτο there would be the equivalent of that infinitive. Thus in *I.T.* 491 when Iphigeneia says τί δὲ φθονεῖς τοῦτο; she means τί δὲ φθονεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μοι λέγειν; but she could not have said τί δὲ φθονεῖς μοι τοῦτομα; It would be Greek for the Chorus to say τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ σοι διώκειν, but not οὐ φθονῶ τὸ σοφόν. And there are numbers of verbs to which the same applies, with which you could use εἶν or τοῦτο, but only because it was the equivalent of an infinitive; ἀξίῳ in Herodas and Xenophon is one.

τὰ δ' in 997 belongs perhaps to 998 so that it should be τάδε τὰ καλὰ βίου,<sup>2</sup> 'this is the real beauty of life, to be reverent and holy day and night', ἐπὶ being a mistake for ἐστὶ which of course is inserted often. One of the places I think is *Soph. Phil.* 655

<sup>1</sup> So read for στρατεύειν (cf. for instance Muson. *περὶ κουρᾶς* in Stob. *Flor.* vi. 62). I should like to read this verb in the clever epigram of Sophocles on Euripides (*Ath.* 604 d) σοὶ δ' ἐρατευσμένῳ Βορρᾶς ὠμίλησε, taking φιλοῦντι ἐπαίραν or ἐτέραν to be explanations of a corrupted reading ἐταρεν- or ἐτερεν-.

<sup>2</sup> For the phrase, add Hyperides *fr.* 209 Blass.

NE. ἡ ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ κλεινὰ τόξ' ἂ νῦν ἔχεις;  
FI. ταῖτ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γ', ἄλλ' ἂ βαστάζω  
χεροῖν.

'This and no other,—this that I carry in my hand', where the negative is naturally followed by ἀλλὰ as in Longus iv. 21 to the question οὐ ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς συνεξεθήκαμεν; the answer is οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν οἶν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα. The ΑΛΛΑΓΑΛΛΑ has caused various corruptions in the MSS.

A has ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γ' ἔσθ' ἂ  
L ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔσθ' ἂ  
Γ ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔσθ' (? or ἔστ') ἄλλ' ἂ

ἔστι, I think, could not stand rightly in that place: ταῦτ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔστι would be 'for there is no other' as in Ar. *Plut.* 106.

1145 ὅς τὰν θηλυγενῇ στολὰν  
νάρθηκά τε πιστὸν αἶδαν  
ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον

There need be no excuse for offering another suggestion on this place. Among previous conjectures I like Heath's πιστὸν αἶδα 'a warrant of death' the best, and after that Prof. Tyrrell's ἐπακτὸν 'Αἶδαν—if only the MS. had πλείστον, there could be no gain-saying that. But it was Kirchhoff's proposal ἐπὶ στοναχαῖς that suggested a better rhythm, and Tyrwhitt's Βιοτονίδων, which I learn from Wecklein, has the same. My thought was

ναρθηκά τ' ἐπιστολάδαν  
ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον

The adverb is used by Hesiod *Scut.* 286 to describe the way that labourers arrange their dress in digging, οἱ δ' ἀροτῆρες ἤρεικον χθόια δῖαν, ἐπιστολάδην δὲ χιτῶνας ἐστόύλατο, where the schol. interprets it by κοσμίως καὶ ἀνεσταλμένως. Christodor. *A.P.* ii. 139 uses the verb in describing how a priestess of Athena (that is, the statue) was attired, παρθένος Αὔγη, φάρος ἐπιστείλασα κατωμαδόν· οὐ γὰρ (οὐδ' ἄρ' Brunck) ἐθείρας κρηδέμῳ συνέρεργεν 'with a cloak arranged over her shoulders': cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 44 Medea stealing out, λαίῃ μὲν χερὶ πέπλον ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν ἀμφὶ μέτωπα στεilaμένη 'drawing her robe over her brows to veil her face'. Over or ὑpon should be the meaning always of the preposition ἐπὶ in this compound: ἀναστέλλειν is to arrange or tuck up (Nonn. *D.* 48. 316, for wading 338 ἐκ ποδὸς ἄχρι καρήνου...ἀναστεύλασα χιτῶνα) καταστέλλειν to dress down, (Ar. *Thesm.* 256, Mnesilochus in woman's garb, ἵθι νιν κατὰστέλλον με τὰ περὶ

τὸ σκέλη, Plut. *Mor.* 69 c when small children fall down, their nurses ἡγειραν καὶ περιέπλυναν καὶ κατέστειλαν), συστέλλειν to gather the dress together close—and so on; all the prepositions have distinct significations, therefore ἐπὶ should describe a method of

arranging on, as upon the shoulder, and that must be taken for the meaning of νάρθηκά τ' ἐπιστολάδαν ἔλαβε.—θύρους ἀνάπτειν is the phrase in 169.

W. HEADLAM.

(To be continued).

## PLATONICA.—I.

### PHAEDRUS.

234 E οἷε ἄν τινα ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἄλλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕτερα τούτων μείζω καὶ πλείω περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος;

μείζω is quite the wrong word to use with regard to the plain everyday style of Lysias and of the ἐρωτικὸς λόγος here ascribed to him. It would be much more in keeping with the style of such a λόγος as begins with p. 244, a style which is indeed elevated and great. It would not be difficult in any case to see what word Plato must have used, but the parallel passages within a page or two indicate it very clearly. 235 B μηδέν' ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν ἄλλα πλείω καὶ πλείονος ἄξια: *ib.* C πού σὺ βελτίω τούτων ἀκήκοας; and παρὰ ταῦτ' ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἕτερα μὴ χείρω: *ib.* D μὴ ἐλάττω ἕτερα ἐπιχίρει εἰπεῖν: 236 B ἕτερα πλείω καὶ πλείονος ἄξια εἰπὼν τῶν Λυσίου. Plato wrote ἀμείνω. [Dr. Postgate points out to me that, though the Bodleian MS. (B) has ἕτερα τούτων μείζω, the Venetian (T) has ἕτερα μείζω τούτων. If this was the order of words, the error would be still easier.]

237 B καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν αἰτῶν ἐπειθεν τοῦτ' αὐτό, ὡς μὴ ἐρῶντι πρὸ τοῦ ἐρῶντος δέοι χαρίζεσθαι, ἔλεγεν τε ὧδε.

Neither αἰτῶν nor ἐρῶν seems quite the right word, nor does either of them exactly account for the other. ΑΙΤΩΝ may perhaps account for both and is very suitable.

242 A B οἶμαι. . . μηδένα πλείους (λόγους) ἢ σὲ πεποιηκέναι γεγενῆσθαι ἥτοι αὐτὸν λέγοντα ἢ ἄλλους. . . προσαναγκάζοντα· καὶ νῦν αὖ δοκεῖς αἰτιός μοι γεγενῆσθαι λόγῳ τινὶ ῥηθῆναι.

Badham has altered the second γεγενῆσθαι to γενήσεσθαι, I think with reason, as the λόγος is still in the future. But the first γεγενῆσθαι seems to me more clearly wrong. Surely after πεποιηκέναι we could not have another perfect, but only the aorist γενέσθαι.

*ib.* C καὶ τινα φωνὴν ἔδοξα αὐτόθεν ἀκοῦσαι, ἢ με οὐκ ἔφ' ἀπιέναι.

I think ἐφ' should be εἶα. So a little below (243 A) in ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ποιεῖ εἰθύς, οὐκ ἔστ' κ.τ.λ. the imperfect ἐποίει seems called for.

244 C τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων ζήτησιν τοῖς μέλλοντος διὰ τε ὀρνίθῳ, ποιουμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων.

Schanz brackets ποιουμένων, which is certainly a very awkward word. The expedient of separating ζήτησιν from τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων and supplying τέχνην with the latter words seems forced and difficult. The old conjecture ποιουμένην would be attractive, if it were not tolerably certain that Plato would have written not ποιουμένην but γιγνομένην, γίγνομαι being the usual passive of ποιῶ. I am inclined to suggest διὰ τε ὀρνίθῳ πετομένῳ.

250 C καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι τούτου, ὃ νῦν σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὁστρέον τρόπον δεδεσμευμένοι.

Ἀσήμαντοι is explained with reference to the σῶμα σῆμα of *Crat.* 400 c, *Gorg.* 493 A. 'It means' says Thompson, '(1) unmarked i.e. unpolluted, and (2) unentombed, unimprisoned, according to the two senses of σῆμα.' But is this quite satisfactory? There is nothing in the context to indicate that Plato has σῶμα σῆμα in his mind, and how is the reader to find it out? Also 'without mark of the body' is perhaps not quite the happiest way of expressing the supposed effect of body on soul. Although therefore the common view may be right, it seems just worth while to suggest ἀπήμαντοι as an alternative reading. Parallel to these words we have two or three lines above ὁλόκληροι μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθείς κακῶν. The words of 248 c must also be taken into account; θεσμός δ' Ἀδρασείας ὁδε· ἦτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῶν ἑνοπαδὸς γενομένη κατὶδὲ τι τῶν ἀληθῶν, μέχρι τε τῆς ἐτέρας περιόδου εἶναι

ἀπὴμονα, κὰν αἰ τοῦτο δύνῃται ποιεῖν, αἰ ἀβλαβῆ εἶναι. As we read on, we find that the πῆμα and βλαβή which these souls escape is entrance into a human body. Those words strongly suggest ἀπήμαντοι here. But I do not make the suggestion very confidently.

256 Ε καὶ ὁμοπέρους. ἔρωτος χάριν, ὅταν γένωνται, γενέσθαι.

Read γί(γ)νονται, for ὅταν γένωνται can only mean 'when they have become,' not 'when they become.' This is a principle in the use of aorists after ὅταν, ἐπειδάν, ἰάν, &c. which scholars still fail to recognise. Cf. below on Apol. 31 D. The aorist γενέσθαι may be right, but γίγνεσθαι is more likely.

257 D ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸν λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ οἶε νομίζοντα } λέγειν ἃ ἔλεγεν.  
οἶε δνειδίζοντα νομίζοντα }  
Νομίζοντα by itself will not do for 'thinking it true,' 'believing it.' Read δνειδίζειν νομίζοντα, 'thinking it was a reproach.' Cf. 258 C οἶε τινα οὖν...δνειδίζειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι συγγράφει; ΦΑΙ. οὐκ οὐκ εἰκός γε ἐξ ὧν σὺ λέγεις· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, ὡς ἔοικεν, δνειδίζοι, where for αὐτῷ we should read either αὐτῷ or αὐτῷ αὐτό, and perhaps for τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμίᾳ the accusative. [Dr. Postgate points out, I think rightly, that 257 C (δνειδίζε) and 258 C are in favour of reading here simply δνειδίζοντα].

261 A τούτων δεῖ τῶν λόγων gives quite a wrong sense. Add ἀκροᾶσθαι, unless B's δῆ for δεῖ indicates that some further change is needed.

263 A οὐ παντὶ δῆλον τό γε τοιόνδε, ὡς περὶ μὲν ἓν τῶν τοιούτων } ὁμοιοητικῶς ἔχου-  
ὄντων }  
περὶ δ' ἓν τῶν στασιαστικῶς; ...ὅταν τις ὄνομα εἴπῃ σιδήρου ἢ ἀργύρου, ἂρ' οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες διανοήθημεν;  
Τοιόνδε should no doubt be τοσόνδε. Of the readings τοιούτων and ὄντων the latter (preferred by Thompson) seems certainly better in itself, though its authority is very inferior. Τοιούτων is meaningless, and ὄντων may be thought to be confirmed by 263 DE ἡγάγκασεν ἡμᾶς ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα ἐν τι τῶν ὄντων, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθη. Is it possible that δομαίων was the real word?

263 C καλὸν γοῦν ἄν, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἶδος εἶη κατανενοηκῶς ὁ τοῦτο λαβῶν.

Is not εἶδος an erroneous repetition of εἶδους just above? It is hardly suitable and after εἶδους in another sense seems out of the question. The right word need not

bear any resemblance to εἶδος. Something like βοήθημα would give the meaning.

Possibly in 268 C ἀξιώ τὸν ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθόντα αὐτὸν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ποιεῖν ἃ ἔρωτας the account of ποιεῖν may be the same, that it is due to ποιεῖν occurring twice a little before. It is certainly wrong, and if the error arose in this way it is almost useless to attempt to restore the actual word. If we take it only as a partial corruption, Schleiermacher's ἐπαίειν seems not perfectly adapted to οἶόν τ' εἶναι, though it might pass. Πορίζειν may perhaps be suggested, though we should rather look for πορίζεσθαι, as in the parallel passage 269 C. πορίζειν in 273 A is hardly parallel.

267 C τῶν γε μὴν οἰκτρογόνων ἐπὶ γῆρας καὶ πέναν ἐλκομένων λόγων κεκρατηκέναι τέχνη μοι φαίνεται τὸ τοῦ Χαλκηδονίου σθένος (τὸ τ. X. σθ. being Thrasy-machus). Ἐλκομένων ἐπὶ with accusative ought to mean, like εἴλκυσε ἐπὶ in 270 A, that they are drawn from some other source or quarter, which would here have to be some other subject, and then applied to age and poverty. But this gives no proper sense. From what other subject did Thrasy-machus transfer to these topics the use of lamentation? What else had speakers been in the habit of choosing as subjects for lamentation? Perhaps we might read ἐπὶ γῆρα καὶ πέναν, understanding ἐλκομένων in the sense of *drawn out*, *protracted*, the orator dwelling on his topic in sentence after sentence. Cf. the use of ἔλκω for the evolutions of a dance. I have sometimes thought οἰκτρογόνων ought rather to be οἰκτρογῶν, as otherwise we might expect the article repeated after it.

275 A τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ, ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ' ἄλλοτρίων τύπων, οὐκ ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναμνησκομένους. Anacolutha in Plato are by no means to be condemned wholesale. His characters are only talking, and the Greeks were no more likely to talk with unerring grammatical accuracy than ourselves. But an anacoluthon ought to be such as a man talking might easily slip into, and the accusatives αὐτοὺς ἀναμνησκομένους hardly satisfy this condition. Masculine datives would be the least change, the men and their souls being treated as identical (so in poetry, *Od.* 11, 91: Bacchyl. 5. 78: Eur. *Alc.* 902). Cf. next note.

275 C D πλέον τι οἰόμενος εἶναι λόγους γεγραμμένους τοῦ τὸν εἰδῶτα ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ὧν ἂν ἡ τὰ γεγραμμένα.



Thompson's defence of εἶναι will not hold water. Perhaps ἐνεῖναι (Heindorf εἶναι ἐν) λόγοις γεγραμμένοις; or did Plato write λόγου γεγραμμένον, 'something more in writing'?

276 D οἷς λέγων παίζων MSS. ἐν οἷς λέγων παίζων Heindorf. *Alii alia*. Perhaps οἷς λέγων ἐμπαίζων. This might account for λέγων, if that is not due only to the termination of παίζων.

I add without comment a few other changes which occur to me and which explain themselves.

227 D ἡ γὰρ ἂν <ἄμ> ἀστέϊοι καὶ δημωφέλεις εἶεν οἱ λόγοι.

229 C εἰ ἀπιστοῖν...εἴτα σοφισζόμενος φαίην κ.τ.λ. For εἴτα perhaps εἴτε or εἴτε.

230 D ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα θαλλὸν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες ἄγουσιν, σὺ ἐμοὶ λόγους οὕτω προτείνων...φαίνει περιάζειν. I would rather omit ἄγουσιν than with Thompson οἱ.

(To be continued.)

238 B γαστριμαργία τε <ἔσται> or <κεκλήσεται>.

239 A τοσούτων <οὖν> κακῶν?

252 D Something like τὸν τε οὖν Ἔρωτα <σέβων ἓνα γέ τινα> τῶν καλῶν πρὸς τρόπου ἐκλέγεται.

254 D ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἤκουσιν or ἤδη εἰσὶν (Buttmann εἰσίν).

266 C μαθόντα.

267 B Το καινά τε ἀρχαίως τά τ' ἐναντία καινῶς add the λέγουσι which Heindorf saw to be wanted, or something equivalent.

I do not know why Ast's ὀφθαλμίαν in 255 D and his τὸ εἶναι in *Rep.* 395 C have not been universally adopted. So with Stallbaum's ἐξαγγελῶ in 279 B, the same correction which I have made in *Ep.* 13. 362 C. In 236 E B and T agree in giving ἐξαγγέλλειν, though the second hand in the latter gives the necessary ἐξαγγελεῖν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

## ON PLATO, PHAEDRUS 274 D.

Βασιλέως δ' αὖ τότε ὄντος Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦ περὶ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ἄνω τόπου ἦν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἀμμωνα, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεῦθ τὰς τέχνας ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις.

Badham in his text of the *Phaedrus* (Oxford, 1851) first detected corruption in the words καὶ—Ἀμμωνα; his remedy was to insert αὐτὸν before τὸν θεόν. From this it would appear that he did not locate the seat of the disorder rightly, which I believe with Mr. H. Richards to reside in the last words. Thamus identified by Plato with Ammon, was no doubt, like Theuth, one of Egypt's ancient deities τῶν παλαιῶν θεῶν (274 C).

But he has not been mentioned as one in the previous context, whereas Theuth has. The phrase then can only be defended by a couple of hypotheses (1) that Thamus' divinity was a fact which Plato might presume was well known to his readers, and (2) that the article may refer without harshness to Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας. Both of these appear to be doubtful. I should have thought that the godhead of Thamus, whose utterance forms the moral of the story, would not be introduced in this oblique fashion; and that an ἐκεῖ or αὐτοῦ or some other definition of the place would have preceded θεόν. On these grounds I propose τὸν Θαμοῦν.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## NOTES ON PLATO'S APOLOGY, 17 B, 20 B.

Ἀπολογία 17 B ἡμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασι τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασιν.

Many a scholar must have noticed, but does not seem to have called attention in print to the fact that we have here a bit of chiasmic order: that εἰκῇ is opposed to κεκοσμημένους and τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασιν is contrasted with κεκαλλιπημένους γε λόγους.

For *εἰκῇ* as opposed to *τάξιν* and *κόσμος*, we may compare Plato's *Gorgias* 503 Ef. The latest exegetical edition before me says on the passage in question, '*τοῖς ὀνόμασι* duplicates and explains *εἰκῇ*,' while another recent commentator says '*κεκοσμημένους* means adorned with tropes or rhetorical figures.' Neither of these statements is true. Socrates is made by Plato to call attention to his lack of premeditation both in the order of his arguments (*εἰκῇ*) and as to the language used (*λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὀνόμασιν*, spoken in the words which occur to me).

*Apology* 20 B νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστόν, τίνα αὐτοῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν;

Socrates is repeating his conversation with Callias. If the latter's two sons had been colts or calves, a farmer could have been found to give them the true

excellence of an ox or a horse. Now since they are boys, is there anyone who can give them the true excellence of a man and a citizen? The familiarity of *politics* has weakened the feeling of most commentators and translators for the adjective *πολιτικός* as the equivalent of the genitive of *πολίτης*. Thus *πολιτικός* σύλλογος, *Gorgias* 452 E, is simply equivalent to *τῶν πολιτῶν σύλλογος*, and *Phaedo* 82 A, οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες is 'those who have practised the virtues of a common man and a citizen.' Elsewhere, of course, *πολιτικός* means *statesmanlike*, *political*, but also of the city, as the equivalent of *τῆς πόλεως*, as *Republic* 521 B, 489 c. Jowett's translation may be quoted, as showing the ordinary interpretation of the passage before us: 'Is there anyone who understands human and political virtue?' To the ordinary reader, this translation does not make clear the force of *πολιτικῇ*.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

#### ATTRACTION THROUGH APPPOSITION IN *ILLAD* X 325, *ODYSSEY* α 51, AND *AESCHYLUS* SEPT. 3.

THAT an appositive word is often influenced by the construction of a relative clause which intervenes between it and the noun with which it is in apposition, has long been recognized, and is a familiar truth. *E.g.* in α 22

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἔοντας,  
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,

*ἔσχατοι* has been attracted from the accusative by the nearer *τοί*. In α 68

ἀλλὰ Ποσειδάων γαίηοχος ἀσκελὲς αἰεὶ  
Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται, ὃν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀλάσων,  
ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον κ.τ.λ.,

*Πολύφημον* has been attracted from the genitive. Cf. also Γ 121

Ἴρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένη λευκωλένῳ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν  
εἰδομένη γαλῶν Ἀττηνορίδαο δάμαρτι,  
τὴν Ἀττηνορίδης εἶχε κρείων Ἑλικάων,  
Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην,

where *Λαοδίκην* is attracted from the dative. The idiom is common also in prose. Cf. Plato's *Apology*, 41 A, εἰ γὰρ τις...εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστάς, οἳ περ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ

δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθους κ.τ.λ., and *Republic* 402 C οὕτως οὐδὲ μουσικοὶ πρότερον ἐσόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οὔτε οὓς φάμεν ἡμῖν παιδευτέον εἶναι τοὺς φύλακας, where οἱ φύλακες is expected.

I should like to explain by this attraction to the construction of an intervening clause, three passages which have caused much difficulty to commentators:

X 322 τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μὲν ἔχε χροῶ  
    χαίλκεα τεύχεα,  
    καλά, τὰ Πατρόκλοιο βίην ἐνάριξε  
    κατακτάς,  
    φαίνεται δ' ἥ κληῖδες ἀπ' ὤμων αὐχέν'  
    ἔχουσιν,  
325 λαυκανίην, ἵνα τε ψυχῆς ὤκιστος ὄλεθρος.

Editors generally supply *χροῶς* as subject of *φαίνεται*, and Hentze says that he has no satisfactory explanation for the accusative of 325. May we not say that the poet had *λαυκανίην* in mind from the first, but that the noun was attracted to the construction of the relative clause?

α 48 ἀλλά μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῇ δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἥτορ,

δυσμόρφῳ, ὃς δὴ δητὰ φίλων ἀπο πῆματα  
 πάσχει  
 50 νάσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι  
 θαλάσσης,  
 νῆσος δειδρήεσσα, θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει.

Most exegetical editions put a period at the close of 50, and speak of the 'asyndeton of vivid description'; but the critical editions of Bekker and of Ludwich have a comma there, and Hayman rightly says that νῆσος is 'epanalepsis, see on 23, with case varied by attraction of ὀμφαλός preceding.'

The third passage to which I would apply this explanation is at the opening of Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*.

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια  
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως,  
 οἶακα νωμῶν. βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνω.

Paley says of the last clause quoted: 'μὴ κοιμῶν is to be closely taken with νωμῶν, for which reason it seems better to omit the comma usually placed after the latter word, "managing the helm without closing his eyes." The μὴ depends on the indefinite ὅστις.' Verrall places a period at the close of the first verse, saying that to the connexion of the three verses 'there are two fatal objections: (1) the case of κοιμῶν... and (2) the want of connexion between χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια and the following figure; λέγειν τὰ καίρια is the business of everyone, not of a statesman in particular, still less of a sleepless pilot.' Wecklein-Zomarides say: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἶακα νωμῶν ἐπεξηγείται οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν πρύμνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ καθήκον τοῦ ἀρχοντος... διὰ ταῦτα προσκολλᾶται ἐν παραθέσει ὁμοιοπτῶτως ἡ ῥῆσις βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνω· ἄλλως ὀφείλει τις νὰ εἰκάσῃ, ὥσπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Heimsoeth, κοιμῶν θ' ἐν τῇδε τῇ συναρτήσει τῶν λέξεων, 'χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια ἐκείνον, ὅστις—πόλεως οἶακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν θ' ὕπνω.' ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μετοχῶν

οὐσῶν τροπικῶν ἀναφέρεται ἡ μὲν νωμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐν πρύμνῃ, ἡ δὲ κοιμῶν εἰς τὸ φυλάσσει: ὅστις ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως φυλάσσει τὰ πράγματα αὐτῆς ὡν οἰακοστρόφος ἀγρυπνος. Heimsoeth's emendation is the less likely because Eustathius had κοιμῶν before him, and it is unnecessary, since the participle is naturally attracted to the construction of the relative clause, even though it is most closely connected in thought with the subject of λέγειν τὰ καίρια. The thought of Eteocles is, then: 'I am here *before the break of day*, and must devise the wisest plans, since I bear the responsibility for the safety of the ship of state.' The scholiast's comparison of B 24:

οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,

is entirely in point, and Verrall's remark, 'The hour (it appears to be scarcely yet light, vv. 29, 66) lends significance to the figure,' is correct; but not sufficiently emphatic. This opening sentence of the play informed the audience of the time of the action, as distinctly as the opening of the *Clouds*—ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον! The ἄγγελος κατὰσκοπος of the Thebans visited the Argive camp at night, and returned before day-break; by day he could not have mingled with the Argives without recognition. In 66 he promises to have an ἡμεροσκόπον ὀφθαλμόν for the day, i.e. to watch by day the movements of the enemy from a distance, as he had served as a spy by night.

The reader will remember that Euripides in his *Phoenician Women* (97) caused the Paedagogus to explain to Antigone his knowledge of the Argive army—he had been to their camp with a message to Eteocles; but the messenger of the *Seven against Thebes* had enjoyed no such opportunity.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

#### ON THE WORD ἀφειδεῖν.

A critic in the current number of *Hermathena* raises an interesting point on the text of Apollonius Rhodius. In ii. 98 the MSS. reading is

οὐδ' ἄρα Βέβρυκες ἄνδρες ἀφείδῃσαν βασιλῆος

Choeroboscus however (Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 1353) quotes the line with ἀκήδησαν, which

has been adopted by Merkel and is considered as certain by Bonitz and Prof. Jebb. On the other hand Jacobs (on *Anth. Pal.* v. 279) and Meineke (*Anal. Alex. ad Euphor.* civ.) defend the text. In my recent edition of the text I have after consideration seen no sufficient reason for deserting the MSS. The objection to the text is of course



ἀφειδεῖν = ἀμελεῖν, and if this were the *only* instance in Apollonius of this sense of the word the proposed correction ἀκήδησαν would be more convincing. This however is not the case, for we find iii. 630

ἦ δ' ἄφνω τὸν ξείνον, ἀφειδήσασα τοκήων,  
εἶλετο·

ii. 869

Αἰακίδη, πῶς καλὸν ἀφειδήσαντας ἀέθλων  
γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ δὴν ἔμμεναι;

where the sense of ἀφειδεῖν is the same as in ii. 98, and we also have the adjective (in an active sense) in iv. 1252

αἴθ' ἔτλημεν, ἀφειδέες οὐλομένοιο  
δείματος κ.τ.λ.

If then ἀκήδησαν is to be read in ii. 98 we must make the corresponding changes in the other three passages. But neither Bonitz nor any one else proposes to do this. Besides this Apollonius has the aor. partep. three times absolutely (= freely, ungrudgingly) and the adv. ἀφειδέως once—a usage which is common enough. Again, Choeroboscus is not always accurate in citing Apollonius, e.g. he quotes (iii. 386)

Αἰγίτη, χρέοι μοι (for σχέοι μοι) τῷδε στόλῳ, and, as it happens, Apollonius does not use the verb ἀκήδεῖν. I do not lay any stress on the unlikelihood of a more difficult word ἀφειδήσαν having supplanted a less difficult ἀκήδησαν, because there are two or three instances where κηδόμενος and φειδόμενος are confused in MSS. Writers later than Apollonius also use ἀφειδεῖν = ἀμελεῖν, 'to disregard, neglect, pay no heed to.' Examples may be found in *Strab.* p. 17 (Cas.) ad fin., *Mus.* 302, *Nonn.* viii. 217, 389, but it is unnecessary to quote them. So we find οὐ φείδεσθαι in the same sense, e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 706

οὐδ' ἐφείσατο οὐ τῆς στοᾶς, οὐδ' ἦς πάτρας  
οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἦλθε δῶμ' ἐς Ἀΐδεω,

and *ib.* v. 279

ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων φείδεται οὔτε θεῶν.

The latter example appears to me to give the clue to the much-discussed locus Vergilianus *nec divom parcimus ulli* 'nor do I care for any of the gods.'

The meaning of ἀφειδεῖν may be traced as follows:—(1) 'to give or spend freely of, be lavish of' with a gen. of something more or less under one's own control such as βίου, χρημάτων, σωματίων, etc., e.g. *Soph. El.* 980 ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε, (2) absolutely, in the

partep. 'freely, ungrudgingly,' e.g. *Eur. I.T.* 1354—cf. the adv. ἀφειδῶς—(3) 'to act freely or lavishly' with regard to something outside oneself, so 'to be careless, neglectful of, not to reckon of' with a genitive of this object. This use seems to be quite established for later Greek, the question is, does it occur in classical Greek? It will be said that its use in later Greek is no warrant for its use in classical Greek. True, but it makes a *prima facie* case for the use in classical Greek, and is perhaps of more avail to support a text than a conjecture. However I venture to think that we have at least two examples of this third use of ἀφειδεῖν in classical Greek. One is in *Soph. Antig.* 414 εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόνου. Here Bonitz has conjectured ἀκηδήσοι, in which he has been followed by Dindorf, Mekler and Prof. Jebb. Bonitz however chiefly relies upon Choeroboscus, for he says 'Die einzige Stelle welche eine Beweiskraft haben könnte ist entfernt, indem Merkel aus Chöroboskos ἀκήδησαν für ἀφειδήσαν geschrieben hat,' but, as we have seen, *Apoll.* ii. 98 is by no means 'die einzige Stelle' even in Apollonius. Prof. Jebb remarks in his note ad loc. that ἀφειδεῖν πόνου could mean only 'to be unsparing of labour,' but, with all respect to him, the phrase seems exactly similar to ἀφειδήσαντας ἀέθλων quoted above from Apollonius where there is no doubt about the meaning. It is not therefore absurd to suppose that ἀφειδεῖν πόνου could also mean 'to neglect the labour.' The other place is *Thuc.* iv. 26 where it is said of the helots attempting to land provisions on Sphacteria τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει, 'their landing was made recklessly,' without regard to consequences, because, as we are immediately told, their boats were valued at so much money. If *Thuc.* can thus speak of a κατάπλους ἀφειδῆς there seems no reason why he could not have said also ἡφειδήσαν τοῦ κατάπλου 'they were careless of the landing.' It appears to me that the passages from *Sophocles* and *Thucydides* support one another, and so in fact Prof. Campbell takes them.

I may perhaps take this opportunity of noticing two other points where my critic in *Hermathena* takes me to task. In the critical note on i. 110 I quote *Rzach's* conjecture ἦλθ' ἐλδομένοισιν for the text ἦλθεν ἐλδομένοισιν. I think it highly improbable, but I do not see why it is called an 'impossible ending for a Greek hexameter.' I do not see why it is more objectionable than μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν (*Il.* 10, 317), the rule against the trochaic

caesura of the fourth foot not applying where the line ends with a word of four or more syllables.

In ii. 1260 ἐννύχιοι δ' Ἄργοιο δημοσύνησιν ἴκοντο Φᾶσίν τ' εὐρὺν ρέοντα κ.τ.λ. the word δημοσύνησιν is a correction of George D'Arnaud for ἀλμοσύνησιν and this correction has been adopted by Brunck and every editor since. It is however considered by the critic referred to 'not even probable.'

On the other hand it appears to me a *certissima emendatio* (as Wellauer calls it), both on the ground of sense—and the Scholiast explains τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ—and on account of the obvious resemblance in uncials between αλ and δα. In short, as Merkel says, 'δαημοσ. restituit G. Arnaldus.'

R. C. SEATON.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.

### I.—ACCIDENCE.

THE following notes are collected from a reading of recently published papyri, as given below.<sup>1</sup> They do not profess to be in any way an exhaustive grammar of the papyri, for the reading was undertaken solely with an eye to the grammatical illustration of the New Testament, and phenomena which had no bearing on this were only observed ἐν παρέργῳ. The ground has been occupied, quite exhaustively for the small part of it attempted, by Mayser in his programm *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, i. Teil 1898 (only Phonology); and Deissmann in his two well-known works has touched on grammar to some extent, though dealing mostly with

vocabulary. There is however plenty left to glean, if only because no less than four volumes of texts have been published since the *Neue Bibelstudien* by the untiring energy of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt—apart from the *Amherst Papyri*, the literary character of which makes them unsuitable for the purpose of this investigation—, while the *Berliner Urkunden* have been steadily growing in bulk all the time. For completeness, I have generally put in all my material, independently of Deissmann's notes, where they cover the same ground. I write under the disadvantage of not knowing what additional material has been brought into the forthcoming English edition.

### I.—Orthography.

The ordinary rules for division of words are very generally observed in the papyri. The close attachment of prepositions to their noun comes out strikingly thereby: thus we have κα-τ' ἔτος, κα-θ' ἑκάστον, ἐκ τοῦ, and similarly ὦ-ς ἄν, οὐ-κ (five times in one document)—ἐξηντημιήσεως (= ἐκ συντ.) in RL illustrates the same principle.<sup>2</sup> There are a good many irregularities—such as τοῦ σοῦ γ-ῶναι FP 123 (1/2), φᾶσ-ιν OP 294 (1/, an uneducated writer, as the editors observe), ἀποκαθες-ταμένον G 18 (2/ B.C.), γεγρα-μμένα BU 827, δρα-χμάς, etc.—, but I have made no list of them. See Grenfell's note, RL p. 82.

In verse we sometimes find elided vowels written as in Latin: see exx. in Mayser *op. cit.* p. 38. Add IMA i. 1037 [τίς μ] ἐν ἐγὼ παίδων, τοῦ δ' ἐ, ἡ λί[ος] ἔγγραφος α[ἰ]τη. This supports the MSS writing of the quotation in 1 Cor. 15<sup>33</sup>, χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι.

<sup>2</sup> If the dignity of the *C.R.* will permit it, we might quote our cockney's 'not a t'all, not a bloomin' t'all.'

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used:—

*Papyrus Collections.*

BM=British Museum Papyri, ed. F. G. Kenyon.

BU=Berliner Urkunde, 3 vols., ed. Wilcken, Krebs and Viereck (3rd vol. 5 parts have appeared).

CPR=Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, ed. Wessely.

PP=Petrie Papyri, ed. Mahaffy.

RL=Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ed. Grenfell.

G=An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment etc., ed. Grenfell.

GH=Greek Papyri, second series, ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

OP=Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 2 vols., ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

FP=Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

Eud.=Eudoxus Papyrus, ed. Blass.

Dresd.=Die griech. Papyri Sachsens, ed. Wessely, (in *Berichte der Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, 1885) p. 278.

*Miscellaneous.*

WM=Winer-Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*.<sup>3</sup>

WH=Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament.

Deissmann BS=*Bibelstudien*, NBS=*Neue Bibelstudien*.

IMA=Inscriptiones Maris Aegaei, vols. i. and ii., ed. de Gärtringen and Paton.

Centuries A.D. are denoted by 1/, 2/3, etc.: earlier centuries have B.C. attached.

Irrational  $\iota$  adscript ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\iota$ ,  $\gammaεν\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omega\iota$ , etc.) is extremely common in 1/ B.C. and 1/, and occasionally in 2/: except in the earlier papyri, this unpronounced  $\iota$  is impartially omitted both where it should and where it should not stand. See Blass *Pronunciation* 48–50, and Kenyon's note, BM ii. p. 179.

$\sigma\sigma$  and  $\tau\tau$  seem to defy any attempt to reduce them to rule. The former greatly predominates, but there are words in which both occur. Thus in Eud. (2/ B.C.)  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega$  and  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega$  have about equal shares. In CPR 188 (2/)  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  almost immediately follows  $\eta\sigma\sigma\omega$ . I give here most, I hope, of the occurrences of  $\tau\tau$ , with dates:  $\delta\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  may form a theory.

$\eta\sigma\sigma\omega$  etc. 20 times (2/1 B.C., 2/ B.C., 1/, 1/, 2/, 2/, 2/3, 2/3, 3/, 3/ *bis*, and 9 not dated);  $\eta\tau\tau\omega$  twice (2/, 4/5);  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  once (3/).  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$  7 times (2/ B.C., 2/ B.C. *bis*, 3/ B.C., 1/, 2/, 3/);  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  6 times (1/ B.C., 2/, 2/, 6/, 6/, Byz.):  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\omega}$  1/2 *bis*;  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\omega}$  (or  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$ ) 16 times (2/B.C. *ter*, 1/, 1/, 1/, 1/, 1/, 2/ *bis*, 2/, 2/, 2/, 2/, 6/7):  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$  5 times (1/ *bis*, 1/, 2/, 2/);  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\alpha$  none.  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$  *passim*;  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  6 times (2/ B.C., 2/ *ter*, 6/, 7/).  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$  thrice (all 2/) in G, GH, OP and FP;  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  thrice (3/, 4/5, 6/). Isolated  $\tau\tau$  may be named for which I have not entered  $\sigma\sigma$  parallels:— $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  3/4,  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau(\omega\iota)$  6/7,  $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$  4/,  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  6/7,  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$  4/,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\tau[...]$  2/. In BM 46 (4/) both  $\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  and  $\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\tau\tau\alpha$  occur. See WH *App.* 148 f.

$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  after relatives and conjunctions is by far the preponderating form. It occurs G 18 (132 B.C.) BM 220 *bis* (133 B.C.) and BU 548 (27 B.C.), four times, against eight cases of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in B.C. papyri. The balance is rapidly turned, for in 1/ we have  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  25,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  7, in 1/2  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  4  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  0, in 2/  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  76  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  9, in 2/3  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  5,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  1. Then there is a sudden drop, which however means rather that the construction is going out of favour than that  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is markedly recovering. In 3/ we have  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  9,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  3, with 1 from 3/4. In 4/  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  4,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  8. We find  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  last in BU 303 *bis* (586 A.D.). There are 5 occurrences of it in undated documents, and 2 of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (a Byzantine papyrus). It is clear that this use is a fashion of the first and second centuries, during which period  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  was perhaps in the main literary. As late as 216 A.D. (CPR 35) we find  $\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , with the  $\epsilon$  deliberately added. A curious feature is the absence of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  from FP, except  $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$  (a unique construction) in 126 (4/), and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\nu$  (almost equally unique) in 130 (3/), although two-thirds of the documents belong to these two centuries: we have  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  three

times, but in late documents. (The phenomenon is parallel with the absence of the articular infinitive in this volume (*one ex. noted*), though the evidence of the other collections shows that it was used constantly in the popular speech.) I might give the references for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the period of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 's reign. From 1/,  $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  BM 256,  $\omicron\sigma\epsilon$  (=  $\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  BM 285,  $\delta\tau\iota\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  BU 112, CPR 1, 11,  $\delta\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  CPR 4,  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  OP 267. From 2/,  $\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  BU 71,  $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  747,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \omicron\delta\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  (*sic*) BU 741,  $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  CPR 191,  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  OP 237,  $\omicron\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  BU 372,  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  BU 619,  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  775,  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  OP 117 (2/3). Some of these (notably BU 775) are very far from being literary, but where spelling is very wild we are not compelled to take much account of so small a difference. It seems fair to conclude that  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in cents. 1/2 was written by those who were particular about correctness, and that N.T. writers therefore used predominantly the popular  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

Two combinations only need be mentioned in this context, and they belong strictly to syntax. In OP 105 (Hadrian's reign)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\ <\acute{\epsilon}\>\chi\omega$  seems due to the simple substitution of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota$  for  $\delta$ . But BU 326 (194 A.D.)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}[\theta\eta]$ , and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ , seem to show a kind of splitting of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *if* into  $\epsilon\acute{\iota} + \acute{\alpha}\nu$  (with the usual substitution of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ), such as might well be encouraged by the prevalent annexation of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  for another use. Probably the same thing has happened in 1 Cor. 7<sup>5</sup>  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$  ([ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ] WH). Add for BM 233 (345 A.D.)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  (virtually =  $\delta\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\epsilon\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\omega\varsigma$ , and FP 130 (3/)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \dots\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ , quoted above, to which the same explanation applies. The other peculiarity is the declension of  $\omicron\sigma\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  in a very common formula, the relative agreeing with its antecedent in *case*: e.g. BU 177 (47 A.D.)  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \eta\ \omicron\sigma\omega\upsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\upsilon\iota$ , BU 197 (18 A.D.)  $\omicron\sigma\omega\upsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\rho[\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota]$ .

$\acute{\alpha}\nu$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is naturally rare: I can only quote FP 116 (2/), OP 119 (2/3), BU 38 (2/3), 816 (3/). The scholarship of these documents is almost equally elementary, so that we gain no real support for a classical survival in six passages of St. John (WH), though the negative evidence has little weight against it.

$\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and similar phenomena are very common. For N.T. parallels see WM 48 n., WH *App.* 143 f.; for the general theory Schweizer *Gram. d. Pergam. Inschr.* 116 ff. The exx. I have noted are as follow:—



καθ' ἑτος:—Eud. (2/ B.C.); BU 197 *ter* (1/); BM 335, FP 95, CPR 31 *quater*, BU 538, 717, 782 (all 2/); CPR 47 (2/3); BM 483 (7/). ἐφ' ἑτη BM 306, BU 538, FP 95 (2/).

ἐφιδεῖν:—OP 44, FP 113 (1/); BU 647, 733, OP 50 (2/); OP 53 *bis* (4/).

οὐχ ὀλίγος:—BU 72 (2/); BU 146 (2/3).

μεθ' ὀλίγον:—BU 388 (2/).

ἐφιορκεῖν:—BU 543 (1/ B.C.); OP 240, 260 (1/).

καθ' ἰδιόγραφον:—OP 70 (3/).

τῶν ἐφεκίστων:—RL 56 (3/ B.C.).

Εἰ μὴν. To Deissmann's two exx. add OP 240, 255, 259, 260 (1/). This form is thus fairly established as vernacular Greek in the first century. In RL (3/ B.C.) ἡ μὴν occurs.

Αἰεὶ occurs eight times in CPR (undated) in a standing formula: Mayser, p. 16, seems to regard it as extinct.

Ἐχθές FP 108 (2/), ἐκθές FP 123 (1/2), but χθές BM 214 (3/).

Οἰθεῖς, μηθεῖς, etc., are naturally abundant: I give only exx. dated B.C.:—RL *passim* (3/); PP 13, 17, 18, 19 (3/); GH 14 (3/); BM 3, 19, 21, 23, 34, 42, 219, 222 (all 2/); G 11 (2/). Add IMA i. 677 (3/ Rhodes), ii. 15 (3/ Mytilene). See Bruggmann *Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> 146.

Αἰτός and its compounds frequently show the change of *av* to *ā*, on which see G. Meyer<sup>3</sup> § 121 and Dieterich *Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. gr. Spr.* 78 f. In BM 262 (1/ *αἰτός* is corrected above the line. *ἀτῶν* occurs in BM 240 (4/), BU 841 (Byz.). Exx. of *ἐματ.* come in G 45, 46 (1/ B.C.), OP 219, 281 (1/), BU 827 (undated); of *σατ.* in FP 119 (1/), BU 380 (3/); of *ἐατ.* in BM 276, 445, OP 295, BU 183 (*τερ*, but *ἐαυτ. quater*), 197 *bis* (all 1/). In OP 41 (3/4) Ἀγοῦστοι *ter*: see Kenyon's note BM ii. p. 274. In Lc. 21 Ἀγοῦστων is found in NC\*Δ.

Τέσσαρες and τεσσαράκοντα are overwhelmingly predominant, and the exceptions are often in ill-spelt documents. Τέσσε[ρα] occurs BU 133 (2/), and τέσσερας CPR 242 (1/), but there are no parallels till the Byzantine age (BU 682, 751, 796, 838, OP 145, 149). For τεσσεράκοντα (and -κοστός) may be quoted, from 1/, BM 262 (*τεσσαρ. bis*), CPR 219, 220; from 2/, BU 68, 69, 86, 102 (also *τεσσαρ.*), 213, 416, 465 *ter*, 834, CPR 29, FP 93; from 3/, FP 61, CPR 2031: from 3/4, OP 9; from 4/, CPR

2016, BM 248; with Byz., BU 308, OP 143, 149. There are thus less than twenty exx. of this spelling in documents antedating the oldest uncials of the N.T. Against this, from 1/ to 4/ alone, I count over fifty occurrences of *τεσσαρ.*, in addition to those in BM and CPR, which I neglected to count up. The papyri would seem to supply decisive evidence for *τεσσαρ.* as the 1st cent. form: for the evidence of the N.T. uncials see WH *App.* 150, Tischendorf-Gregory iii. 80.

Ἀραβῶν has *pp* in FP 91 *bis*, BM 143 *bis* (1/), 334 *bis*, BU 240 (the only one quoted by Deissmann), BM 334 *bis* (*p* once) (all 2/), BM 239 (4/), OP 140 (6/) *bis*. For ἀραβῶν (as to which Deissmann criticises WH) we have OP 299, FP 91 (1/), BU 446 *bis* (=80), 601, BM 334 (2/), GH 67 (3/), CPR 19 *quater* (4/). Deissmann has only the exx. from BU and CPR, so that the quotations for *pp* are raised from 1 to 12, those for *p* from 8 to 11.

Ἄρρην etc. greatly predominates over ἄρσην. For the former I count 12 occurrences<sup>7</sup> of ἄρρην and ἀρρηνικός between 1/ and 3/, with three later; for the latter, only ἀρσενικόν OP 38 (1/, but the companion document 37 has ἄρρ.), ἄρσενες BU 826 (2/3), ἀρσενόθης BM 121 (3/). Ἐθάρσῃσιν occurs BM 354 (1/ B.C.): on the other hand βύρσον appears as βύρρον in BU 814 (3/).

Χιτών has χιθῶνα BU 816 (3/), κιτών FP 108 *bis* (2/), OP 155 (6/). Sc κύθρα BM 46 (4/).

Σφυρίς BM 190 (3/?), σφυρίδαν BU 814 (3/), σφυρίδες *duodecies* FP 102 (2/), σφυρίδια CPR 47 (2/3), σφυρίτιν (= -ιδιον) BU 247 (2/3), may be quoted for the spelling adopted by WH. (See Blass *N. T. Gr.* 24.) Deissmann NBS 13, BS 157, gives the last two of the above, and one from PP (3/ B.C.), with one from the same source for σφυρίδιον. I have noticed no exx. of σπ., except Louvre 62 (3/ B.C.).

Λεγεών is found OP 276 (1/), BU 21 (4/); λεγεών BU 113 (2/); λεγιών BM 142, 256 (1/), BU 140, 272 (2/), BU 156 (3/).

Ταμεῖον occurs in PP 21 (3/ B.C.), and 20 times in 1/ to 3/: against this only once ταμιεῖον BU 106 (2/). Φαι[λο]νίων BU 816 (3/), restored by Wilcken, gives us the metathesis seen in φελόνης 2 Tim. 4<sup>12</sup>. Γίνομαι and γινώσκω always from PP (3/ B.C.) down, except once γιγνώσκοντες BM 233 (4/).

Ἐραυνάω OP 294 *bis* (1/), 67 (4/), as in WH. So ἔραυνηταῖς *ter* FP 104 (3/).

Λήμφομαι, -λήμψις, -λήμπτωρ, etc., almost invariably in papyri, except in RL (3/ B.C.), and even there one of the dozen scribes uses these forms. In 2/ B.C. there are exx. of the older spelling, ἀντιλήψεως G 15, BM 45. In BU 194 (2/) ἐνπεριελήπται is corrected by adding μ above the π. They are formed on the same principle as the Ionic λάμφομαι, which goes a step further in assimilating λήφομαι and λαμβάνω, but are clearly independent.

## II.—Inflections.

### First and Second Declensions.

-αρχος and -άρχης. For -ος note πεντακοσίαρχος PP 11, 13 (3/ B.C.), κασίαρχος BM 474 (2/), ἑπαρχος FP 21 (2/), BM 245 (4/) *al.*, ἑναρχος BM 233 (4/), and cf. φύλαρχος and γυμνασίαρχος IMA i. 127 (1/ B.C.). For -ης there are ἰλάρχης PP 16 *bis* (3/ B.C.), νομάρχης RL *quinquies* (3/ B.C.) BU 733, FP 88 (2/), τοπάρχης RL *ter* (3/ B.C.), OP 254, 255, 382 (1/), κωμάρχης RL (3/ B.C.), ἱππάρχης OP 277 *bis* (1/ B.C.): cf. πολεμάρχην IMA i. 99 (2/), κωμάρχας *ib.* 128. Ἐκατόνταρχος appears in BU 21 (4/), 283 (2/), 390 *bis* (3/); ἑκατοντάρχης BU 436 (2/3), BM 276 (1/).

Heteroclis in foreign names is seen in Κερκεσούχη, ἀπὸ Κερκεσούχων GH 45 (2/), εἰς Κερκεσούχα, ἐν Κερκεσούχους FP 113 f. (1/). In GH 74 (4/) Τεντύρη, against usual Τέντυρα n. pl. Cf. Mt 2<sup>3</sup> against 2<sup>1</sup>. Ἀκύλα gen. BU 71 (2/), but Ἀγρίππου BU 511 (1/) (contr. Ἀγρίππα in Ac 25<sup>23</sup>).

Ἄλως gen. ἄλω OP 101 (2/) and I think elsewhere: the N.T. has only ἄλων, 3rd decl. In BU 146 (2/3) we have ἄλωνία. Note τὴν ἄλωι BU 698 (2/).

Ἀρούρης is an extremely common type: indeed it may be said that the normal declension of nouns in -ρά and -νία is nom. -α, acc. -αν, gen. -ης, dat. -ῃ. The only ex. B.C. is the irregular καθηκνῆς BM 41 (161 B.C.). From 1/ we have ἐδύς (= εἰδνῆς, which occurs *passim* in a recurrent formula), ἀρούρης 6 times, λείτρης 3 times (against λείτρας 11 times), μεταποιῆς and μετῆλλαχνῆς. From 2/, μοίρης 6 times (1/2), ἀρούρης 18 times, σπείρης 10 times, -νῆς 5 times, -νῆ 4 times. From 3/ ἀρούρης 3 times, which occurs 5 times in 4/ and once in 7/. From 4/ σφύρη twice, Ἀντιοχῆ (with nom. -ία). Not coming under this category are χόρης (= χώρας) from 1/, στερήν (*sic*) from 2/, ἡμέρης μιᾷς from 2/ and from 3/, μελαίνην 2/, τετελευτηκνῆν 3/, δεσποῖνην 3/4, διαίτην 6/7,

which are so few relatively as to be fairly assignable to individual blundering. (*Exceptions* to the norm stated are εἰδνῆς twice in 1/, -νῆς and -νῆ 7 times in 1/, ἀγνῆ 7 times in 1/, -νῆς once in 2/, and one solitary case of ἀρούρης from 4/ (OP 102). The exceptions after 1/ are no more considerable than ἀδεφᾶνι (1/) and λεγούσας (gen., 3/).) It seems unnecessary to call these Ionisms (with G. Meyer<sup>3</sup> 95 n). The phonetic law which in Attic changed ρη to ρᾶ became extinct early, as words like κόρη (for κόρῃ) show, and analogy would naturally tend to make all -ᾶ nouns go together. The converse process produced Νύμφᾶν (Col 4<sup>15</sup>), by the help of the old vocative νύμφᾶ: see my discussion, *Camb. Philolog. Soc. Proc.* Oct. 26th 1893. Dieterich (p. 172) quotes Δοῦλα, which is like Νύμφᾶ.

Θεέ voc. BM 121 (3/), as in Mt 27<sup>46</sup>.

Χόες from χοῦς regularly: like νοῦς and πλοῦς in N.T., the word has followed βοῦς.

The types κύρις, κλειδῖν (on which see Brugmann *Grundriss* ii. § 63 n.) are common in the papyri from 2/ down. I have counted nearly fifty of them, some two-fifths being Latin words or names, which suits Hatzidakis's view that the Latin voc. in -i was the starting-point, Πετρῶνις coming from Πετρώνι as Εὐπολῖς from Εὐπολι (*Neugriech. Gram.* 318): it ought to be mentioned however that voc. in -i never occurs, as far as I have seen—κύριε *passim*, never κύρι. We have a 3/ B.C. ex. in [ῆ]μιόλιν RL 54, where see Grenfell's note and parallels.

### Third Declension.

The acc. pl. in -ες is extremely common. Τέσσαρες occurs on a Fayûm ostrakon from 1/ B.C., and from papyri of 1/ and later some forty times. Πάντες follows at an interval, with a third as many, generally in the epistolary formula τοὺς ἐνοίκους πάντες or the like. Other words affected are στατήρες (1/, 2/3, 3/), μῆνες (2/), γυναῖκες (2/), ὁμολογούντες (1/, 1/), λικμητρίδες and θρίνακες (1/2), χέρες (2/3), φιλοῦντες (2/, 2/), ὄντες (2/), ὑγαίνοντες (2/3), πράκτορες (1/), τέκτονες (3/), φίλακες (*sic*, 1/). In FP 95 (2/) we have χοεῖς for χόας. Of course πόλεις and βασιλεῖς are earlier exx. of the same thing. In BU 814 (3/) we have φιλοῦντος, 819 (3/) τέσσαρος, 834 (2/) ἅπαντος *bis*, acc. pl.

Acc. sing. in -αν is very common, especially in the more illiterate papyri: cf. WH *App.* 157. Sometimes the correct form stands in the same document. From 1/ we have χάριταν (BU 596), Πτολεμαῖδαν *bis*, and

(as often in Attic, G. Meyer<sup>2</sup> 428) *Θεογένην, Διογένην*: add *γυναῖκαν* IMA i. 995. From 2/ *Διωγενίδαν, Καρανίδαν bis, παῖδαν bis, θυγατέραν* and *μητέραν ter, σφραγίδαν, γυναῖκαν, χέραν, μερίδαν, ἄπανταν*. From 2/3 *χείραν, μηδέαν, μητέραν, γυναῖκαν, πατέραν*. From 3/ *χείραν quater, πόδαν, χέραν, ἀστέραν, σφυρίδαν, (ἐγγὺν καὶ ἀσυνήν)*. So *φάρανγαν Amh. Pap.* 7 (5/).

*Μήτηρ* voc. BU 814 (3/) *ter*: cf. WH *App.* 158.

Nom. *εὐθύριν* GH 32 (2/ B.C.), BM 14 (1/), etc., is parallel with *ὠδίν, δελφίν*, found in the *Κορινθ.*

Nom. *ὦς* is formed from *ὠτός* GH 15 (2/ B.C.).

*Ἐλαιών -ωνος* occurs over twenty times in papyri between 1/ and 3/, which discounts Blass's suspicion of the MSS in Ac 1<sup>12</sup>. See Deissmann NBS 36 ff.

From *κλείς* come *κλείν* PP (3/ B.C.), *κλείδα* OP 113 (2/), *κλείδες* BU 75 (2/), *κλείς* acc. (*ib.*), *κλείδας* BU 253 (3/).

*Ὀρνις* has dat. *ὄρνιξι* several times in BM 131 (1/), a Doric form. See WH *App.* 149.

*Χάριτα* and *χάριν* occur together in BU 48 (2/3): the former occurs in BM 141, 406 (4). Cf. IMA ii. 35 (1/ B.C.) and classical exx. in L. and S.

### Adjectives.

*Ἀργυρή* BU 388 (2/) illustrates *χρυσᾶν* in Rev. 1<sup>13</sup> <sup>N\*</sup> AC: the pair naturally influenced one another, but neither was strong enough to fix the form for both. In BM 124 (4/5) *χρυσᾶν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν* occurs. See also Dieterich p. 180. Uncontracted forms *χρυσέω* etc. (as in WM 72 n.) appear in IMA i. 918 (1/2), 937 (1/), 922 *al.*

*Ἡμις* (often *ἡμυσ.*) makes *ἡμίση bis* BM 265 (1/) and *ἡμίσιους* always, unless Wessely rightly restores [*ἡμισέ*]-ως CPR 224 (4/). With this contraction cf. *πηχῶν* BM 293, 191 (2/), *al.* *Βραδέα* BU 446 (2/), *βαθέα* BU 781 (1/). Note *ἡμεσίᾳ* OP 277 (1/ B.C.).

*Υγιή* in OP 278 *bis* (1/), 113 (2/), BU 13 (*ἐγγὺν*, 3/); *ἰγιά* never.

The indeclinable *πλήρης* is fairly common: cf. WH *App.* 24, on Mc 4<sup>23</sup>, and C. H. Turner in *Journ. of Theol. Studies* i. 120 ff. and 561 f. *Πληρῶν* BM 131 (1/) has to agree with *ἀρούρας*. BU 81, 707<sup>1</sup>, OP 237 support it for 2/; GH 69, BU 13, 373 *bis*, FP 88, for 3/; GH 75, BM 251 (*πληρες* neut. pl.), BU 411, for 4/; and

there are the late BU 319 (7/), 371 (Arab), BM 392 (6/7).

*Τάχειον* (as WH) in BU 451 (1/2), OP 113 (2/), BU 417 (2/3). So the curious form *ἐντάχειον* BU 814 (3/), 826 (2/3) *bis*, 601 *ἐνδάχιον* (2/3). *Ταχύτερον* BU 615 *bis* (2/), 816 (3/). *Θάπτον* OP 122 (3/4).

Double comparison in *μειζότερος* BU 368 (7/), OP 131 (6/); *πρεσβυτερωτέρα* BM 177 (1/); *πρώτιστα* BU 665 (1/); *μεγιστότατος* BM 130 (1/2).

### Numerals.

*δέκα δύο* is normal (over 20 exx. in 1/–4/), but *δώδεκα* in BU 293 (2/) *al.* So also *δέκα μιᾶς* OP 248 (1/), *δέκα τρεῖς, δέκα τρία*, (thrice—none of *τρεῖς καὶ δέκα*), and always *δέκα τέσσαρες, δέκα πέντε* (from 3/ B.C.), *δέκα ἕξ* (in IMA 3/ B.C.), *δέκα ὀκτώ* (in IMA 2/ B.C.).

13th–19th are regularly expressed (from 3/ B.C.) with *τρισκαίδεκατος, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος*, etc. We have *τρισκαίδεκατος* in BM 45 (2/ B.C.) and *πέμπτος δέκατος* in BU 183, 251 (1/, same hand), but I have noted no other exceptions. We note the variants *τεσσαρσκαίδεκατος* (OP 266, 1/) and *τεσσαρακαίδεκατος* (Eud., 2/ B.C.).

For the ordinals in the next decade we have *ἑνατος καὶ εἰκοστός* BU 174 (1/), *τέταρτος καὶ εἰκοστός* CPR 29 (2/), *πρώτος καὶ εἰκοστός* FP 68 (2/), *ἑβδομος καὶ εἰκοστός* FP 51 (2/); but [*τεσσαρ*]ακαικεκοστός BU 188 (2/), *πεντεκαικεκοστός* Eud. (2/ B.C.). Add *τετρακαικεκοστόν* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  in FP 82, 83 (2/), *τετρακαιεξηκοντόν* BU 234 *ter* (2/). *Ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκάδι* occurs twice (2/), *ἕκτη καὶ εἰκάδι* once (2/), *ἑβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι* once (2/).

For the antiquity of these phenomena cf. Meisterhans<sup>2</sup> p. 159 ff.

*Ἀμφων* in BM 113<sup>2</sup> (6/7) is doubtless a mere revival.

The supposed Hebraistic use of *μία* (with *ἡμέρα*) for *πρώτη* comes in *τῇ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἑπείφ* BU 623 (2/3).

Cardinals repeated to make a distributive may be seen in OP 121 (3/) *εἷνα δίσση τρία τρία καὶ ἑλκύση*. This is of course no 'Hebraism,' though *εἷς καὶ εἷς καὶ εἷς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις* (*Amh. Pap.* 1) may be.

### Verbs.

*Augment.* Note *ἡβούλετο* OP 281 (1/); *ἡδόκησας* BM 3 (2/ B.C.); *οἰκονομημένον* BU 832 (2/), *οἰκοδομημένη* OP 1 (2/3), but *προσωικοδομήκασιν* PP 26 (3/ B.C.); *ἀποκατεστάθη* OP 38 (1/)—contr. *ἀπεκατεστ.* in NT texts; *συνηργάσατο* BU 530 (1/), *ηγῶ* (= *ἡργάσατο*) BM 165 (1/) *ter*, but *εἰργάσθαι* BM 139 (1/), *εἰργάσατο* BM 316 (2/), 321 *ter* (2/), 325 *bis* (2/), 166 (2/), *εἰργασται*—so



GH write, but the aorist is apparently possible) FP 77, 78, 79 (2/). Augment for reduplication in *ἐγραμμένον* BM 122 (4/), *ἐβλαμμένος* G 33 (2/ B.C.) *ἐκτρημένος* BU 587 (2/). Dropped augment (reduplication) in *ἐτοιμάκαμεν* GH 14b (3/ B.C.), *ἀνομολογήσατο* GH 31 (2/ B.C.), *εἰσαγόμην* GH 78 (4/), *ἀπαιτῆσθαι* BU 21 (4/), *προονομασμένων* CPR 160, *ἀναγκάσθαι* OP 237 (2/). Cf WM p. 86 n. 3.

The curious forms *κατεάξω* etc. (WM p. 82) are paralleled by a noun *κατέαγμα* in BU 647 (2/) *bis*. G. Meyer<sup>3</sup> 165 quotes *ἔαγμα* from Zonaras and Suidas as 'wohl aus einem Dichter,' which is certainly not the case here. He would interpret it as due to imitation of epic forms with prothetic *ἐ* before initial *φ*.

### *Inflections.*

Strong aorists with *a* suffixes are common, especially in uneducated writing. (Cf Kenyon's note BM ii. 272.) From 1/ I notice *γενάμενος* (CPR 1 and FP 22), which recurs thirteen times from 1/ to 7/, and *ἦλθας* (BU 530), which is paralleled by *ἦλθα* (3/) *ter*, *ἀνῆλθατε* (3/4), *προσῆλθαμεν* (3/), *ἦλθαν* (and compounds) recurring seven times up to 4/, and by *ἐλθάτω* (OP 123, 3/4). *\*Εσχάμεν* (or *ἀπέσχαμεν*) comes three times between 1/ and 3/, and *ἀπέσχαν* once. *\*Ελαβα* (and compounds) comes seven times in 2/ and 3/, *παρελάβαμεν* once, and *παρέλαβαν* once: add a Byzantine *ελαβάμην*. *Εἶδαμεν* occurs once (4/) and *ἐπάθαμεν* once (Byz.); there are also two middles, *ἀνείλαντο* (2/) and *εἰλάμεθα* (3/). The process of assimilating the two aorists active was thus well under way, but not by any means complete.

Imperfects with *a* suffixes are only five:—*ἔλεγας* BU 595, *προεῖχαν* GH 41 (1/); *ἐβάσταζαν* BU 454, *ἐποτίζαμεν* BU 698, *συνελέγαμεν* *ib.* (2/).

The aorist *-αν* has invaded the perfect (see Buresch's well-known paper on *γέγοναν* in *Rhein. Mus.* xvi. 193–232). So *(παρ)εἰλήφαν* G 18, GH 29, BM 17 (all 2/ B.C.), BU 153, 538 (2/ A.D.); *εἶρηχαν* (*sic*) BU 595 (1/), *γέγοναν* BU 596 (1/), *πεπλάνηκαν* OP 119 (2/3), *ἐπιδέδωκαν* BM 17 (2/ B.C.).

The converse process may be seen in *ἐπῆλθασι* BU 275 (3/), and in a small category practically confined to uneducated scribes, as *ἀπεγραψόμην* BU 421 (2/), *ἔγραψες* BU 38, 261 (2/3), *ἤρηκες* (= *εἶρηκας*) BU 261 (2/3), *οἶδες* BU 380 (3/), *σπουδασέτωσαν* FP 112 (1/), *ἐπεμψε[ς]* BU 814 (3/), *ἀφῆκες* (*ib.*). The 3rd plur. in *-οσαν* occurs in GH 36 (1/ B.C.) *ὑπελαμβάνοσαν*, with which cf. from

the previous century *ἐλαμβάνεσαν* BM 18 and *ἀφίλεσαν* (= *ἀφέλλον*) BM 41 (quoted by WM 91 n. 5). Later exx. are *προεγαμοῦσαν* BU 183, 251 (1/, same hand), and *ἐπῆλθοσαν* BU 36 (2/3). I am rather surprised to find so few cases.

Confusion of fut. infin. with aor. is common in the form *ἐπελεύσασθαι*, which in FP 94 (3/) is clearly fut. In G 30 (2/ B.C.) *ἐντετάλμεθα ἀσπάσασθαι*, and BU 830 (1/) *χρὴ οὖν ἐτοιμάσεν καὶ προαιρεῖν*, the present or aor. is wanted. The Attic 3 pl. imper. in *-ντων* I have not seen anywhere. *-τωσαν* is very common from 3/ B.C. down. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> (p. 167 f) can only quote three exx. of *-ντων* subsequent to 300 B.C., and it would seem that by 1/ B.C. it was obsolete.

The NT *ὀδυνᾶσαι*, *καυχᾶσαι* (formed afresh from the 3rd. sing. by the analogy of the perfect) are paralleled by the future *χαριέισαι* GH 14 c (3/ B.C.), for which we have *χαριέισαι* in OP 292 (1/). Side by side with *δύνασαι* we find *δύνη* (WM 90) BM 121 (3/), BU 523. Since the forms *δύνομαι*, *δυνόμενος* are not uncommon—BM 45 (2/ B.C.), BU 246, 388 (2/3), BU 159, 614 (3/), OP 131 (6/)—it is easy to explain this as a mere transference to the thematic conjugation. It cannot of course be a survival from the *\*δύνααι* into which analogy brought back the *σ*, for this would have been *\*δύνα*.

The infinitive *χρᾶσθαι*<sup>1</sup> OP 104, 270 (1/) to some extent supports the NT contractions in *πεινώ* and *διψᾶω*, which naturally followed *τιμάω* in later Greek. The papyri give no sufficient support to the active infin. in *-οῖν* (and by consequence *-ᾶν*), on which see Blass *Gr.* 48. For it there is only *δηλοῖν* BM 231 (4/); against, *μεταμισθοῖν* OP 101 (2/), CPR 39 (3/), *ἀξιοῖν* GH 14 (3/ B.C.), BU 136 (2/), *κυροῖν* CPR 104, to say nothing of *βεβαιοῖν* BM 113 (6/) and *ἐκμισθοῖν* BM 77 (8/).

For the confusion of *-έω* and *-άω* (Blass p. 47) cf. IMA i. 127 *ἐνίκει* (1/ B.C.) and 155 *τιμοῦντες* (2/ B.C.).

*ἄνοίγω* makes aor. *ἠνοίγην* (BU 326, 2/—*ἠνύγην*) as in N.T.

*παρωχηκότα* ('Epic and late prose,' Veitch) occurs in BU 288 (2/).

*ἔξω* has completely established itself at the expense of *σχίσω*, so much so that we even have *παρέξας*, *παρέξει*, *παρέξασθαι* formed from this stem. This requires me to withdraw a suggestion I once made<sup>2</sup> that some seemingly aoristic uses of *ἔσχηκα*

<sup>1</sup> Ionic, see Strachan, *Herodotus* vi, p. lix.

<sup>2</sup> Reviewing Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, in *Meth. Times* for 1895, p. 254.

might be due to the proportion  $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$  =  $\sigma\chi\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$ .

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  shows the aorist ( $\kappa\alpha\tau$ ) $\eta\acute{\xi}\alpha$  in BU 81, 607 (2/). The perfect  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\chi\alpha$  comes in OP 283 (1/).

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha\mu\eta\eta$  is the aorist of  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  answer: the N.T.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\eta$  I only note once, BM 121 (3).

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  agree in showing both dental and guttural forms. Thus  $\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\eta$  BU 341 (2/), but  $\eta\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\mu}\epsilon\eta\alpha$  BU 759 (2/)—cf. N.T.  $\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\eta$ ,  $\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\eta$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\eta$  BU 46 (2/),  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha\eta$  157 (2/3) and 769 (2/), but  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\eta$  195 (2/).

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is said by Blass (*N.T. Gram.* 38) to be 'a word adopted from the literary language.' It is extremely common in the papyri, in formulae and in ordinary speech, in writings of praefects and of slaves: the 'adoption' would seem to have been very thoroughgoing.

From  $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$  we have  $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  etc.:  $\iota\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$  occurs BU 163 (2/), in an official paper, where the literary form might be expected.  $\iota\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\eta$  FP 20 (3/4),  $\iota\delta\omicron\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\eta$  BU 826 (2/3).

$\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\chi\alpha$  (for  $-\kappa\alpha$ ) is not uncommon: FP 123  $\delta\iota\varsigma$  (1/2), etc.

$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is of course the future of  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . In G 21 (2/ B.C.) we have the active  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ . The infin.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is common, occurring even in early papyri.

$\zeta\acute{\omega}$  has  $\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  in Hadrian's letter (FP 19).

$\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  occurs in Kenyon's reading of BM 42 (2/ B.C.): surely we should read  $\mu\eta\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\eta\theta\alpha\iota$ , not  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\theta$ ?

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\pi}\alpha\eta\omega$  occurs PP 14, 15 (3/ B.C.).

$\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$  BU 34 (2/3), BM 121 (3/), is from  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta\eta$  by the same process as that responsible for  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\eta$  and  $\delta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ .

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\omega$  in  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\eta$  BU 282 (2/) resembles  $\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\omega$ , which is found in N.T. Future  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega$  in PP 16 (3/ B.C.): the  $\epsilon\iota$  must not be corrected to  $\iota$ .

$\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  has aor. of  $-\eta\eta\alpha$  and  $-\alpha\eta\alpha$  form:  $\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\eta\omega$  FP 119 (1/),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\alpha\eta$  RL 44 (3/ B.C.), but  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\omega$  BU 388 (2/). Perf.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\alpha$  OP 117 (2/3).

$\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  has a future  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\eta$  FP 64 (2/). The perf.  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\iota\alpha$  occurs PP 12 (3/ B.C.), and aor. subj.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omega$  in the very illiterate BU 246 (2/3)— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega$  BU 38 (2/3).

Verbs in  $-\mu\iota$ .

The perfect  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$  (in compounds) is well attested: cf. WM 93, n 3. So  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  Louvre 62 (3/ B.C.), *ap.* RL;  $\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  BM 354 (1/ B.C.);  $\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  *ib.*; also in

OP 94 (1/), 97, 364 (1/), BM 306 (2/), OP 261 (1/);  $\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$  *ib.*;  $\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  FP 109 (1/);  $\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon$  BU 816 (3/);  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta$  BM 255 (2/). So  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon$  in IMA ii. 35 (1/ B.C.). The Attic perf.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$  occurs as late as the end of 2/, BU 388, but this does not prove it really current.

There are a good many  $-\omega$  forms, as might be expected.  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\eta$  BU 542, CPR 5 (2/), CPR 188 (1/2);  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\eta\omega\varsigma$  CPR 20 (3/).  $\iota\pi\omicron\tau\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  BU 350 (2/);  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  BU 326 (2/),  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\iota\theta\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\omega\varsigma$  BM 239 (4/).  $\delta\iota\delta\omega$  or  $\delta\iota\delta\omega$  BU 261 (2/3), OP 121 (3/);  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$  or  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$  opt., BM 24 (2/ B.C.—see Kenyon on the badly spelt duplicate 35);  $\delta\iota\delta\iota$  (=  $\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\iota$  3 sg. pres.) BU 38 (2/3),  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\iota$  (=  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\iota$  impf.!) BU 602 (2/)<sup>1</sup>; also, from unambiguous  $-\acute{\omicron}\omega$  stem,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\alpha$  (=  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta$ ., following  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha$ ) BU 44 (2/),  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  BU 86 (2/). In the aorist we have  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron$  BU 159 (3/), CPR 222 (2/) and  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron$  CPR 191 (2/), (imper.  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  BU 360 (2/)). On the other hand the regular  $-\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron$  appears in G 25, 33 (2/ B.C.), GH 15 (*id.*), and in OP 172 (1/), BU 415 and GH 59 (2/). For N.T. exx. see WM 95 n. The aor. opt.  $\delta\omicron\iota$  occurs in (presumably) three out of four copies of Dresd., the fourth having present  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$  or  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ . These are best explained as due to the plural, like *sit* for *siet* in Latin.

The subjunctives  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$  (from  $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\omega$ ) and  $\delta\omicron\iota$  (made by proportional analogy,  $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}$ :  $\delta\acute{\omicron}$  =  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ :  $\delta\omicron\iota$ ), on which see WM 95 n, 360, have good attestation. Mayser (p. 37) quotes  $\delta\omicron\iota$  from a Petrie papyrus of 240 B.C. For  $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ (s) we have FP 124 (2/)  $\epsilon\iota \mu\eta \pi\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\eta\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  (with the familiar *v* for *oi*); BU 822 (3/)  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\dots\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ ; For  $\delta\omicron\iota$ (s), FP 112 (1/)  $\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\alpha\alpha\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\iota$ , BU 811 (1/)  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\omega \iota\eta\alpha \delta\delta\varsigma$ , OP 269 (1/)  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\eta \sigma\omicron\iota \delta\delta$  (twice however  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is for  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ), BU 741 (2/)  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\eta \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\eta [\acute{\alpha}]\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\iota$ — $\epsilon\iota \mu\eta \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\eta\eta \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\iota$ ], BU 246 (2/3)  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\eta\eta \delta\omicron\iota$  (present sequence). In two identic inscriptions from the early Empire (*C.I.A.* III. i. 73, 74) quoted by Viteau *Le Grec du N.T.* (1893) p. xxi. we find  $\delta\iota \acute{\alpha}\eta \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\iota$  (73) replaced by  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\iota$  in the more correct copy (74).

The infin.  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$  is fairly common: FP 109, BU 824 (1/), 34 (2/), OP 68 (2/) ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ , unless this is really  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$  after analogy of present, but  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$  in the same document makes mere accident likely), BU 38 (2/3), 326 (2/), 595 (1/— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$  again), and probably elsewhere, though not normal.

<sup>1</sup> On the imper.  $\delta\iota\delta\iota$  ( $\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\iota$ ) in BU 261 (2/3) see Deissmann NBS 20: like  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\iota$  it is, he rightly thinks, formed from the  $\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$  analogy.

Subj. δώσω comes in BU 635 (2/) εἴπης καὶ δώσης. μὴ ἀποδόσω, BM 121 (2/) εἴπης καὶ δώσης.

From εἰμί we have ἤμην G 21 (συνήμην, 2/ B.C.), OP 285 (1/), as in N.T., and a further parallel in the alternation of ἔστω and ἦτω (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> 274). ἦτω occurs BU 276 (2/3), 419, BM 121 *ter* (3/), BM 46 (4/); but ἔστω BU 543 (1/ B.C.), OP 265, 270 *bis* (1/), CPR p. 19 (3/), BM 233 (4/), 121 (3/, παρέστω, but ἦτω *ter*). Ἔστωσαν is in PP 14 (3/ B.C.), OP 265, CPR 1 (1/). A curious substitution of ἦν for ἦ is common: BU 543 ὅσων εἶν ἦν (1/ B.C.); 300 κἂν δέον ἦν, 820 ὅταν ἦν..., δηλώσω, BM 324 ὁπότεν ἦν (all 2/); BU 48 εἰν μὴ ἐνῆν, 246 μελησάτω ὑμῖν πῶς ἄλπος ἦν, OP 63 ἴνα...ἦν (all 2/3). In FP 124 (2/) εἰ καὶ γράμματα μὴ ἦν may be another ex., for the scribe has no objection to εἰ c. subj., and the 'fourth' kind

of conditional sentence is not common. N.T. uncials show this phenomenon: C\* Matt. 10<sup>13</sup>, B\* Δ Mc. 5<sup>18</sup>, D\* Lc. 5<sup>14</sup>, S\* Lc. 20<sup>28</sup>, A 1 Cor. 16<sup>4</sup>, S 2 Jo.<sup>12</sup>. The dropping of final ν—as περιῆ OP 68 (2/), ἀνέβη BU 821 (2/), etc.—is a product of the weakening of a final nasal (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> 76), which is presumably responsible for its wrong insertion: cf. the irrational ι adscript described above.

From κάθημαι comes 2 sing. κάθη OP 33 (2/): see Brugmann 275, 355.

Verbs in -νμι preserve their unthematic forms in the middle, but have alternative -ω forms in the active much as in Attic: e.g. ὀμνύς GH 79 (3/), BU 21 (4/), but ὀμνύων BU 92 (2/).

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### THE DELIAN AMPHICTYONY.<sup>1</sup>

THERE has been for many years a discussion regarding the composition of the board of Amphictyones which Athens sent to Delos in the early part of the fourth century B.C. The dispute is grounded on an ambiguity in the heading to the accounts presented for the years 377/6–375/4 B.C. This runs as follows:—

[Θ]εο[ί]. Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέο ἀρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαραγγλιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δῆλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένης ἀρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαραγγλιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰππῖο ἀρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἥρξεν, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπιοδωρο Σκαμβονιδίῳς ἐγγραμμύτευεν, ἀπὸ Χαρισάνδρου ἀρχοντος Ἰδιώτης Θεογένους Ἀχαρνέως μέχρι τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδου Ξυπεταιῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ Καλλέο ἀρχοντος, Ἐπιγένης [Μ]εταγένης ἐκ Κοίλης, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμο Μαραθῶνιος, Ε[π]ικρά[της] Μενεστράτο Παλληνεύς.

Accepting this, Dittenberger's punctuation, we have presented to us herewith the accounts of the board for the term beginning with the entrance of Kalleas to the archonship at Athens on the first of Hekatombaion 377/6 B.C. and ending with the month Thargelion in the archonship of Hippodamas 375/4 B.C. The board in office at the end of the term differs in its personnel from the board in office at the beginning of the term.

<sup>1</sup> See for literature Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,<sup>2</sup> i. No. 86 and p. 641; also the notes.

From the end of the month Hekatombaion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4 B.C.) to the end of the month Thargelion in the same archonship, i.e. to the end of the term, the board is composed of three members only, Epigenes Metagenes' son from Koile, Antimachos Euthynomos' son from Marathon, and Epikrates Menestratos' son from Pallene. From the beginning of Charisandros' archonship (376/5 B.C.) to the end of Hekatombaion in Hippodamas' year (375/4 B.C.), i.e. for thirteen months, the board consisted of the three just mentioned and Idiotes Theogenes' son from Acharnai. For the first year of the term, i.e. for Kalleas' archonship (377/6 B.C.), the board consisted of the three first named and Sosigenes Sosiades' son from Xypete. That is to say, the board consists of four members for the first year, of four members for the next thirteen months, and of three members for the last ten months. Three members hold office for the whole term, one for the first year only, and the other for the second year and the first month of the last year only.

A fact of considerable importance has been hitherto overlooked in the discussion, namely, that the members of the board are mentioned in the official order of their tribes, and that they belong to the last five tribes in that order. Thus Idiotes is from Acharnai (Oineis 6), Sosigenes from Xypete (Kekropis 7), Epigenes from Koile (Hippothontis



8) Antimachos from Marathon (Aiantis 9), and Epikrates from Pallene (Antiochis 10). This is the reason why the term of office (ὅσον χρόνον ἡρξεν) of Idiotes is given before that of Sosigenes, notwithstanding that the latter belongs first chronologically.

After the heading which has been quoted above follow the accounts of the board for the term. It is noteworthy in them that no rents for *τεμένη* in Delos or Rheneia were paid in Kalleas' year and that rents on houses were paid in Hippodamas' year only. The houses were those confiscated at the beginning of Charisandros' archonship. Rents would naturally fall due in the following year: so with properties let in Kalleas' year. At the end of the four years' term, however, rents due at that time were included in the receipts from the last year's transactions.

The heading to the accounts for the final year runs as follows: [Τὰδε ἐπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες ἀπὸ τῷ Σκιροφοριῶνος μηνὸς τῷ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος μέχρι Σωκρατίδ[ο] ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δῆλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Πανήμο μηνὸς μέχρι Πυρραίου ἄρχοντος, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπίοδώρο Σκαμβωνίδῃς ἐγραμμίτευεν, Ἀθηναίων 17 spaces] δο Ὄηθεν, Νικομέ[ν]ης Ἰ[ε]ρωνος Ἀλα[κ]εῖς, Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένης ἐκ Κοί[λ]ης, Ἀντίμαχος Εἰθινόμο Μαραθῶνιος, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτο Παλ[λ]ηνεύς, Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλου, κ.τ.λ.

This is the heading of the accounts for the month of Skirophorion in Hippodamas' archonship (375/4 B.C.) and for the full year of Sokratides' archonship (374/3 B.C.) What follows completes what has previously been submitted, the whole forming the accounts for the four years 377/6, 376/5, 375/4 and 374/3 B.C., i.e. from the time of one great Delia to the time of the next. That the whole four years is looked upon as one term is evident from statements which appear in the accounts viz. Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέο, Χαρισάνδρο, Ἰπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδης ἐν Δῆλῳ δὲ Ἐπιγένης, Γαλαῖο, Ἰππίο, Πυρραίο. cf. l. 120ff. 110ff. The whole account was drawn up by the secretary (who held office for the whole term) for the members in office at the end of the term, care being taken to indicate in how far each member at any time belonging to the board was responsible for the transactions.

For the last thirteen months of the four years the board consists of five members, who are chosen from the last five of the tribes in the official order. In place of the members from Oineis and Kekropis, who

held office for thirteen months and twelve months respectively in the first period, appear two new members from the same tribes. *The inference seems unavoidable that the normal strength of the board was five.*<sup>1</sup> For some reason or other an individual appointed from Oineis failed to serve during the first twelve months of the term. He may have been Idiotes, and if so, came to Delos and began duty at the beginning of the second year. Or Idiotes may have been a new member appointed to replace the delinquent of the first year. Idiotes at any rate serves for thirteen months. He then disappears and for ten months Oineis has no representative. For the last thirteen months it again figures with a new man from Oe.

The first representative of Kekropis, Sosigenes from Xypete, serves for one year only. He then disappears and for two years lacking one month Kekropis has no representative. A new man, Nikomenes from Halai, is then elected for the last thirteen months.

The representatives of Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis remain in office for the whole four years.

Can any reason be urged for the irregularity in the representation of Oineis and Kekropis? We know of disturbances having occurred at Delos at about this time. Thus in line 134 ff. it is stated:

Οἷδε ὧφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ Χ]αρισάνδρο ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δῆλῳ δὲ Γαλαῖο, τ[ί]μημα τὸ [ἐ]πιγε[γ]ρα[μ]μένον [καὶ] αἰεφυγία, ὅτι [καὶ] ἐκ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ Δηλίο ἦγον τὸς Ἀμφικτύοντας καὶ ἔτεπτον.] Then follows a list of seven Delians fined a thousand drachmae each. The penalty was inflicted in 376/5 B.C., the crime may have been committed earlier. It may be that in the disturbances herein mentioned we have the reason why individuals shirked the service. Those who faced the danger and were beaten naturally wished to give credit to whom credit was due, hence the precision of statement.

The fact that this board of five was chosen from the last five tribes in the official order is instructive as to how boards of five<sup>2</sup> generally were distributed among the tribes. With boards of ten there was no difficulty: one was chosen from each tribe. Boards of five were chosen, one year or term from the first five tribes, and the next year or term from the last five. At least such was

<sup>1</sup> This was already Dittenberger's view.

<sup>2</sup> The *ὀδοποιοί* and the *εἰσαγωγαί*, for example.

probably the case. Aristotle<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the choregi, for example, says: Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὲν (χορηγοί) εἰς Διονύσια κατὰ φυλάς, εἰς Θαργῆλια δὲ δυοῖν φυλαῖν εἰς παρέχει δ' ἐν μ[έρει] ἑκατέρα τῶν φυλῶν. That this was not always true is shown in the case of the Amphictyones themselves; for in 341/0 B.C.<sup>2</sup> the board, though still consisting of five members and a secretary, was made up from the following tribes: Leontis (4), Oineis (6), Pandionis (3), Antiochis (10), Akamantis (5), Akamantis (5).

From the fact that in the four years 377/6–374/3 B.C. the last five tribes are represented, it is natural to think that another four years term had preceded in which the first five tribes had held office. This is indeed not a necessary inference, as the group to begin may have been chosen by

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 56, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* viii. (1884), p. 394, n. 7.

lot. That the term under discussion begins with the year 377/6 B.C. is not due to the formation of the Athenian confederacy in the preceding year, but to the fact that 377/6 B.C. was the year following the celebration of the great Delia. Indeed the Delians are wanting among the states which joined Athens in 378/7 B.C. It seems to me probable that the island came into the hands of the Athenians before 378/7 B.C. and perhaps by capture. It is suggested that in 376/5 B.C., or even earlier, the Delians were dissatisfied with Athenian administration.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Delians can hardly have rebelled after the naval victory of Chabrias off Naxos in September of 376/5 B.C.

## VINDICIAE PROPERTIANAE.

BETWEEN five and six years ago—three years before I succeeded to the editorship of this Journal—my text and critical annotation of Propertius had the honour of being twice noticed at length in the *Classical Review* as a part of the second fasciculus of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* by Mr. T. W. Jackson, *C.R.* 1895, pp. 322 and, as a separately issued text with an enlarged *prae-fatio*, by Mr. A. E. Housman, *ib.* pp. 350 *sqq.* The fulness care and courtesy of these notices and the interest of many of the points of Propertian criticism which they raised deserved an earlier acknowledgment; but I desired to allow full time for the consideration of the criticisms contained in them, and circumstances have conspired to make the interval longer than I intended. These *Vindiciae* will not deal with matters as to which this further consideration has convinced me that my critics are probably or certainly right nor with those upon which from their nature disputation would appear to be profitless: they will chiefly be directed to points upon which my position has, often very naturally, been misjudged or misconceived and accordingly stands in need of some further elucidation. They will not, however, be confined entirely to the questions raised by the two English critics referred to; but will include notices of passages where, as I have learned from others, my

readings are liable to be misapprehended or upon which emendations of mine without elucidatory comments have since been published in the *Classical Review*.

I will begin with certain places where the issue appears to be one of *palaeographical probability*. But before discussing these, I would draw attention to certain principles of emendation which are not always borne in mind even by professed and experienced emenders.

To take a single example, it is true enough that in Latin MSS. *c* is frequently confused with *g*, *e* and *t*; but this truth is only misleading if we make use of it in dealing with a Latin text which there is no reason to believe has passed through the stages in which these particular confusions were possible. It is therefore a condition of sound emendation in any author that *no Letter-change*, as such, be postulated unless the MS. tradition furnishes evidence that the text passed through a stage at which such change was possible. Of the other causes of corruption it is enough to say that we should employ them as grounds of explanation in the order (*ceteris paribus* of course) of their comparative frequency. For example interpolation is, speaking generally, comparatively an uncommon source of alteration, and we should therefore be loth to assume it in a given case. These are the principles to which I

should require the conjectural correction of Propertius to conform and by which I should wish my own emendations and their rivals to be judged.

I will now endeavour to justify the commendation which Mr. Housman bestows upon this part of the work ('very few of Dr. Postgate's corrections are without probability') by showing that he is mistaken about the instance which he cites as an exception.

### III. vii. 60.

attulimus sontes in freta uestra manus?

Here *sontes*, my correction for the MS. *longas*, is said to be diplomatically improbable, and Francius' *castas* on that account to be preferred. The objection and the preference appear to rest upon neglect of the circumstance pointed out in my pamphlet *Upon certain MSS. of Propertius* p. 38 and note 2, that *f* and *l* are confused by the MSS. of Propertius; III. 12, 38 'penelope lelia' for 'penelopef (A)elia,' 23, 22 'figna' for 'ligna' and IV. 8, 68 'fulca' for 'fulc' i.e. 'fulcra,' are instances common to all the MSS. while there are others where it appears in single ones. For the confusion of *a* and *e* in terminations is quite well known and found in our MSS. at e.g. II. 16, 29 and 46 and IV. 11, 81: *a*, *i* are also confused in our MSS. e.g. at III. 15, 3, IV. 9, 5. So that the rarer ending *-is* may be the right one to select. So far my emendation assumes two changes both slight and both attested for the MSS. of our author. I turn to the proposal of Francius. It also involves two not improbable changes, *c* for *g* and the omission by haplography of *TAS* after *CAS*. Setting off the first pair of changes against the second pair we arrive, in the case of *sontes* or *sontis*, at †*lontas* and, in the case of *castas*, at †*gas*. I will leave it to the reader to determine which of the two corruptions *lontas* or *gas* a scribe is more likely to have made into *longas* and then what meaning there is in the statement that *sontes* is 'without diplomatical probability.' The sense of *sontes* is the same as that of Mr. Housman's apparently now abandoned correction *nocuas*, and the note of interrogation at the end of the line is his too: *sontes* however has this advantage over *nocuas* that it does not involve an unsupported sense of the word.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is of course possible that *longas*—*manus* is simply an unconscious reminiscence of II. 2, 5: but in that case it is impossible to determine what adjective has been extruded, and every scholar may fill up the gap with any word that takes his fancy.

### III. xi. 57 sq.

septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi,

femineo extimuit territa Marte minas?

The ground of objection to the *extimuit* in my emendation (*femineas timuit*), though not stated, appears to be a similar one: at all events the question of diplomatical probability must have a prominent place in the treatment of this passage. Now it is easy to see that, if I had changed *femineas* to *femineo* of which I am glad to find not only Mr. Housman but Mr. H. Richards (*Cl. Rev.* 1899, p. 17) approve, and had left *timuit* standing, I should have been guilty of proposing a needlessly violent alteration. Why should a copyist have causelessly changed *femineo* to *femineas*? The word has an obvious construction and *minas* is some distance off. We must seek then for some external ground for the corruption, and my emendation supplies it. The confusion of *x* and *s* (which appears to be in general a phonetic one), is frequent in our MSS. I may illustrate from II. 1, 22 'Xersis' (AFN for Xerxis), III. 10, 6 'minax' (all the MSS., wrongly, in spite of Baehrens, for minas), I. 15, 5 'hesternos' AN, 'externos' DF, 'esternos' V, IV. 1, 66 '(a)estimēt' N, 'extimet' the other MSS. *ex* then written *es* and parted from its verb provides the necessary bridge (*femineoes*) for *femineo* to pass into *femineas*. Wrong divisions of words are very common in our MSS.: see I. 6, 15 'cū uitia' N for 'conuicia,' III. 12, 14 'si credunt (ent)' for 'sic redeunt' II. 32, 5 'deportantes sed abitur' N for 'deportant esseda Tibur.' In sense *extimuit* has a distinct advantage over *timuit*, which simply duplicates the notion of *territa*, *extimuit* on the contrary meaning 'she shrank before the menaces.' Compare for the alleged fact v. 42 (ausa) 'et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas, and for the expression Ov. *Her.* 14, 5 'quod manus extimuit iugulo demittere ferrum, sum rea' 'my courage failed' and the exact parallel in Tib. 2, 6, 50 'aliquas extimuisse minas.' It may be as well to add that the elision 'femine[o] extimuit' is Propertian as in II. 32, 40; cf. v. 31 of this very poem.

### III. xxi. 19 sq.

deinde per Ionium uectus cum fessa Lechaea  
sedarit placida uela phasellus aqua.

As the MSS. have 'Lechaeo' Guictus' conjecture 'Lechaei' is said to be more probable than mine on the ground that scribes would have less temptation to alter



*Lechaea*, especially with so many similar terminations in the neighbourhood to protect it.' The objection is specious enough until we look into it. Assimilation of dissimilar terminations is a familiar phenomenon: a change which results in dissimilation of similar ones seems on the other hand strange. And yet there is nothing remarkable about it. In the first case the scribe is doing his work with some, though insufficient, attention to the context; in the second case he is not concerning himself with it in the least, but copying mechanically or, if you like, letter by letter. Thus in the first case, the context may protect a word; in the second it cannot. As there is a noticeable unwillingness on the part of both *docti* and *indocti*, the unbiassed tiro no less than the experienced scholar, to acknowledge the existence of these dissimulations, I will set down here a few of these that I have observed. In Ovid *Fast.* 6, 68 *matre* stands immediately below *mater* but that did not prevent the Ursinianus from corrupting it to *parte*. At Manilius 2, 2 'regum regemque' the first hand of the Gemblacensis has 'rerum r.' At *Ov. Fast.* 5, 57 regard for a following *hinc* did not hinder the Ursinianus and other manuscripts from going out of their way, as it would seem, to corrupt '*hinc stanti*' to '*instanti*.' And so when we remark that at Catullus 68, 158 'a quo sunt primo <mi> omnia nata bona' the vicinity of '*omnia nata*' did not preserve '*bona*' from passing into '*bono*', nor at Propertius II. 12. 18, 'traice tela tua,' the vicinity of 'tela' protect '*tua*' from becoming '*tuo*,' we need no longer think it wonderful if the neighbouring -a's did not preserve '*Lechaea*' from passing into '*Lechaeo*.' But—and here the situation becomes really amusing—Gruetius' emendation is open to exactly the same criticism as mine. I postulate that when the scribe changed '*Lechaea*' he was uninfluenced by the neighbouring terminations in -a, and Gruetius must have assumed the same, because otherwise the '*Lechaei*,' which he thinks original, would have become '*Lechaea*,' not '*Lechaeo*.'

So far '*Lechaei*' has no superiority over '*Lechaea*' and in other points of diplomatic probability I must judge it actually inferior as it postulates a letter-change of which I could find no example in the MSS. of Propertius (although o is apparently corrupted to i by N at II. 10, 23 'inipes' and by DV at I. 15, 11 'multis') for one which involved only one of the commoner changes; see e.g. Baehrens'

apparatus criticus at I. 13, 32, II. 32, 61, III. 13, 66. I should myself be loth to suppose that *Lechaeo* was due to conscious alteration, but supposing this to be maintained, I should point out that *Lechaei* referring to *aqua* in the pentameter would be at least as difficult as *Lechaei* to copyists who wanted an easy construction. *Lechaea* has a further advantage over *Lechaei* in that, though attested for Augustan poetry (Grattius 227), it is a much rarer word. The accumulation of adjectives with one substantive, even where the terminations are similar, is a feature of Propertius' style. I referred to this long ago in *Select elegies of Propertius* (pp. cv., lxxxix.). It has caused trouble at III. 19. 21 sq. 'tuque, O Minoa uenundata Scylla figura | tondens purpurea regna paterna coma,' where all commentators take *uenundata* with *Scylla* in spite of Ovid *Met.* 8. 90 sqq., 'proles ego regia Nisi | Scylla tibi trado patriaeque meosque penates. praemia nulla peto nisi te. cape pignus amoris | purpureum crinem nec me tibi tradere crinem | sed patrium mihi crede caput,' which proves it is to be construed with *regna paterna*.<sup>1</sup>

I have assumed throughout that *Lechaeo* is corrupt. Its last interpreter (Rothstein *ad loc.*) asks us to believe that *mari* is to be supplied with it as with *Ionio*, that is that a passenger by a P. and O. steamer might describe his arrival in the bay of Naples by saying that he had passed over the Mediterranean (sea) and anchored in the Neapolitan (sea).

I conclude this section with two passages of which I have published corrections in the *Classical Review* which I fear must have seemed licentious to some of my readers. In II v. 3 sqq. Propertius is threatening Cynthia with a fit retribution for her infidelities. He will seek another and a more faithful mistress.

haec merui sperare? dabis mihi perfida  
poenas:  
et nobis aquilo, Cynthia, uentus erit:  
inueniam tamen e multis fallacibus unam  
quae fieri nostro carmine nota uelit.

For *aquilo* (which I defended *consule Planco*) *aliquo*, the correction of H. Boscha and Lachmann and now the vulgate, must of course be written. Burmann's *alio* was preferred by Palmer but I believe under a misconception. The adoption of either

<sup>1</sup> I have quoted the last lines because of the strong support which they give to Markland's *purpuream-comam*.

*aliquo* or *alio* however leaves the emendation of the line unfinished, as *aliquo* has no construction. *Nobis huc uentus erit* is not Latin for *huc nos uentus feret* or anything else. Accordingly I proposed (*C.R.* 1897, p. 405.) *cursus*, which provides *aliquo* with what it lacks. In this connexion *cursus* is a highly appropriate word. It is almost technical of a favourable passage by sea. See Cicero ad Att. 5, 8, 1 '*cursum expectabamus*' 'I am waiting for a passage,' i.e. a fair wind. Ov. Met. 8, 3 '*dant placidi cursum redeuntibus Austri.*' Virg. Aen. 3. 454 sq. '*quamvis increpitem socii et ui cursus in altum | uela uocet possisquesinus implere secundos.*' The construction of *aliquo* after the verbal phrase may be illustrated by Cicero ad Fam. 12.6. '*omnis omnium cursus est ad uos.*' The metaphor of a prosperous voyage and a safe arrival in harbour is of course common enough in Propertius; II 14, 29 sq. and III 24, 15 sqq. will do for illustration. The corruption is not difficult to account for, as soon as we have seen that it has arisen from an over-written *r* being mistaken for a nasal stroke, *uētus* and *cū'us*, for which source of corruption I must again refer to my dissertation *On certain Manuscripts of Propertius* p. 34. The mistaking of *c* for *e* has produced much confusion at I 15, 7 '*Eois*' where N has '*et chois*,' while A and F have gone still further astray. How much error it may produce when combined with abbreviation can be seen from II 1, 31 where F has corrupted *c* i.e. *cum* into *ē* i.e. *est*. If *cū'us* was once misread *uē'us*, nothing would save it from passing into *uentus*.

### III. iv. 3 sq.

Magna, uiri, merces; parat ultima terra triumphos:

Tigris et Euphrates sub iuga uestra fluent.

So I write now. *Tua iura* the MSS. with no variants except that L, the Holkham MS., has *flue* for *fluent*. My proposal assumes the following corruptions, all attested for Propertius (I give specimens only). As regards *iuga, tua*: *t* for *i* as III 8, 29 '*Graia*' '*grata*' MSS., III 5, 41 '*furiae*' '*furte*' F cf. III 14, 30 '*uia*' '*tua*' D, '*ūra*' F; omission of *g* III 8, 19 '*in iurgia*' N '*iniuria*' the rest. As regards *uestra, iura*: confusion caused through the well-known compendium of *uestra, ūra* here confounded with *iura*, as elsewhere with *ūra* the similar compendium of *nostra*: so at II 25, 40 '*uestra*' DV '*nostra*' FN and, only four lines above the pentameter before us, III 3, 52 '*nostra*'

is given as '*ūra*' in F. So much for these unduly exigent trifles as some may think them: I pass from them to the sense. The unsoundness of the MS. tradition is manifest. Augustus is nowhere addressed in the poem: and Kaisers are not to be thus unceremoniously apostrophised. Of conjectures, Mr. Housman's '*Thybris, et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent*' claims attention first: it is due to it that I should state my grounds for withdrawing the assent which it received on p. 39 of my pamphlet.

Passing over minor considerations, such as the fact that Propertius, when referring to the Tiber, does not use the Greek form, *Thybris*, but Roman ones *Tiberis Tiberinus*, and that the nominative *Thybris* does not appear elsewhere to be used for the vocative, the proposal is open to two serious objections. It offends against lucidity; for what reader would of himself suppose that in *Thybris et Euphrates* the seeming nominative was really a vocative and that the *et* coupled not the Tiber and the Euphrates, but the hexameter and the pentameter? The natural punctuation of the proposed verse would be this '*Thybris et, Euphrates, sub tua iura fluent*' and its meaning the reverse of what its author intended. Secondly, it is out of keeping with the context. It checks the course of Propertius' here rapid and straightforward diction by interposing a sentence which is syntactically obscure and which requires learned comment to make it intelligible. Mr. Housman's conjecture, however, had more to recommend it than any previously proposed—certainly more than Bronkhusius' artificial *sua iura* or Baehrens' strange *noua iura*.

But for the difficulty in *tua*, '*Tigris et Euphrates*' would probably have been left in peace. Their emphatic conjunction is in keeping with the rest of the passage and the two rivers are elsewhere associated, e.g., at Ov. A.A. 1, 223 sq. and there seems to be reason for believing with Heinsius that Claudian in IV. Cons. Hon. 315 sqq. '*uictura feretur | gloria Traiani non tam quod Tigride uicto | nostra triumphati fuerint prouincia Parthi*' was recalling this and the following line. Volpi long ago suggested that Propertius was imitated by Ausonius in the lines of epigr. 31 (4) '*Danuuius penitus caput occultatus in oris | omnis sub uestra iam dicione fluo* and I agree; but these must be taken with their sequel '*omnia sub uestrum flumina mitto iugum.*' Ausonius might have read either *iura* or *iuga* in this line of Propertius, but he could not have read both;

and, as I cannot find for *iura* for the reason already given, I must find for *iuga* and so of course for *uestra*. For the plural compare

Horace *carm.* 2, 6, 2, 'Cantabrum indoctum *iuga* ferre nostra.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

(To be continued.)

## A SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF MARTIAL.

### II. (continued from vol. xiv. p. 355).

II. Epist. 1 parum enim tibi praestamus Q: parum enim tibi prestamus P 3 uerbis dicere Q 6 sua imala Q i. 5 peragit P 7 legeres E 8 si licet E ii. 6 chatis E iv. 7 matremque Q v. 2 post v. 4 E 3 distingunt Q vi. 2 post v. 3 QF 3 spectasses cato collium Q vii. 1 attale Q (in lemm. AD ACTALVM Q: AD ATTALVM P) 5 attice Q 6 bellus artel. (om. es) E 7 facis attamen Q 8 quid sis om. Q hardalio Q ut vid. xi. 2 sero Q 4 tang. ind. Q 10 quae est QFP xii. 2 quod nūquamque tibi est Q xiv. 1 inquit E 6 phyllirides Q: pyllirides E 13 thermis iterumque iterumque iterumque Q 15 europes tepida Q 17 uector Q xv. 2 harme (et in lemm. AD HARMVM) Q xvi. 4 quid nisi (ex qui misi ut vid.) Q 5 demitte EFQ xvii om. Q xxiii. 2 quid Q: qui FP 3 enim quid ne. (om. mihi) Q xxvi. 2 tuos QP xxix. 1 tenentem QF 3 quotiens Q 10 quid Q legas V: leges E xxx. 3 fidusque Q xxxi. 1 crestinam Q: christinam E xxxii. 3 portat Q 5 lectoria Q: laetoria F xxxiv. 6 pontica QF xxxvi. 3 mitharum Q: mytharum F xxxvii. 1 uersus Q 6 alica Q xxxviii. 2 reddet E xxxix om. Q 1 formosae F xl. 3 nunc Q 5 siccentur QF annus succexit Q xli. 10 manumue Q xliii. 5 furia et F xlv. 2 tres Q 6 set ut Q 11 cum rogeris Q xlviii. 3 et paucos set ut el. Q xlix cum xlviii conflatur Q li. 3 non aufert QF lii om. Q 1 loturos E liii. 2 potes Q 8 tanta V liv. 5 maligniusque est P lv. 3 sexte colo Q lvi. 1 male audit om. Q lvi. 2 foede Q lvii. 2 saecta E 7 modo (semel) V: m.m. E lxi. 1 tenera Q 3 fastigia Q 5 minimaque in ras. E lxii. 4 quod Q lxiii. 3 amarum Q lxiv. 2 taure Q quis E 8 potest Q lxvi. 4 flagusa Q: phlegusa F 6 insanum Q: sanum F tangat Q 8 tua P lxvii. 4 dicis Q: dicam F lxviii. 9 omi. Q lxx. 2 zoile Q quae om. Q lxxi. 5 illud QF lxxii. 4 tullia QF lxxiii om. Q 1 quod fortia E lxxiv om. Q 1 saufelium F 7 ruricolemus Q<sup>2</sup>) lxxvi. 2 dedit Q lxxix. 1 uocasse P lxxxii. 1 Abscisam sermone fugis quod

Q linguam Q lxxxiii. DE MOECHO NARIBVS TRVNCO Q 3 truncis Q lxxxv. 1 coptae QF lxxxvi. 10 inertiarum F: ineptiarum Q xc. 5 uiuere Q xcii null. lemm., sed non confl. cum xci in Q.

III. ii. 4 madidas Q 11 croceo Q iii. om. Q iv. 7 ueniae E responde poetae E 8 citharoedis E v. 1 rursus Q 10 habere libet Q vii. 2 conglarium Q viii. 1 amat uerum quam thaيدا luscum Q xi. 3 dixi QF 6 amet Q xiii. 1 Dum non uis piscem dum non uis carpere pullos Q xiv. 1 esurit orto cocius E xv. 1 credit Q xvi. 2 tribui E 5 corio] satis est QF xvii. 1 secundus E 3 sabido Q: sabida F xix. 2 pictae QF prata noua Q xx. 5 locus QF 6 hereis E 7 ani coturnis E sopheleis Q 9 tinctus atticos Q: tinctus attico F 10 hui (sic) si ressit Q teri Q 12 rufus QF 14 ambulatue Q 15 pertinet hermis E xxi. 1 notatus Q xxii. 1 aprici Q xxiii. null. lemm., sed non cum xxii confl. in Q 1 recto pueris Q xxiv. 2 grata satis Q 8 manus Q 10 hanc Q xxv. 4 neronicanat (sic) refr. (om. hic) Q xxvi 5 puta ut vid. Q xxix om. Q xxxi. 4 mensa Q xxxii. 1 quereris sed matria Q: quaeris matrinia F 3 nioben o matria Q xxxiv. 2 frigida est E xxxv. hab. Q 2 respices aspicias E xxxviii. 1 te om. E 3 cicerone disertius ipso QF 4 par mihi nemo foro Q 6 norasse neutri Q 12 aliud E xxxix. 2 Iusta EXV xlv. 3 cura Q 4 Quod scire (om. sit) EF: Quod fit scire P: Quod sit scire Q xlv. 1 mensam ph. Q 3 ista Q 5 rhombos Q xlv. 5 cunctos umbo rep. E 6 ingeniumque QF 7 in causam narraueris Q 11 praestabit Q: prestabs (sic) E xlvii. 4 plus illi Q 6 ruris trahent Q 8 possum Q 10 coram Q turris VE: turdis X 12 uicticti l. fabo E 1. 4 ostygarumque E: ossigarumque Q lii. 2 hac E liv. 1 possum Q 2 multos Q: multo E lv. 1 putamque E 2 effusus Q 3 cellia Q lviii. 7 multas E 11 purit E 17 rhodia superbis minas promunt E 18 columparum Q 24 carbo Q 26 subdole Q 29 ormis Q: hormis F 37 hinc v.m. hispide uetus Q 42 auara seruat Q 48 pascentis



Q urbane *E* 51 uocari (*om. debet*) Q : uocari debet *F* lx. 5 pusillos *QF* lxii. 3 deci Q 7 credis magno Q lxiii. 5 qui et gad. *QF* 9 missa *E* lxv. 1 malum tenera Q 3 cum floret Q 7 imber Q : imbrem *F* 8 nardos parta *E* lxvi. 1 fartis Q lxviii. 5 hinc Q lxix. 5 nequam iuuenes Q lxxi. 2 sed Q lxxii. 3 pendent a pectore *QF* 6 cinici Q 8 uicium peius (*om. habes*) Q lxxiii. 1 mutriniatis (*ex -anis*) Q 2 phoebe Q 4 te credere Q lxxiv. 2. 6 *transp.* Q lxxv. 3 bullique *E* lxxvi. 3 est haec Q 4 echuben Q lxxx. 4 iam *E* lxxxii. 2 summemia nascentur inter Q 5 galginatus Q 9 cuspidemque lentisce Q : cuspidisque lentisce *F* 13 corpus (*o ex corr. ut vid.*) Q 15 habet Q 16 suscitator *QF* 20 agri Q 25 myrtinisque Q 26 fuscis Q lxxxiii. 1 cortex *E* lxxxvi. 4 minus *QF* lxxxvii. 1 te rumor (*ex rumor te*) chione Q xc. 2 Quid uult *E* xci. 9 exciduntque Q 11 fama est quondam Q xciii. 2 sint *om.* *QF* 10 noctua uidet Q 15 admittit Q 19 uisumque Q 20 si satire *ex* si s\*\*\*\*e Q (*Q<sup>2</sup>*): si satiari *V* 21 uocauit *QF* 24 a coridet tr. *ut vid.* Q 26 ustorque tede Q xcv. 1 sed rides Q 9 esset *ut vid.* Q xevi. 3 prendere *E* xcviii. 1 sicculus *E* xcix. 3 innucos Q ludere Q 4 non liceat licuit *QF* c. 4 ille *QFP*.

IV i. 4 uide Q : uitae *F* 9 set Q iii. 2 caesaris inque Q 3 multo Q 6 dissimulare Q : —ri *F* iiv. 1 palus *QF* 12 quod *om.* *QF* v. 1 bonus *QF* uerus *QF* 7 circa Q 9–10 *om.* Q vi. 1 castiore *E* viii. 6 excelsos *F* 11 gressu timet ire Q 12 matutinos *ut vid.* Q thalia nostra *F* : thalia nostra Q ix. AD BVLLAM Q : AD FABULLAM *E* 1 clinici (*ex dunici ut vid.*) bulla Q : clinici labulla *E* 3 *ἐχει σωτως* Q xii. 1 negat *EF* xiii. 1 nupsit—pudenti Q 9 sedet ipsa maritus Q xiv. 4 fastus Q 14 marino *QF* xv. 2 meciliane *E* (*in lemm.* AD CAECILIANVM) xix. 4 endromiam *ex—mia* *E* 12 syndone Q xx ante xviii Q xxi. 3 haec Q : hoc ex hec *P* xxii. 7 in siluis Q xxiii. 3 gratumque *E* 6 sic c\*\*ropio (*ceir.?*) Q 7 romanae scholae *F* : roma scolae Q xxv. 6 ausit *ut vid.* Q 7 portus requiesque Q xxvi. 3 uiciros te puto Q xxvii. 2 rogat Q 3 honoratum me Q : honoratum non *F* xxviii. 3 et totam lepido totam Q xxix. 2 opes *F* : op\*\* (*opes?*) Q 3 pudent *QF* xxx. 6 quid quod Q 9 renuentem Q 13 rogatur *E* xxxi. 10 hippodamus (*us ex corr.*) Q xxxii. 3 malorum *QF* xxxiii. 3 me *E* xxxiv. 1 dicit *TQF* 2 dicit *TQF* xxxv. 3 superbis *E* xxxvii. 3 sabellus Q 5 ter ducenta Q : reducenta *F* xxxviii. 1 satiatur Q : sotiatur *F* ubi *QF* xxxix *om.* Q 7 gallanico *F* xl. 7 honorem *QF* 9 serum talium Q xlii. 1 locanti *E* : roganti *QF* 2 locare *FEQ* 4 nequitiam *QF* 6 esse solet *QF* 9 breuior sit

Q 14 uis *E* 15 fallis Q 15 dices (*ex—cens*) Q xliii. 11 cunnilingium Q xlv. 5 arbor Q xlv. 7 tressae librae *F* : tres\*elibrae (*1 tressae*) Q 9 lacuna *QF* 11 bullis *E* 14 ceno *QF* xlvii. 1 en castus *QF* xlviii. 1 phapyre *E* 2. 4 papyle *E* (*in lemm.* AD PAPILVM) xlix. 1 nescis *QF* sit *E* 2 putas *QF* 1. 1 thays Q : thais *F* 2 thays Q : thai *F* li. 2 late Q 3 decies tribuit Q liii. 6 dat latratos *QF* liv. 3 uacaris *QF* 5 nullis Q 10 neget *P* lv. 1 duorum Q 3 desertis *E* 18 peterem Q 19 ripas *QF* 20 sueuos Q : saeuos *F* : sylaos *E* 21 Turgentisque Q cura si aequae Q : turasiaequae *F* 22 paruo *QF* toutonissae *F* : toutonisse Q 23 pura theonis *QF* 24 quos *QF* lvii. 2 puniceis *QF* latent *QF* lix. 2 gemma Q 3 pinguis errore *E* 4 iuncta *F* : uincta *ex* iuncta Q lx. 3 curlatius Q : curatius *F* lxi. 3 incola Q 12 meridie Q 13 male Q 14 tam Q 16 audire *om.* Q lxii. 1 tiburiae herculeum *E* lxiii. 1 ab oculis *F* : a baulis *ras.* *ex* a baiulis Q 3 neroni *QF* lxiv. 2 heseridum Q 4 eminent *QF* 10 uitae Q 14 facit Q 19 patet *QF* 28 computet Q 31 quae *QP* 32 contentum Q 33 pendulam Q 34 dediti sediam Q : deditis ediam *F* lxxv. 2 quod *E* lxxvi. 8 rubens *QF* cadis *E* 12 turba Q 14 fluit *P* lxxvii. 5 talioque Q lxxviii AD SEXTVM (*non confl. cum lxxvi*) Q lxix. 1 marsica *QF* lxx. 1 mamiano Q : mammiano *F* 4 mamianus Q : mammianus *F* lxxi. 5 castae sunt Q lxxiii. 4 nulla *QF* 6 tetras Q 7 tam Q lxxiv. *om.* Q lxxv. 5 inlecta *QF* 7 pignora *E* lxxviii. 5 prodere Q 8 sigerosque Q lxxx cum lxxix *confl.* Q 4 sudares *F* : sudare Q 5 est erra *E* Q : est erras *F* 6 exurit Q lxxx. 3 bis terque Q lxxxii *om.* Q lxxxiv. 2 thaidam Q lxxxvi. 3 docte Q lxxxvii. 2 facit *QF* 3 es *F* : est Q lxxxix. 4 sceda Q 7 defecitque *QF*.

V. ii. 6 iocetur *QF* 8 cecropiam *corr. ras.* —pia *E* vi. *om.* Q viii. 3 recipit *QF* 5 rubens *QF* 11 illa Q 12 leitus (*i in ras.*) *E* x. 3 insunt Q xii. 1 pertinaci *E* xiv. 3 terque quaterque abstulit astra Q 11 se dedere *EQ* laeto *ex* laeto Q xv. 3 honoratus *ex—tum* Q nomine Q 6 prosunt Q xvi. 6 sollicitus (*ut vid.*) (*corr.—tos*) uellem Q : sollicitusque uelim *F* 12 nimium *QF* 13 inquit *QF* dixit *QF* satis est (*ē*) Q laudabimur *V* xvii. 4 cistifero *QF* xviii. 8 uoratam *QF* 9 nihil diuiti Q xix. 1 ueri (*i in ras.*) Q 2 secula nulla Q 11 sqq. *nov. epigr.* AD CAESAREM Q 13 regis *QF* 17 sq. *nov. epigr.* AD GERMANICVM Q xx. 7 imagine superbos Q xxii. 7 murorum Q 10 lassa *QF* xxiii. 2 iure *E* xxiv. 3 Herm. glad. (*et om.*) Q 8 sibi ipsi Q 15 et item Q xxv. 2 litus Q 3 exquis Q 11 amice *E* xxvi. 2 locarer *E* 4 hem me Q : betam me *E* xxviii. 1 loquar *E* 3 uincat

*E* 4 drusones *QF* xxx. 2 suscipiende *QF* xxxi. 7 gestus sed de discrimine palmarum *Q* xxxiv. 3 paruola *E*: paruola *X*: pallida *Q* xxxv. 5 et suscitant si ei tore luctatur *Q*: et suscitant si cito reluctatur *F* 6 equitisurbo *Q* xxxvii. 1 segnis *Q* 4 praeferens *Q* 5 indicentem *Q*: indice dentem *F* 9 rosarum *QF* 16 hiemem *ec E* xxxviii. 3 sicta mirice *Q*: sica merize *E* xli. 1 fluxo *Q* 3 sextus *EVX*: septus *Q* 5 fabulasque *Q* xlv. 2 quae *Q* xlvi. 3 credo *QF* 4 consequar hoc me *Q* xlviii. 7 nec crede *E*: ne crede *Q* xlix. 3 numeros *Q*: -os *ex -us F* 5 uel *Q* possunt *Q* 9 tunc *Q* li. 7 potes *E* liii. 1 quid scribis quod scribis *E* 4 aut *Q* lv. 1 portas *Q* lvi. 4 diuites *Q* lx. 4 a meis *F*: a meis a meis *Q* 8 erunt *Q* lxi. 7 agis *EF* inquit *QF*: inquis (*in ras.*) *E* lxii *om.* *Q* 8 instructum *F* lxiv *om.* *Q* 4 subtilibus *F* lxv. 2 nemees *QF* 4 sicala *Q* tusus *Q* 8 maior *Q* 9 maiora *Q* 11 si *om.* *Q* 13 quidem *Q* lxvii. 2 attidis *Q*: atthydis *F* 6 cum *Q* lxxi. 1 quae *Q* 5 faustine *Q* lxxiv. 2 lybyes *E* lxxvi. 1 pote *Q* 2 possint *Q* lxxviii. 3 propini *FQ* ut. *vid.* 7 culiculus *Q* 8 qui modo *Q* 13 perunt *Q* 24 placidis *E* 29 quo nec *Q* 30 cudili *Q* lxxix. 1 surrexti *QF* 3 in ut. *vid.* *Q* lxxx. 1 uocabis *Q* 5 iam turam *E* 6 ista *Q* lxxxix. 2 nullis *EQF* lxxxiv. 3 fritillos *QF* 9 habeat *E* 11 martia *Q* 12 Tuus *Q*

VI. ii. 1 faedae *Q* 4 quos *Q* iii. 6 toto *Q* v. 1 multis sum pedica numbis *Q* vii. 4 nubit *Q*: nubet *EF* thelesina *Q*: telesina *F* viii. 6 digno nequid *QF* x. 3 ille dedit *EF* 12 qua nondum taxata sunt *E* sunt *om.* *Q*: sint *P* xi. 3 turdus uedebatur *E* xii. 2 peierat *P* xiii. 1 formauit *PQ* 5 nudo *QF* 7 matris *QF* xv. 1 uag. form. *E* 3 contenta *QF* xvi. 1 tu qui *Q* 3 uetuit ut *vid.* *Q* xvii. 1 cinname cinam *P*: cinna cinnam ut *vid.* *Q* xix. 1 non diui ut *vid.* *Q* xxi. *om.* *Q* 8 iam *E* xxiii. 1 semper nostrum *Q* 4 te *om.* *Q* xxv. 8 ducis *Q* xxvii. 8 anus *QF* xxviii. 5 flaminea *Q* xxix. post xxx *Q* 4 glauci *Q* 8 ames *QF* xxx. 2 tulle *EF* 4 rogatus *QF* xxxi. 1 senisque *E* xxxii. 4 effodit *EF* nuda *Q* 5 calacre *E* xxxiii. 4 tam *Q* xxxv. 3 dicis *Q* xxxvi. 1 quantus *Q* xxxvii. 2 3 *om.* *Q* xxxix. 1 est *E*

3 filius qui *QF* 20 iam niobidarum (*ex mob-*) *Q*: iam niubidarum *F* 21 ehoraeus *E*: conresus *Q* xl. 3 quod tu non *Q* est *om.* *E* xlii. 8 micat *Q* 18 martiaue *Q* xliii. 6 ueste mihi sunt *E*: uestrae mihi sunt *Q* 9 urbis *Q* xlv. 3 in o. *Q* xlv. 4 turpius *Q* xlvii. 3 ab anna *E* 8 satis *QF* xlix. 10 nascitur *Q* l. 1 pueros *Q* 3 obs. cepit cepit *Q*: obs. coepit *E*: obs. coepit coepit *F* 4 mensa *E* li. 4 inquis *Q* lv. 4 coriane *ex* coririne ut *vid.* *Q* lviii. 1 cum *Q* 6 pudor *QF* 10 clarus *Q* lix. 5 refecere *E* ante *corr.* lx. 2 spargit *Q* 10 uicturum *Q* lxii. 1 salanus *E* 2 munera mittere appiane *Q* lxiii. 2 capiat *E* lxiv. 9 forique *EV* 20 timendus *Q*: -dis *F* 24 si quis *Q* 28 uiui nasum *Q* 32 tacitam *Q* lxv. 5 lunga *E* lxvi. 6 manum *Q* 9 dabat *E* lxix. 2 potet *Q* lxx. 12 priami (*om.* que) *QF* lxxi. 3 pelie ut *vid.* *Q*: paeliaeque *F* lxxiii. 3 ditissimus *QF* 4 nilharus *E* lxxiv. 1 unus *QF* 2 similem *Q* 3 fuditque *Q* lxxv. 1 turdumue *Q* lxxvii. 5 aper *QF* 6 si patiere *F*: si patiare *Q*: si spaciare *P* lxxviii. 1 potator *Q* lxxxi. 2, 3 *om.* *Q* lxxxii. 6 aures *Q* hēbat anas (*sic*) *Q* 12 mihi rufe *Q* lxxxiii. 5 summa *EF*: summe *Q* tonantque *Q* 7 etruscos *QF* lxxxv. 1 Editus est *Q*: Veditus est *F* mihi *om.* *Q* camenis *Q* 8 quanta *Q* lxxxvi. 2 mediconprohibente *E* 6 Et potet calidam qui mihi libet aquam *Q* lxxxviii. 2 sosibiane *QF* lxxxix. 1 peterem *Q* nocte metellam *Q* 3 spoletin *E* xci. 2 gaudet *E* futuis *QF* xcii. 2 pateram pronos *QF* xciii. 4 canit *E* 6 caro *E* 9 late *Q* 11 totam *QF* mille putabit *Q*: mille pictabit *F*: mihi lupus (*lup'*) aui *E* xciv. 1 palpetano *E*

In quoting the readings of *V* I ignore the red-ink corrections by a Renaissance hand.

To the supplementary apparatus for Book I the following additions have to be made.

xiii *confl.* cum xii *PQ* xlii—xlvi *om.* *P* xlviii. 6 caueae *P* lxxvi. 9 deorum *VX* lxxviii. 7 Sancta (*corr.*—am) romanam *P* lxxxiii. 1 manneia *X* (nn *etiam in lemm.*) ciii. 3—12 *om.* *P* cviii. 6 est *VX* 9 uel serius *PQ*

W. M. LINDSAY.

### TACITUS AGRICOLA, 10, § 3.

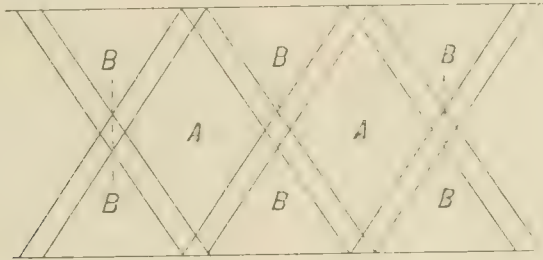
FORMAM totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama; sed

transgressis immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur.

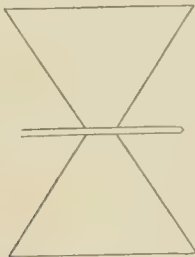
I am bold enough to think that the natural explanation of this much disputed

passage has been overlooked. Mr. Furneaux truly remarks that the *bipennis* would somewhat resemble two triangles united at their apices,' and that 'this would be in itself an intelligible representation of Britain north and south of the Caledonian isthmus.' 'But,' he continues, 'such a *bipennis* is widely different from a *scutula*.' Now is this so?

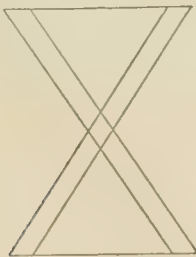
Or is it not rather that commentators have been wrong in their conception of the *scutula* as necessarily the diamond or rhomboidal figure in a tessellated pavement? Roughly represented, such pavements (see Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. *Scutula*) were worked in the following figure.

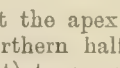


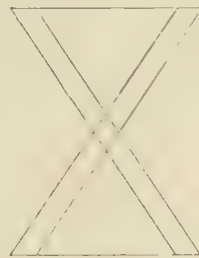
It has been assumed that the *scutula* in Tacitus is the enclosed diamond A. I venture on the contrary to believe that it is the enclosing X-shaped figure (BB). If this is the case, the relation of the *scutula* to the *bipennis* is obvious. The *bipennis* has the shape



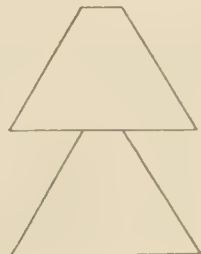
and the *scutula* the shape



clear enough in the light of these considerations. What he says is that, after you reach the isthmus, whereas (if the picture were true) the land beyond (*i.e.* Caledonia) should *begin* as almost the apex of a triangle and then widen northwards to its base (and have the shape ) , what really occurs is this—  where the shore almost seems to meet (in a point, *i.e.* at the apex of the southern triangle), the northern half runs outward (to left and right) to an enormous width, and then *tapers* northward, *i.e.* it takes the shape  , but is less regular. In other words, instead of the shape  being (for the whole island)



it is really



Tacitus then means that the whole island has been compared to one or other of these. He does not, he says, think the picture correct. It is the case, as Mr. Furneaux explains, that Britain below Caledonia does resemble one half of the double axe (and, as we may now see, of the *scutula* also), but for the other half, the resemblance does not apply. The words of Tacitus are surely



This notion was anything but unnatural for a Roman who, on reaching the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, found the land suddenly trend away so far westward

in Argyle and eastward in Fife, and who was told of the tapering again which occurred after rounding Buchan Ness.

T. G. TUCKER.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON APULEIUS.<sup>1</sup>

APOLOGIA (Ed. v. d. Vliet, 1900).

xxx. fin. *igitur ut solebat ad magorum ceremonias aduocari Mercurius carminum uector et illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia et Manium potens Triūna.*

Van der Vliet prints *inuentor* for *vector*, which can hardly be thought probable. I suggest, as much nearer, *fictor*.

[G. A. Simcox thought that *carminum uector* might be explained 'bearer of charms' quasi πομπὸς ἐπωδῶν.]

xxxv. *quaesisse de litore conchulam striatam testam habentem calculum teretem. Possibly hietantem.*

xxxviii. *et ne perose animalium genita pergam.*

So both F and φ. *perose* was printed *oprose* in the second Juntine edition, and this must, I think, be right: *genita* I suspect is *genera*: for *pergam*, perhaps *peragam*.

xli. *aiunt mulierem magicis artibus marinis illecebris a me petitam eo in tempore quo me non negabunt in Gaetuliae mediterraneis montibus fuisse, ubi pisces per deucalionis diluuiā reperientur.*

V. d. Vliet conj. *ubi pisces post Deucalionis diluuiā [non] reperiantur.* In this I fail to see why the future is changed to subjunctive: the general meaning seems natural enough: I was at the time in the Gaetolian mountains where it will be difficult to find any trace of fishes. A negative therefore must have fallen out, as v. d. Vliet supposes, but I should prefer *uix*, and this after *diluuiā*. *Per* may be right, 'where Deucalion's flood will hardly permit fish to be found': or again it might be an error for *super* beyond, at any time later than the flood. Aristotle *Meteorol.*, I. 14, 15, says the so-called Deucalion's flood was mainly confined to Greece: ὥσπερ ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο μάλιστα τόπον, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν.

[J. F. Myres thought the passage was ironical and did not require a negative.]

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read to the Oxford Philological Society, Nov. 16, 1900.

xliv. *omnium rerum conuictum me fatebor nisi rusa de omnium diu ablegatus est in longinquos agros ne familiam contaminaret.*

Possibly *nisi rus ideo omnium odio ablegatus est*, 'if he was not, in consequence of the general disgust, sent off to a remote district in the country to prevent his infecting the household.' *ideo* is explained by *ne f. contaminaret*.

xlix. *Plato philosophus in illo praeclarissimo Timaeo caelesti quadam facundia uniuersum mundum molitus. igitur postquam de nostri quoque animi trinis potestatibus sollertissime disseruit, . . . docuit.*

Rosbach's *molitur* introduces an abruptness hardly in the style of Apuleius. I fancy it has fallen out before *igitur* and that a comma should be substituted for a full stop after *molitus*. This resumption of the subject with *igitur* is common in Apuleius. Hildebrand quotes on *Flor.* I. 2, several examples from that work; p. 19, *Indi . . . eorum igitur Indorum*; p. 28, *si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coetu . . . si qui igitur ex illis*, and there are others.

lix. *cum animaduertisses caput iuuenis barba et capillo populatum madentis oculos cilia turgentia rictum saluosa labia uocem absonam manuum tremorem tructu spinam.*

Perhaps *ructum, spumam*. Rutgers long ago conj. *rictus spumam*. But the rhythm of the sentence makes it probable that there was a pause between the last two words *ructum, spumam*; and *rictus* has already preceded.

lx. *quanquam sunt solita audacia et importuna impudentia praediti.*

Neither the old emendation *soluta* nor Jahn's *insolita* satisfies. I think the word is *stolida*.

lxi. *qui mihi factum uolebat.*

This seems right, as explained by the words shortly following *quod et futurum et factum multi . . . scierunt*. Sicinius wished the image to be not only undertaken by the maker, but completed, *perfectum sigillum* as Apuleius says a little below. Van der Vliet prints (*gratum*) *factum*.

lxiv. *quin altitudinis studio secta ista etiam caelo ipso sublimiora quaequam uestigavit et in extimo mundi tergo retit.*

*Tergo stetit* (or *restitit*) would suit Plato's words *Phaedr.* 247 C. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατοι καλούμεναι, ἡνίκ' ἂν πρὸς ἄκρῳ γένωνται, ἔξω πορευθεῖσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νότῳ, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

lxvii. *cuius clari dilucet.*

Jahn's *clarius die lucet* does not seem to me certain. May not *claridie* like *postridie* be a possible word 'in clear day'?

lxviii. *quaeso uti adhuc fecistis uos uel si quo magis etiam potestis.*

This is a possible emendation of *adhuc feciros* which F and φ give. It seems incredible that it should represent *fecistis* by itself. The pronoun is added xcvi. *ehem recte uos ammonetis.*

lxxxii. fin. *haec et id genus † ea.*

*alia* Fulvius: *cetera* may also be suggested.

lxxxv. *tunc ultimo parentis tuae animum in istis scrutaris oculis obseruas suspiritus numeras?*

*ultimo* is certainly not *ultime*, a vocative = *pessime*; I suggest that it may be *uolpio*, which is used in the required sense of a man dead to considerations of pity and natural feeling in lxxxvi fin. *etiam cum matri blandirere tamen iam tum uolpionem et impium fuisse.*

xcvi. *puta me acta apud Avitum non litteras ipsius legisse. quid posses uel quas quis in isto negotio accusare?*

For *quas quis* read *quas uis* sc. *litteras*, punctuating thus: *puta me acta apud Avitum, non litteras ipsius, legisse. Quid? posses uel quasuis in isto negotio accusare?* Suppose I had read no letter from Avitus, but a mere statement of what happened where Avitus was. Tell me, is *any* letter forthcoming which you could arraign in the business we are speaking of?

And Apuleius immediately proves his assertion by reciting in court a letter written to him by the elder Pontianus from Carthage, which far from bearing a resentful or indignant tone breathed nothing but respect and affection.

The immediately following passage was, I think, ably cleared up by the skilful criticism of Bosscha, of which I regret to find v. d. Vliet has taken no notice.

*ut sciat frater eius, accusator meus, quam in omnibus minervae curriculum cum fratre optumae memoriae uiro currat.*

Bosscha saw that *minervae* contained the determining word of the clause, *minor*; the last syllable he thought was *u(it)ae*. This part of his emendation is of course doubtful; but that *minor* is right I feel nearly certain, from the thoroughly Latin order and run of the words *quam in omnibus minor*, as well as from the strangeness of the combination *minervae curriculum*, no real parallel for which has yet been produced. The doubtful letters *-uae* might perhaps be the remains of *ipse*, or even *ille*, if Apuleius might be allowed to forget the subject of the sentence and hold up the younger brother to more distinct ridicule by the deictic pronoun.

xcvii. *postquam tuas quoque paris epistolas promerem.*

I believe this to be right as it stands in F φ: *post quam (epistolam Pontiani maioris) tuas quoque paris epistolas promerem* 'and after this letter from the elder Pontianus I should produce similar letters of your own' i.e. of the younger Pontianus. Editors have gone wrong from failing to see that *post quam* is not the conjunction, but the preposition and its accusative.

[D. B. Monro objected to this that it would not be sufficiently intelligible from anything which preceded. But the way is prepared by *litteras* at the end of xcvi.]

FLORIDA (Ed. van der Vliet, 1900).

ix. (p. 156). *nec reuocare illud nec a me mutare nec emendare mihi inde quidquam licet.*

Lipsius altered *a me* to *autem*; but the same combination has occurred five lines before in the form *neque autem*, and it is hardly likely that it would recur so soon with *nec* for *neque*, to say nothing of *neque autem* having its proper force in the second of two and only two clauses *semel lecta neque augeri littera una neque autem minui potest*, whereas here it is comparatively meaningless. *A me* 'on my own judgment' as against the opinion of the public who had read and approved and wished for no alteration.

xiii. p. 163. *sed enim philosophi ratio et oratio tempore iugis est et auditu venerabilis et intellectu utilis et modo omnicana.*

Ought not this to be *modo non omnicana*?

[G. A. Simcox thought *modo* must be parallel with the other ablatives *tempore auditu intellectu*, perhaps = 'in its music' and D. B. Monro suggested that *modo* may = 'musical mode.']

xiv. p. 163. *exclamat Crates inquit Crates te manumittes.*

The Greek line cited by Suidas s.v. Κράτης (Hildebrand, p. 49) ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ εἶπεν· Ἐλευθεροῖ Κράτητα Θηβαίων Κράτης points to the *form* in which the corrupt words of Apuleius may be supposed to have been cast.<sup>1</sup> This makes any self-address such as *te manumittes* unlikely. Of the older corrections, *Crates, inquit, Cratetem manu-mittit* has been revived by Rohde, and might possibly explain *te*: *Cratetem* having become *Crates te(m)*. But it is also possible that *te* is a corruption of *de* or *e*, and that the shorter form of the accusative *Cratem* lurks in the second *Crates*. It is tolerably certain that the nominative *Crates* is the first word. Thus we should have *Crates, inquit, Cratem de manu mittit*.

[D. B. Monro suggested *Cratetem de manu mittit Crates*.]

xv. p. 164. *ager* (the soil of Samos) *frumento piger aratro inritus fecundior oliueto nec uinitori nec holeri scalpitur*.

Rohde altered *scalpitur* to *culpatur*, a very hazardous change palaeographically, and doubtful as regards the construction of the datives. I believe *scalpitur* to be right, and retain *holeri* against Krüger's *holitori*: 'the soil is sluggish for corn, useless for ploughing, more fertile for an olive plantation, and is not dug up for the use either of the vine-dresser or of garden produce.' And he goes on to say that *hoeing* was the main operation of the rustic in Samos (*omnis ruratio in sarculo*).

[G. A. Simcox suggested *uineto* for *uinitori*.]

xv. p. 164. *†uel inde ante aram Bathylli statua a Polycrate tyranno dicata.*

*uel inde* cannot be *ueluti* (Bosscha), and I question v.d. Vliet's *uel iam inde = continuo*. I fancy it was *uel indidem*, 'or from the same temple.'

ib. p. 166. *Chaldaei sideralem scientiam... ostendere nec non medendi remedia mortalibus †latis pecuniis terra caeloque et mari conquisita.*

For *latis* which Hildebrand vainly defends, I would suggest *late* or *latius* 'cures of healing were studiously sought out for man's use far and wide by outlays of money, through earth, sea and sky.' *pecuniis*, how-

ever, is suspicious: I do not think it can have been *provinciis* (v.d. Vliet).

[Or can *latis* = *conlatis*, contributed?]

ib. p. 167. *tot ille doctoribus eruditus tot tamque multiinguis †comitibus disciplinarum toto orbe haustis.*

None of the emendations I have seen is adequate. I believe the word was *summatibus* 'chiefs,' 'leaders' in different forms of philosophic teaching: *haustis* is in reference to Pythagoras, drinking in their tenets one after the other. I had before thought of *commentoribus* 'inventors,' but the termination *tibus* (*comitibus*) is against it.

xvi. p. 170. *commodum ille* (the comic writer Philemon) *anima edita obriguerat, iacebatque incumbens toro similis cogitanti. adhuc manus uolumini inplexa adhuc os †recto libro impressus.*

v.d. Vliet, who appears to me rightly to retain *impressus* (Aen. iv. 690), might also have retained *recto*. Philemon was found with his face pressed upon the book lying straight before him, not at an angle.

p. 170. *Haec ego ita facta ut commemoravi olim didiceram sed †audies me† meo periculo recordatus.*

Oudendorp appears to me mainly right in his correction *haud sine meo p. recordatus*, but he leaves the letters *-ie-* unaccounted for. I would write *sed hau diu sine m.p.r.* 'Years ago I had been told this story as I have related it, though I had not long recalled it to memory before I was myself similarly imperilled.'

The story is of Philemon's suddenly dying after he had given a recitation of one half of a new comedy, just at the time his audience had reassembled to hear the other half. Apuleius had given a recitation which was suddenly interrupted by a shower of rain, and put off the remainder to the following day. In the interim he sprained his ankle, and was in imminent danger of a broken leg. *m* is a corruption of *in*: *s* has attached itself to the word preceding.

p. 172. *id ego arbitror praecipue in honore observandum, quem qui laboriose exorauerit sibi debet †nam gratiam quod impetrarit. qui uero sine molestia ambitus adeptus est duplam gratiam praebentibus debet et quod non petierit et quod acceperit.*

In this case v.d. Vliet has not improved on one of his predecessors. For *nam* Colvius conjectured *unam*, surely in every way better than *diuiduam*.

ib. *est enim tantus in studiis prae nobilior sit proprio ingenio quam patricio consulatu.*

Correct *prae nobilior* [ut] *sit*, not, as

<sup>1</sup> This is equally true of the other forms in which the words are cited by Menage in his commentary on Diog. Laertius, vi. 87. (1) σήμερον Κράτης Κράτητα ἐλευθεροῖ; (2) Κράτης Κράτητα χρημάτων ἀποστρεῖ; (3) Κράτης ἀπολύει τὰ Κράτητος.



hitherto, *ut præn. sit*. The position of *ut* after *prænobilius* and before *sit* is, so to speak, the condition which makes the omission of the word intelligible.

p. 175. *mox ad dedicationem statuæ meæ libro etiam conscripto plenius gratias † canacique libro mandabo*.

Scioppius (Schopp), a scholar who spite of his attacks on Scaliger ought not to be forgotten, corrected *canacique* into *canam ocisue*, and v.d. Vliet thinks *canam* right, accepting (after Scaliger's *tenaciusque*) *tenacique*. The only other correction I know which might displace *canam* is Baptista Pius' *capaciusque* 'more comprehensively;' but F and  $\phi$ , our sheet-anchors in the dangerous waters of the *Florida*, present no trace of *-is*: hence Schopp's *canam* may stand; as for *-ique*, it may be the remains of a *genitive* like *musicique* or *melicique*.

xix. p. 185. *uenarum pulsus inconditos uel præclaros*.

*præcalidos* seems not impossible: feverish.  
*ib. propius accessit ut incognosceret more ingenii quisnam esset quoniam percontanti nemo responderat an uero ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte reprehenderet*.

Hildebrand suggested *ut ne cognosceret*, which v.d. Vliet improves into *utine cogn.* comparing p. 186,2, *quod ne iam ipsi hereditatem habebant an quod adhuc illi fidem non habebant*. This seems right.

*more ingenii* cannot be *pro captu ingenii*. I suspect *ingenii* is a mistake for *ingenui* 'as is common with men of good natural feeling,' namely, to inquire who the person is whose body is being carried to burial.

*ib. iam eum pollinctum iam penè paratum contemplatus enim*.

*penè* of F *pene* of  $\phi$  is simply *paene*, almost ready, i.e. to be burnt on the funeral pyre: *pyrae* is surely an impossibility for *paenae*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNREAL CONDITION IN LATIN.

THE history of the unreal conditional sentence is a question of interest common to many languages, particularly so, when, as is the case with the Latin language, part of that history falls within the literary period; under such conditions we might expect that definite and reliable conclusions would be readily reached. On the contrary, a view very commonly accepted with regard to the history of the unreal condition in Latin is far from satisfactory and will not bear close scrutiny.

The root of the difficulty seems to lie in the fact that there is a general failure to apprehend that the history of the unreal condition is two-fold, i.e. both *psychological* and *grammatical*. In the first of these aspects the question is, when and how did men come to *think* in the unreal form? in the second, when and how did they come to select as the expression of this mode of thought the peculiar speech-forms found in the several languages? What a person *thinks* and the *form of words* he uses in the expression of that thought are two distinct things, and we have no right to assume that the history of the two is identical—in fact, generally speaking, we have the best of warrant for making the opposite assumption. In this discussion I shall use the terms *thought-form* and *speech-form* to make the

distinction between the psychological and the grammatical problem.

It is the speech-form that naturally challenges the attention of the grammarian; in the case of Latin he is interested to know how it came about that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive were the chosen expression for the unreal conditional sentence. In devising an explanation for this fact he runs into danger of advancing a theory which is based upon or involves untenable assumptions concerning the thought-form. This danger would be greatly lessened, if the investigator clearly realized the double nature of the problem with which he is dealing. The analysis of a commonly received view will serve to illustrate the above remarks, and, at the same time, pave the way for a theory concerning the history of the thought-form.

It is maintained that the unreal condition is derived from the less vivid future (or ideal) condition; that, by transfer to a point in past time, the less vivid future takes on a new value, becoming a 'future from a point in the past,' the change of meaning being accompanied by a change to the imperfect and pluperfect tenses; and that, when this future from a point in the past coincides with the speaker's present, a new implication arises, namely, of unreality, for

otherwise the statement would not take conditional form at all.

This theory explains very nicely (and that seems to have been its design) how the peculiar speech-form of the unreal condition arose; the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive were the Latin expression for a future from a point in the past: when this latter developed a new meaning the old speech-form was retained. However, if we turn to the other aspect of the question, it will be found that certain assumptions have been made concerning the thought-form, which, when disentangled from any confusion with the question of the speech-form, are so obviously hard to maintain that one would scarcely be willing to essay the task. It is assumed (1) that the less vivid future thought-form is antecedent to and the source of the unreal thought-form; (2) that the unreal thought-form was developed alongside of or, possibly, a little later than, the speech-form; (3) that a future from a point in the past was a step through which the less vivid future thought-form developed into the unreal.<sup>1</sup>

As to the last of these assumptions, my observation is that, in *si*-clauses not dependent upon other constructions, the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are not used by Plautus as the expression of a future from a point in the past, though this usage is well attested in Cicero and frequent in the Younger Pliny, standing, in these last named authors, side by side with the unreal condition. If this be the fact of the case then this usage is late rather than early, and can have nothing to do with the development of either the unreal thought-form or its speech-form.

As to the assumption that the unreal thought-form was contemporaneous with or subsequent to the speech-form; in grammars and elsewhere we meet such expressions as 'Plautus uses the present subjunctive in conditions contrary to fact;' everyone admits the truth of this and the statement rouses no question: if, however, the feeling that prompts these observations should find other terms for its expression and we should say 'Although Plautus had not yet fully settled upon a peculiar unreal speech-form, he appreciated and understood fully the unreal thought-form,' it might

seem at first sight like another statement; I am convinced, however, that this is simply putting into clear form what every student of Plautus instinctively feels to be true. It would transcend the limits of the present paper to show that Plautus understood and used the unreal thought-form in its derived and logical uses just as Cicero did or we do; I shall content myself for the present with showing that Plautus, using the present subjunctive as his speech-form, has no difficulty in making one character convey to another an unreal thought-form:

*St.* 592 ff.:<sup>2</sup>

Er. Edepol te vocem lubenter, si superfiat locus.

Ge. Quin tum stans obstrusero aliquid strenue.

Epignomus and his brother, on their return from a long journey, meet the parasite Gelasimus who is anxious for an invitation to dinner. If Epignomus' remark (592) be taken as contrary to fact it of course implies 'I cannot invite you, because all the places are taken at my table.' Gelasimus clearly understands him to mean that, for he rejoins 'Oh, if that's the case (tum), I will gladly *stand* and stow away something.' If now we interpret Epignomus' remark as expressing a less vivid future idea, it would run 'I should be glad to have you at dinner, if there should (prove to) be a place to spare'; Gelasimus' reply shows clearly that he does *not* understand it in that sense. If we had but this one case it would be ample warrant for the assertion that Plautus understood and used the unreal thought-form long before Latin settled definitely upon a specific speech-form for its expression.<sup>3</sup> With this passage may be compared:

*M.G.* 1371 ff:

Nam si honeste censeam te facere posse, suadeam.

Verum non potest: cave faxis.

*Ps.* 273 ff:

Ba. Quid agitur, Calidore? Ca. Amatur atque egetur acriter.

Ba. Misereat, si familiam alere possim misericordia.

Ps. Heia, scimus nos quidem tu qualis sis: ne praedices.

<sup>1</sup> For a full statement, see Greenough, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VII. Similarly C. Harrison (*Classical Review*, IV, p. 297) speaks of 'potentials of the past not yet developed into unreals.' Blase (*Geschichte des Irrealis*, Erlangen 1888) betrays some confusion of thought; see p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the edition of Goetz and Schoell.

<sup>3</sup> In the passage quoted doubtless Epignomus helped out his ambiguous speech-form by *lubenter* and his tone of (mock) apology: these things, however, are merely partial aspects of the speech-form, and in no way affect the conclusion reached above.

See also *Ep.* 331, *Merc.* 591, *Rud.* 1418 ff *St.* 190.

These passages can only serve to strengthen our feeling that Plautus was no stranger to the unreal thought-form, whatever the speech-form he used. Without any such direct evidence, we should be justified perhaps in making the same assumption, for Plautus did not belong to the childhood of the race by any means, and we have no warrant for assuming for him crude and undeveloped thought-power.<sup>1</sup> I am prepared to go a step further and postulate the same clearness of thought found in Plautus for some (and, doubtless, a considerable) time before Plautus: none would be likely to maintain that Plautus thought more clearly than did Quintus Fabius Maximus or Appius Claudius, though, doubtless, their speech-form was more unsettled than his. All these considerations go to show that the unreal thought-form with the Latin race was antecedent, by centuries probably, to a settled specific speech-form.

The third of the assumptions made, namely that the less vivid future thought-form is antecedent to the unreal and the source from which it is evolved, presents a problem with which the psychologist rather than the grammarian might be expected to deal, and one concerning which some latitude of opinion may be allowed. An examination of the two thought-forms may lead to another view of their relation than that presented by the theory under discussion. The unreal and the less vivid future thought-forms have this in common that they both deal with *fancied* circumstances: the unreal thought-form fancies an *existing* or *past*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To compare the late rise of a specific unreal speech-form to the late use of such a form by children is misleading: the children doubtless fail to use an already provided speech-form from a failure to appreciate the thought-form of which it is the expression: we are not to think of such defective thought-power in the case of Plautus.

<sup>2</sup> I use the phrase 'existing or past' rather than 'present or past' that anything temporally as broad as the general truth may be included: e.g. Cicero, *p. Arch.* xi. 29, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum; this clause is suggested by the general truth that the soul does look forward to the future,

state of affairs *contemporaneously* replaced by an opposite, or, at least, changed state of affairs; the less vivid future deals with a fancied *future*. This being the case, it seems that the categories of less vivid future and unreal thought-form may have risen by a process of *differentiation*, one becoming a category as soon as the other by a process of exclusion, in that the two together cover the field of the *fancied* case in all its temporal aspects.

The fact that the two thought-forms have the common ground noted above may serve to explain partly how it was that language generally put off so late the adoption of specific speech-forms, and tolerated so long an ambiguous speech-form (e.g., present subjunctive in Latin, optative in Homeric Greek). It would be interesting to determine why it is that the unreal thought-form is the one that moves out of the common speech-form and takes to itself a new form of expression. The answer to this question will perhaps be given when the history of the unreal speech-form has been written up—a history based on the phenomena of many languages.

Though this paper may appear at first sight to be somewhat negative in character, I have tried to bring out the following facts:

(1) That the history of the unreal conditional sentence has two distinct aspects, one psychological, the other grammatical, and that attempts to explain the speech-form without reckoning with the thought-form lead to error.

(2) That the unreal thought-form was a clear-cut category in the Roman mind long before a specific speech-form was finally adopted.

(3) That the unreal thought-form may have arisen by a process of differentiation from the less vivid future thought-form, rather than by a process of evolution from it.

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and represents this general truth as contemporaneously replaced by an opposite state of affairs.



## NOTES.

ON ARISTOTLE, *Poet.* 1455a 34.—Prof. Butcher, who did me the honour of consulting me on certain readings of the Arabic Poetics for his interesting edition of the Greek, informed me that a continental scholar had asserted that the Arabic read ἐκστατικοί for ἐξεταστικοί in this passage. I had been unable to satisfy myself about the Arabic word intended by the writer of the Paris MS., and therefore could not confirm this; but I must regret my want of perspicacity, for I have now no doubt that the word intended is ‘*ajabiyyina*, which is vulgar Arabic for ‘buffoons,’ literally ‘men of wonder.’ The Syriac translated by this word will almost certainly have been *mathh’rānē*, a literal translation of ἐκστατικοί, which the Syriac translator probably thought meant ‘men who produce ecstasis.’ The verb ἐξισταῖ is not unfrequently rendered by the Syriac verb whence this word is derived. I hope this may be not the only passage in which that continental scholar has solved difficulties which baffled the editor of the Arabic Poetics.

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STRABO XII. 3, 38, p. 360.—Nearly the same cure for this passage as Mr. Munro advocates was proposed by Von Sallet in his *Beiträge z. Gesch. u. Num. d. Könige*, &c., who, however, instead of simply excising ἰπὸ, substitutes εἰς for it. The resulting sense is practically the same. In one of the scores of unpublished papers on Asia Minor, which burden my shelves and my conscience, I find that the difficulties of the vulgate text are stated, and the conclusion is thus reached: ‘All difficulties disappear by a slight change in the text: we must either omit ἰπὸ before τῶν παίδων or (with Von Sallet) change it to εἰς. Then we have the clear and naturally expressed narrative: “in the fortress of Sagy lion

[ἐν τᾷ θᾷ] Arsakes, (one) of the sons of Pharnakes, who was playing the dynast and causing disturbance without authorisation from any of the Roman leaders (i.e. Triumvirs), was captured and slain.” On the other hand, the vulgate is defended by Hennig *Symbolae ad As. Min. Reges Sacerdotes*; but his defence is equivalent to a disproof.

That the same cure suggests itself independently to many scholars is a strong corroboration of its necessity.

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\* \* \*

ON HORACE, *Odes* IV. 2, 45–8.

Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,  
Vocis accedet bona pars et, ‘O sol  
Pulcher! O laudande!’ canam, recepto  
Caesare felix.

Is it too late to advocate an interpretation of the last two of these lines, which has scarcely ever been noticed and in the new *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* is not accorded even a mention? I find it alluded to only by Maclean, who says that ‘whether “felix” refers to Horace himself or the sun is doubtful. The reader’s taste must determine,’ and by Orelli, who thinks that a much ‘*tenerior sensus*’ is obtained by the former (usual) choice. It seems to me that the objective sense of the word *felix* (‘fortunate,’ not ‘happy’) and the sense of *laudande* (‘to be cited with approval’ rather than ‘to be praised’) are both in favour of printing the last three words between inverted commas. It would also be too personal, if not grotesque, a touch for Horace to describe himself as singing with joy at the emperor’s return. For the shape of the sentence compare ‘*pulcher fugatis ille dies Latio tenebris.*’

F. W. THOMAS.

## REVIEWS AND COMPTES RENDUS.

WECKLEIN’S *SUPPLICES* AND *HERACLIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

*Euripidis Fabulae*, Ed. R. PRINZ et N. WECKLEIN. Vol. II. Pars II. *Supplices*. 2 M. Vol. II. Pars IV. *Heraclidae*. 2 M.

THE publication of Dr. Wecklein’s excellent work on Euripides continues at a pace which leaves the panting reviewer far behind. The chief value of the work continues to lie in the thoroughness and accuracy of the new collations of the MSS. and of the history of the constitution of the text. It is needless to add that the editor’s learning and judgment are such as to compel and reward the attention of all students of Euripides to each separate

decision made by him, both as to the need for emendation, and as to the value of different emendations proposed by others or by himself. The study of this edition, however, will, I think, suggest to many the question whether, in the proposal or adoption of emendations of the text, the editor has not allowed himself too free a hand. Especially is this the case where he is replacing, not the bad by the good, but the good by what he holds to be the better. Another question which may also be asked, though with some hesitation, is, has not the editor been rather too partial, seeing that this is a standard critical edition, to his own suggestions? As

readers know, Dr. Wecklein arranges emendations in three classes. The first class he prints in the text, the second in the notes at the foot, the third in an appendix. In the *Supplices* the number of his own emendations in the first class is 34, or one for every 36 lines, in the second 93, or one for every 13 lines. In the *Heraclidae* the numbers are: first class 26 or one for every 40 lines, second class 65 or one for every 16 lines. (In the *Orestes*, the last of the plays which has appeared, the numbers are: first class 25 or one in every 68 lines, and second class 116 or a little more than 1 in every 15 lines.)

I have endeavoured, in the detailed remarks which follow, while noticing important innovations, to furnish some material towards the answer of these two questions, and I propose then to revert shortly to the subject (which I have more than once discussed in this Review) of the relation of the two MSS. L and P to each other, and to see what light is thrown on the question by passages in these two plays. Dr. Wecklein follows Vitelli in regarding P as a copy of L. I still hold the older view that L and P were independent copies of the same MS.

#### SUPPLICES.

In the MSS. v. 38 ends with *χθονὸς* and v. 32 with *θεοὺς* (which should have a comma before it). For these words W. substitutes *φρενῶν* and *χθονὸς* respectively. I think most readers, even if they thought the alteration an improvement, would pronounce it too violent and too 'subjective' to be introduced into a critical text.—60. *σὸν ὦ PL, τεόν W.* Cf. the note on *Heraclidae* 911 where precisely the opposite alteration is made.—63. W. gives *θελέμῳς* as a probable substitute for *δόςίῳς*. This is guess-work.—90 f. W. reads *μητέρ'* for the MSS. *μήτηρ*, putting a comma after *ποδί* instead of after *δόμων*. So emended the sentence runs better, but at the expense of the sense: *ἀποῦσαν* should go closely with *μεταστείχω*. The long absence is mentioned as the reason for the search. As to the main construction *μήτηρ ἔχει τι νέον* is as good as *μητέρα ἔχει τι νέον*.—199 f. should surely remain.—221. W. prints the MSS. *ζώντων*, mentions Heath's *ὄντων* as an emendation of the second class, and puts Porson's *ἑόντων* (which I should unhesitatingly print) in the third, along with such an emendation as *ὡς σφάζων τὰ θεῶν*. (Heath is no doubt right in saying that the *μὲν* in 220 corresponds to the *δὲ* in

229, and that 222–228, which W. unnecessarily follows O. Lueders in rejecting, are parenthetical.—240 f. Here W. puts into class II two emendations which I at least should have been glad to see printed in the text: Wilamowitz's *οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὄντες* (for the MSS. *οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες*), and Herwerden's *ἀεὶ* for *δεινοὶ*, which mends the sense and is palaeographically likely.—249. The adoption of Nauck's *δ' ἔαν* for the MSS. *λίαν* is not enough to mend this line. If one emendation only is to be allowed, Marchant's *αἰσχροὺν* for *αὐτὸς* seems best.—250. W. puts Elmsley's *ἡμαρτον* (for MSS. *ἡμαρτεν*) in the third class. The arguments for it however are strong. The following words *ἐν νέοισι δ' ἀνθρώπων τόδε ἐνεστί* show that it is no error on the part of Adrastus that the Chorus are speaking of. He is not νέος. In v. 232 Theseus has said that Adrastus had been νέοις παραχθείς, and enlarges on the wicked folly of these νέοι. To these then the Chorus would naturally refer in *ἡμαρτον κ.τ.λ.* Also the following *τῷδε*, which does refer to Adrastus, is more natural as referring to some one fresh.—306. This v. runs in the MSS. *νυνὶ δὲ σοὶ τε τοῦτο τὴν τιμὴν φέρει*. W. proposes in the footnotes to re-write it: *νῦν δ' ἔστι σοὶ τε τοῦτ' ὄνειδος εὐκλείης*. This is surely wild work in a critical edition.—380. W., adopting Canter's *νέμονο'* for *νέμεις* well substitutes *ἦσσαν* for MSS. *ἀεὶ τὸν* (the intermediate stage having been *νέμονσα ἦπτον*, *α η τ* becoming *ἀεὶ*).—413. It is perhaps a misprint that this v. ends with a full stop, and not with a comma. The comma is rendered necessary by the adoption of Wilamowitz's *τὸ δ' for ὁ δ'* at the beginning of the next v.—441. According to Barnes it was Duport, not Scaliger, who first read *ἔστ'* here for *ἔστιν*.—442. It is surprising that W. does not accept Markland's *εὐθνήτης* for the MSS. *αὐθνήτης*. Markland quotes a note of Theodorus Gaza (*Περὶ Μηνῶν*) to the effect that in late Greek *αὐθνήτης* was used as equivalent to the Lat. *auctor* and that *αὐθεντία* was *auctoritas*. This use would be familiar to a Byzantine scribe, and would account for the error.—478. The words *ἐκ βραχιόνων* which some editors have thought corrupt, seem to me sound, and to mean "though on the weaker side." Cf. v. 518 f. *οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ Κρέοντα δεσπόζοντ' ἐμοῦ, οὐδὲ σθένοντα μείζον*.—523. The 'vulgata lectio' seems to me far sounder than either Kirchhoff's or Wecklein's suggestions.—550. It is an interesting fact that both Reiske and Markland conjecturally restored *παλαίσμαθ'*, the original reading of the MSS., though all the editions had followed the late hand of

L and P in writing *πάλαισμά θ'*.—573. W. leaves in the text *χάτερους ἄλλους πόνους* (*χά. ἄθλους ἐγώ* Nauck) though surely there is more need of alteration than in 599 where he replaces *ταράσσει* by *θοάζει*, and the source of the corruption, if there is one, was in both cases a marginal explanation.—608. W. well emends the MSS. *ἄν τις αἰρή* to *αὐτίς ἀρεί*.—660. The *δ'* after *ἱππότην* was not inserted, as W. says, by Scaliger, but by Reiske (and Markland).—688. W.'s *ἐσαντέλλουσαν* for MSS. *προσαντέλλουσαν* would perhaps be more in place in a footnote than in the text.—701. Here W. prints *κελευμόν*, but at *Cyclops* 653 *κελευσμοῖς*. Is this because P in the latter passage reads *κελευμοῖς*?—708. *ἐκέρδαιεν* (MSS.) is better than Hermann's *ἐκύδαιεν* which W. prints, or Dindorf's *ἐκῆρδαιεν* which he puts in the footnote: *οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικῶν τοῦτ' ἐκέρδαιεν μόνον* is: 'he would not rest content with victory on this wing.'—W. well transposes vv. 745 and 746, and in 747 substitutes *λόγοις* for the MSS. *φίλοις*, referring to *Ιον* 649 and *Soph. Aj.* 330 for the same mistake.—787 f. W. well reads *παλαιᾶς...ἀμέρας* for the MSS. *παλαιῶς...ἀμέρα* (though Porson's *ἀμερᾶν* involves less alteration). He would have done well to adopt Nauck's *τί μὲν* for *τὸ μὲν* in v. 790, and Markland's *στερεῖσα* for the MSS. *στερεῖσθαι* (of which in L the *σθαι* is a late addition). W. prints Blomfield's *στερεσθαι*.—885. Musgrave's *ἐξῆρε* seems a much better emendation of the MSS. *ἔχαιρε* than W.'s *ἐχριμπε*.—931. W. well emends the MSS. *αὐθαίρετος* to *αὐθαιρέτω*, and in 1020 and 1033 makes good suggestions in the footnote: to read *φίλω* for *φίλον* in the former, and to reject the latter v.—1112. Are W.'s two suggestions on this line: *ὠφέλουν τινά* or *μηδέν' ὠφέλουν βροτῶν* worthy of the place he gives them in the second class?—1183. '*τῆσδ'* Markland.' It was Matthiae who proposed *τῆσδ'*. Markland at *I. T.* 1436 wants to change a similar *τῆσδ'* to *τοῦσδ'*.—1200. W. prints *πρυτανικὴν* for the MSS. *πυθικὴν*. This is unnecessary. Heracles told Theseus to take the tripod to Delphi, but we must suppose that Theseus had not yet done so. It is quite in accordance with this explanation that Athena says in v. 1203 *κάπειτα σφῆξιν θεῶ δὸς ᾧ Δελφῶν μέλει*.—It is a curious coincidence that at v. 1194 W. suggests that *πόλιν* was written as an explanation over the *χθόνα* at the end of the following v. whereas at v. 1184 he prints *πόλιν* (also over a *χθόνα* at the end of the following v.) as an emendation (Reiske's) of the MSS. *τάδε*.

The only misprints I have noticed in this

play are the following: The numbers are omitted in the footnotes before notes on vv. 206 and 761, p. 58 l. 5 *συννάψω* for *συνάψω*, v. 1180 footnote *δῆθ'* for *δῆτ'*.

#### HERACLIDAE.

5. For *αὐτῷ δ' ἄριστος* W. reads *αὐτῷ δ' ἄρωγός*. F. W. Schmidt's *ἀρεστός* seems better (cf. Hdt. v. 129 *καὶ κως ἐωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὠρχέτο*), if any alteration is necessary.—37. For *τέρμονας* W. well suggests in the footnote *τέρμιον*.—72. *ἰ ἀτιμίαν* for MSS. *ἀτιμία*.—132. I prefer Holzner's *μὴ ἀμελεῖν* (*δ' ἐμόν*) which W. puts in the third class to his own *μανθάνειν δ' ἐμόν* (which he puts in the second) for the MSS. *μὴ μέλλειν ἐμοί*.—*ἰ* dele v. 140.—165. *ῆ*, which W. reads for *ῆ*, was Barnes's emendation, though W. does not say so.—169. It was hardly worth while to record in the Appendix F. W. Schmidt's unmetrical line *ἐρεῖς πόλει ποτὲ χάριν ἐκτίσειν στόλον*. (At *Cyclops* 144 W. prints a line beginning *ἐν σέλμασι νεός*, which shows the same metrical irregularity).—180 f. Wilamowitz's *γὰρ* for *μὲν* in 181 renders the athetesis of *πάρεστί μοι* in 181 unnecessary.—193. W. adopts Cobet's *οὐδ' Ἀχαικὸν τάδε* for the MSS. *ἐστιν οὐδ' Ἀχαικὸν*—unnecessarily.—211. W. does well to adopt Reisk's *αὐτανεψίων* for the MSS. *αὐτανεψίω*.—223. I would suggest that the *χωρίς* is a commentator's remark, and that we should read *σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κακόν*.—In 300 (the middle one of three reasonably suspected verses) W. reads *κακαῖς* for the MSS. *κακοῖς*. The masc. is certainly possible when speaking of women generally, and I think most scholars would call it more idiomatic in this passage. *κακαῖς* would, I think, imply that the man in question had had more than one wife, and that all were bad ones.—315. Wecklein says the Aldine reads *ἄξιοι γ'*, but the reading of the Aldine here is *ἄξιον γ'*.—324. W.'s *εὐκλεῖς* for *εὐγενῆς* is convincing, but not so his suggestion of *φθάση* for *λάθη* (*λάβη* P) in 338.—416. The MSS. reading is *δίκαιον ῆ*. Of this W. adopts Schäfer's emendation *δίκαιον ῆν*, though Dobree's *δίκαιος ῆ* seems much better.—426. Why not adopt Musgrave's suggestion that this and the preceding verse are a question?—437 f. W. well rejects these two lines: the singular *σοί* is enough to condemn them.—451. W. reproduces, curiously enough, the misprint of Kirchhoff's critical notes in numbering the v. 452.—458. Elmsley's *ἀνὴρ* is adopted, but he is not mentioned as its author.—460. Tyrwhitt and not Elmsley (as W. gives) first changed *τύχη* (MSS.) to



τύχοι.—493. W.'s ἀστοῦ for the MSS. ἄλλου is mere re-writing of Euripides.—594. Kayser's κακούμενοι for the MSS. θανοῦμενοι seems at least as worthy of a place in the first class as Wecklein's φυλάσσει for the MSS. κελεῖεις at 558.—677. For the thoroughly sound ἐξηκούμεν Wecklein suggests ἐξικνούμεθα, which gives a far inferior sense.—706. Bothe's τήνδ' (for the MSS. τήν) which W. adopts, seems inferior to Porson's σήν.—735. If δοκοῦντα needs correction surely Nauck's ποιοῦντα is better than ἐκονοῦντα which W. suggests alongside of it.—745 f. W. seeks to mend the ill-fitting neuter τόδ', in apposition with the fem. δόκησις by putting a comma after ὅλβω. It seems better to reject the words from οὐκ ὀρθῶς to δόκησις as a spurious addition.—735. W.'s περὶ δαίμωνων for the MSS. καὶ περὶ δόμων (corrected by a late hand in L to περὶ τῶν δόμων) is good, as is his πόποι for πόλεις in v. 763.—769. This is one of the few passages that W. leaves imperfect, though he prints two suggestions in the footnotes: one by Herwerden, and one by himself.—813 ὁ δ' οὔτε τοὺς κλύοντας αἰδεσθείς λόγω MSS. λόγω (or λόγῳ) gives no construction here, so the second Hervagian Ed. wrote λόγων (i.e. as the obj. of κλύοντας). This W. alters to λόγον. The gen. is possible, though less likely than the acc., and it comes nearer the MSS. reading. The position of the negatives in this passage is extraordinary.—845. W. unnecessarily alters ἐμβῆσαι to ἀμβῆσαι. For the impossible κρατοῦντα in v. 884 W. suggests ναύοντα, referring to Hesych. ναύειν ἱκετεύειν.—In v. 886 W.'s ἔξεξα δεσμοῖς for ἔξεξ' ἀνάγκη is 'a wild surmise,' which he should hardly have put in the second class.—911. For the θεὸς of the MSS. the Paris copy of L suggests τεὸς, an admirable emendation. It does not satisfy W. He writes ὁ σὸς. It is curious that at *Suppl.* 60, where Kirchhoff would emend the MSS. σὸν ὁ to τὸ σὸν, W. is not content with τὸ σὸν, but writes τεὸν.—930. W.'s note is 'τύχην H. Stephanus τυχεῖν L P.' The only reading recorded by H. S. from his 'codices vetustissimi,' near this passage is τύχαν at the end of 935, where the Aldine reading is τύχας (I may note that at *Cyclops* 39 W. prints κώμοις for κῶμοι L or κώμοι P, giving Bothe as the author of the emendation, and mentions in the Appendix that H. S. proposed κῶμοις. What Stephanus says is that the v. c. have κῶμοις, but that he would prefer κώμοις. Men who call the great Stephanus a liar should at all events refer to his book when they quote him.)—932. I cannot see wherein W.'s δοριπόνῳ σὺν

ἀσπίδι is an improvement on Hermann's admirable πολυπόνῳ σὺν ἀσπίδι for the MSS. πολυπόνων σὺν ἀσπίσιν.—959. W. here has the note 'ἐκερδανείς γε ταῦτα vel potius κερδανείς γε πάντα.' If the former conjecture is 'minus probabilis' than the latter, why is it not banished to the appendix 'conjecturas minus probabiles continens'?—1005. W.'s ἀν λαχοῦσα for the MSS. ἀναλαβοῦσα is convincing.—1038. ἀλλ' οὐ χρησμον ἡρόμην θεοῦ; MSS. Cobet's ἡζόμην or even Musgraves ἡδοῦμην seems far preferable to W.'s ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐπηρόμην.—(I should like to be allowed to make one further comment here, which seems to me important, on Wecklein's *Cyclops*. At v. 145 he prints Hermann and Nauck's εἰσορᾶς for the MSS. ὥς ὄρᾶς. The MSS. reading is quite sound, ὄρᾶς being *subjunctive*. Cf. two lines above ὥς σαφέστερον μάθης: and also to suggest ἐμπολῶντες for ἐμβαλόντες at v. 239 of the same play).

## L AND P.

## SUPPLICES.

8. This v. was first written in L without τὰδε, in P with it.—9. L had at first some word that was not λιποῦσαι, but began with two other letters: P always had λιποῦσαι.—16. ὁλολότας L ὁλωλότας P.—50. ῥυσσὰ L ῥυσὰ P. In P a later hand added the second σ.—228. συννοσοῦντα L συνοσοῦντα P. The emendation of Lambinus οὐ νοσοῦντα is undoubtedly the correct reading. This one case far outweighs, to my mind, all Wecklein's arguments on the other side drawn from cases which look as if a mistake in P was due to a misreading of a badly written letter in L. Is it more likely of the two that P's scribe had here συνοσοῦντα before him or οὐ νοσοῦντα? No doubt the first ο was so written in the MS. from which both L and P were copied that it was mistaken by both scribes for a σ, but P copied the rest of the letters as they stood, while L thought he could mend matters.—242. ἀφίᾱσι L ἀφίᾱσιν P.—344. τεκοῦσ (after the σ is an erasure of a single letter) L τεκοῦσα χ' P.—364. ἄν L ἄν P (a late hand in L added the rough breathing)—754. No doubt the correct reading is (ὦν δ') εἶνεχ' ἀγὼν (ἦν), to which P with οὔνεκ' ἀγὼν comes nearer than L with οὔνεκεν ἀγὼν. Is it conceivable that P should have copied from L here?—858. ἔγω γε L, ἔγω τε P, ἔγῳ τε Nauck. The wrong accent makes the case doubtful, but

anyhow P seems nearer the right than L.—872. W.'s note is 'ἄλλην P, ἄλλον L sed o in ras. scr. l.' If ἄλλον is due to a late corrector of L it is not fair to say 'ἄλλον L.' If not, this is another case where P has the better reading. (I expect l was a very late hand who altered L, as in many cases which I have noticed in *L.T.*, to agree with Ald.)—897. καὶ ὁπότ' L χ' ὁπότ' P.—1078. L has μετέλλαχες but P avoids the mistake.—1116. The readings here are perplexing: ἀ\*μενοῦς L ἀσμένους P ἀμένους Ald. The only explanation I can give is that here again L was altered to agree with Ald. which omitted the σ by pure error. At the same time the accent in L looks as if it had been copied from a MS. which had the correct ἀμενοῦς. If so the passage makes rather against my contention.—1164. W.'s note is; 'σε (sic scr. ut facile σῆς legas) μητρός L σῆς μητρός P' surely a far-fetched explanation of so simple a blunder. That P could make a pretty gross blunder we see in v. 1198, where he writes ἡλίον instead of Ἰλίον.

## HERACLIDAE.

27. συμπάσχω P, συμπράσσω L.—789. ἐλευθερῶσαι changed by the first hand, apparently, to ἡλευθερῶσθαι L ἐλευθερῶσαι P. This does not look as if P copied from L. On the other hand, at 704, P's μῆ, W. suggests, is best explained as a misreading of L's μὲν, which is written by means of an abbreviation. So at 778 P's unaccountable λεύθει, W. explains as due to the fact that in L the α of λάθει looks like ευ.—858. ἡβητὸν changed to ἡβητὴν L ἡβητὴν P. Does not this case outweigh the above arguments on the other side? If P copied from L before the alteration it is inconceivable that he should have altered τὸν to τὴν: if after, it is equally inconceivable that he should have failed to accept ἡβητὴν. The only reasonable explanation of the variants is that both L and P copied independently from MSS. which had ἡβητὴν, that P left the nonsensical words unaltered, and L altered τὴν to τὸν. In this case we have more cause to thank P than L.

E. B. ENGLAND.

BURNET'S *ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE*.

*The Ethics of Aristotle*, edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. BURNET, M.A.  
Pp. lii, 502. Methuen. 18s.

SOME years ago it was matter of complaint that Oxford in spite of the amount of time she bestowed on the *Ethics* had done but little in the way of published writings to promote their study. Such complaint can hardly be made now, when to the old and still very useful edition of Grant there have been added Prof. Bywater's text and contributions, Prof. Stewart's two copious volumes of notes, and now Prof. Burnet's text with notes of a conciser kind. Even if we are so hard to please that we venture to think the ideal edition yet to seek, we must recognise how much of value there is in the work of each of the three, and we need not ask which among them deserves best of Aristotle or ourselves.

I will say at once that, excellent as Mr. Burnet's book is, he seems to have partly fallen into the opposite error to Mr. Stewart. The latter from his stores of learning and reflexion heaped upon us too much; too much at least for students addressing themselves to the *Ethics* for the purpose of University examinations, who were really

the class of readers he had most in view. Mr. Burnet's command of the subject is equally indisputable, but he perhaps has given us too little. One volume of 550 pages (wonderfully light to hold in the hand, thanks to Messrs. Methuen) contains not only his notes and introductions, but Aristotle's text, which Mr. Stewart did not print at all, and also very considerable portions of the *Eudemian Ethics* as well, put on each page below the text and above the notes. He writes tersely enough, but in spite of this we often feel that the notes, though very good, leave a great deal unsaid, and that a thorough commentary on the *Ethics*, such as the ordinary reader requires, cannot be packed into this comparatively scanty space. I do not know whether Mr. Burnet will be satisfied by teachers of the *Ethics* finding his book valuable. Certainly they ought to do so. But students are likely to think that it does not give them as much assistance as they need. The editor seems often to be writing such notes as would be useful rather to himself and other advanced scholars than to the man to whom the *Ethics* are not yet familiar. If the book were wholly for the maturer scholar, the case would of course be different. But it con-

tains much which such readers do not require, and chief under that head I would put the long extracts from the *Eudemean Ethics* (see for instance pp. 112, 113) which pupils will not read and teachers will not want. Any competent teacher may be presumed to have and to read the book entire. Susemihl's text of the *Eudemean Ethics* and Fritzsche's older commentary ought to be in the hands of everyone who will really trouble to read the selections. The room they occupy might have been more usefully filled, I venture to suggest, with further commentary.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable contribution that the new edition makes is the constant reference to Plato and the frequent indication there of something to which the words of Aristotle refer or at any rate seem to owe their origin. This is no new discovery, but Mr. Burnet carries it a good deal further than earlier editors have done. It is indeed closely connected with a point on which he lays stress, that the *Ethics* is not so much a scientific as a 'dialectical' treatise. Although he does not state his precise meaning in this quite as clearly as one could wish, he seems to say that Aristotle is often arguing from premises, especially Platonic premises, which we are not bound to suppose that he himself accepted; 'nor can we even assume' he adds 'that the true solution is necessarily given at all.' Quite admitting that much of Aristotle's reasoning is of this kind and that he is most anxious to argue with people on their own ground, we may still think that Mr. Burnet suggests, if he does not adopt, a somewhat exaggerated view of the extent to which Aristotle deals in arguments and even in conclusions unsatisfactory to himself. The *Ethics* is not a piece of clever dialectic only, in which he draws men on from positions, which they and not he have adopted, to others, which they ought to accept, though he himself knows better. Surely we may say that the conclusions, the main positions taken up, are such as really satisfy him, and that most of the reasoning too is valid enough at bottom or at least seems so to him, though in a semi-popular treatise he does not always care to state things in their severest scientific form. Prof. Burnet rides his dialectical hobby rather too hard. For instance, when Aristotle says (1. 7. 1097 b 24) *εἰ ληφθεὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, he comments "this is still 'taking' *ἔνδοξοι προτάσεις* from the wise." Then what shall we say of *Poetics* 14. 1453 b 15 *ποῖα οὖν δεῖν ἢ ποῖα*

*οἰκτρὰ φαίνεται τῶν συμπιπτόντων, λάβωμεν*. Does this mean 'take from other people'? Not at all. It means something like 'let us ascertain, fix,' and that is what *εἰ ληφθεὶ* means in the *Ethics*. So 1174 a 17 *κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον λάβοι τις ἂν ἡδονήν* 'no one could find, put his finger upon, a pleasure.' cf. Bonitz s.v. *λαμβάνειν* 422 b 38.

Mr. Burnet believes and assumes that Books V–VII were really Aristotle's. On this point I have not myself any decided opinion to maintain, but it seems odd he should not distinguish the two questions, (1) are they Aristotle's? and (2) are they properly a part of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and of these as we have them? Ought it not to be pointed out that, even if Aristotle wrote them or if they were made up somehow from Aristotelian material, it does not follow that they were ever meant to stand in their present form along with the present form of the other books. Mr. Burnet sees no difficulty even in the two accounts of pleasure, that is, neither in the fact of there being two accounts in one treatise nor in the apparent discrepancies that the two accounts present. This is not the place to discuss a large subject, but it is one of many points, of which fuller treatment would have been welcome.

Mr. Burnet prefixes to his edition an excellent introduction of some fifty pages, and there are also introductions to the separate books, of which those to Books I and II strike me as especially useful. A great deal is compressed into the notes, though it is also true that a good deal is not to be found there. I may venture to indicate a few points of disagreement, while fully recognising the great knowledge and ability that lie behind Mr. Burnet's commentary.

He lays it down that *λόγος* in such phrases as *λόγον ἔχειν*, *λόγου μετέχειν*, *κατὰ λόγον* &c. never means *reason* but always something like *ground*, *account*, *theory*, *rule*, &c. Positive proof one way or the other is hard to find, but to me *λόγου μετέχειν*, *ἄλογος*, *εὐλογος*, and various other habitual or occasional expressions certainly suggest the sense of *reason*. The other meaning is of course indisputable and common, but why should *λόγος* not have meant *reason* too? What would Mr. Burnet say of *ratio* or of the word *reason* itself? In 1, 10 and 11 he thinks, as Zeller seems to do, that 'there is no question of the departed being aware of what goes on in this world' after their death. No doubt this would harmonise better with what we make out to have been Aristotle's real convictions. But I must confess that



I cannot understand Chapter 11 on any other hypothesis than that some sort of consciousness, some liability to feelings of joy and sorrow, on the part of the dead is assumed, though doubtfully and presumably without any real belief.

Perhaps the only noticeable novelty in the text is 1. 5. 1096 a 6, where for  $\delta\delta\epsilon$  χρηματιστῆς βίαιός τις ἐστίν Mr. Watt's conjecture of  $\delta\delta\epsilon$  χρηματιστῆς βία ὅστις ἐστίν is adopted, and this will probably not be found convincing. It is hard to see the propriety, or indeed the meaning, of ὅστις ἐστίν. Mr. Burnet asks, 'Can a χρηματιστῆς, or even a χρηματιστῆς βίος, be called βίαιος in this sense?' I should answer that a χρηματιστῆς βίος certainly can, just as in *Pol.* 5. 4. 1338 b 41, the diet of an athlete in training is called βίαιος. In both cases the thing is only adopted because with a certain end in view there is no alternative: it is forced upon you. χρηματιστῆς may probably be taken as an adjective. Cf. ἰδιώτης βίος in *Plat. Rep.* 578 c: ἀλήτης βίος *Herod.* 3, 52, 3: οἰκέτης βίος *Eur. Ion* 1373. Nouns in -της, like Latin words in -tor, are perhaps specially easy to use in this way. But rather than accept βία ὅστις ἐστίν I would myself read χρηματιστικός, just as I think it is clear that in 6. 8. 1142 a 10 πολιτείας is an error for πολιτικῆς.

In 1. 7. 1098 a 11 προστιθεμένης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας πρὸς τὸ ἔργον surely πρὸς τὸ ἔργον goes with ὑπεροχῆς, 'superiority at the work,' not with προστιθεμένης, 'added to the work.' In 1, 9, 1099 b 18 εἴη δ' ἂν κ. τ. λ. can hardly be 'a reservation.' It is a consequence of what precedes. If well-being comes in the way stated, then it will admit of being widely diffused, whereas, if it came by chance or divine dispensation, this would be less likely. In 2, 6, 1106 a 26 Mr. Burnet scarcely proves his point that διαπετόν cannot be discrete. He ignores *Pol.* 1, 5, 1254 a 29 εἴτ' ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴτ' ἐκ διηρημένων, and what warrant is there for saying that διαπετόν means 'infinitely divisible'? It may be true that διαπετόν means *divisible* here, but is it really certain? He says the importance of Book IV 'is entirely missed if we imagine that Aristotle is setting before us types of character for our admiration and imitation. His aim is not edification, but the application of the test of fact to a general law.' But does not Aristotle think that all the mean states constituting the virtues and good qualities in this book are in their degrees worthy of admiration and imitation? A man ought to aim at being εὐτράπελος, able to make and

take a joke, still more at being πρᾶος. They cannot exemplify the theory of the mean at all without being desirable qualities. One may doubt again whether it is right to say that the standard or rule of the mean turns out finally to be the θεωρητικὸς βίος. In what intelligible sense does the desirability of this fix the precise point up to which I may and should feel anger or assert my own interests against those of other men? This is, of course, not the question as to the place of reason in morals, but whether the moral mean is determined by a reference to the intellectual life. Would Aristotle really have said that ὁ φρόνιμος fixed the mean with this rule or aim consciously before him and no other?

We hardly get over the difficulty of 5, 11, 1138 a 6 οὐ κελεύει ἀποκτινύναι ἑαυτὸν ὁ νόμος· ἃ δὲ μὴ κελεύει, ἀπαγορεύει by saying 'the simple interpretation and the right one is to supply ἀποκτινύναι after μὴ κελεύει. The law forbids us to kill anything which it does not expressly enjoin us to kill.' Supposing that ἀποκτινύναι should be understood, the passage still remains as hard as ever. It is not in the least true that Greeks were forbidden to kill whatever they were not expressly enjoined to kill. Were they expressly enjoined to kill fish?

As to Aristotle's division of 'particular justice' no doubt scholars will continue to differ. Mr. Stewart thinks τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς is included in τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον; Mr. Burnet is equally sure of its being comprised in τὸ διορθωτικόν, διορθοῦν according to him meaning to *adjust*. But, if anyone will go through all the passages where the word in its various forms is used by Aristotle, he will find that for once where it bears this meaning there are many places where it unquestionably means *correct*, *set right*, and the same thing is true of the use in Greek generally. The *Politics* will satisfy him as to Aristotle. Again, if διορθωτικόν means 'adjusting' or 'regulating *ab initio*,' how is it that throughout Ch. 4, which certainly deals with τὸ διορθωτικόν, all the cases mentioned are cases where there is a wrong to be put right? On Mr. Burnet's showing the regulative principles of Ch. 5 ought to come before the corrective principles of Ch. 4. Mixed up with this is a misunderstanding as to ἐκούσια συναλλάγματα. He will not allow that τὸ διορθωτικόν is only a principle for rectifying any wrong arising in the course of such transactions, because 'if a wrong has arisen, the συνάλλαγμα at once becomes ἀκούσιον.' This is not true. A ἐκούσιον συναλλάγμα is expressly

defined as one of which the *beginning* is voluntary (on both sides). Sale is voluntary because the two parties agree to it, nor does it cease to be voluntary because the buyer withholds the price he has covenanted to pay. At no stage can a *ἐκούσιον συνάλλαγμα* become *ἀκούσιον*. An *ἀκούσιον συνάλλαγμα* is one which was *ἀκούσιον* from the very beginning. To my mind then it is as impossible to bring τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός under the second sub-division as it is to bring it under the first. There is no difficulty at all in distinguishing it from both. The only difficulty arises from the writer's saying that there are two species and then going on to describe three.

I must add that, while feeling the objection to the common explanation of τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διαφοράν etc. (5. 4. 1132 a 4 foll.),

I find it very hard to accept Mr. Burnet's theory that it is a compressed expression for the difference between the abstract wrong committed and the actual damage inflicted. A point so recondite would hardly have been stated in so imperfect and obscure a manner. I take it too that τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διαφοράν stands in a certain contrast with the preceding sentence, οὐδὲν διαφέρει εἰ ἐπιεικὲς φάῦλον ἀπεστέρησε κ.τ.λ., and also with what follows, καὶ χρῆται ὡς ἴσοις, as though it ran 'it is not any difference in the men, but the difference made by the act in question, that the judge has to regard. The men he treats as equal.' On Mr. Burnet's view all the antithesis would disappear.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

#### SEATON'S TEXT OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

*Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*, edited by R. C. SEATON, late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d.

It is satisfactory that in the earliest issue of Classical Texts in the new Oxford series, Apollonius Rhodius should be included. The *Argonautica* has been strangely neglected by English scholars. It rarely appears on any list of lectures, and, so far as I know, no edition has been published in England since that of Shaw—hero of the famous 'putide Shavius' criticism—which is more than a hundred years old. In Germany Merkel brought out a very satisfactory text in the Teubner series in 1852, and a large edition in 1854, which contains a slightly altered text—generally for the better, 186 pages of prolegomena written in Latin sometimes curiously obscure, a good apparatus criticus, which gives the various readings (including the corrections) of the all important Codex Laurentianus, also those of the Guelferbytanus, a list of the more important emendations, and lastly, the valuable scholia of the Laurentian MS. But no exegetical commentary of any value exists: and it is to be hoped that Mr. Seaton, who has been engaged for many years on the study of Apollonius, may supply this want. It must be admitted that it is unlikely that Apollonius will ever be widely read. The poem is long; it is often dull; the

style has none of the vigour and freshness of the old Epic—wholly taken from Homer, as Couat says in his *Poésie Alexandrine*, the language is not in the least Homeric; on the contrary, in some of its traits, e.g., the employment of long passages of oratio obliqua, it shows the syntax of a late period; the attractive freedom of the Homeric syntax is gone, and we get the style of the historian, not that of Homer, nor even that of Herodotus. But the curious use of Epic words—the same word employed in every possible sense which it could bear in different passages of Homer—will always amuse the student of language. The matter also of the poem has an interest of its own. After admitting the unheroic character of the hero—Jason never leads, but is always led either by other mortals or by divinities who have nothing of the divine except the capacity of being called in *ex machina*: after granting the lack of any completeness in any style, granting (to quote Couat again) that the poem has neither the grandeur of an epic, nor the unity of a drama, nor the sustained interest of a romance—we must yet allow merit to the new romantic interest of the passion of Medea for Jason and some real interest to the narratives, the archaeology and the folk lore which are cleverly mixed with the account of the voyage in the last half of the first and of the second book. If a poet may be called in as a judge of a poet, we may believe that

Virgil found Apollonius attractive as well as useful.

The text of Apollonius as taken from the best manuscript—the well-known one (Laur. xxxii. 9) which contains also Aeschylus and Sophocles—is singularly good: and Merkel did his work so well that he left little for later editors to do. There is hardly any room for emendation in the absence of corrupt passages: the obelus with which Mr. Seaton marks these occurs only nine or ten times, nearly half in the last book: and no one could have blamed the insertion in the text of the easy remedies which some of these permit, *e.g.*, at 1.8, of *μετέπειτ' ἔτειν κατὰ βάξιν* for *μετέπειτα † τεῖν † κ.τ.λ.* In his short and sensible preface he says that he assigns more weight than Merkel did to the two Vatican codices: but where

he follows them in any reading, Merkel (so far as I have observed) had done the same: and, at least in the large edition by Merkel, the same is true of readings taken from the scholia. Mr. Seaton emends 3.936 by reading οὐτέ\* (for οὐ δέ) *σε Κύπρις οὔτε . . . ἐπιπνέουσιν ἔρωτες*—a change which is not necessary for the Greek, nor, I think, an improvement: at 4.1015 *ἐκδώης* may be a better form than *ἐκδώης*. In matters of orthography he has forsaken his MS. in writing the common οὐδέ, νῆσόνδε, ὑπὸ κρήνη, for οὐ δέ, νῆσον δέ, ὑπο κρήνη, and the like. He has thus given his text a more familiar aspect, but there is fair reason for believing that the MS., which Merkel follows, presents the true pre-Aristarchean forms.

JOHN PEILE.

#### CARTAUT ON HORACE'S SATIRES.

*Étude sur les Satires d'Horace.* Par A. CARTAUT. (Paris: 1899. F. Alcan. 370 pp. 11 Fr.)

THE reader who opens a large work on the Satires of Horace by a professor of Latin Poetry in the University of Paris, will probably expect to be charmed and instructed while he reads, and to carry away in his memory some large generalizations which, if not wholly true, are at least novel and ingenious and plausible. M. Cartaut, perhaps, has some such work *in petto*, but his present book is certainly not of the kind that we are wont to receive from French scholars. It consists mainly of many different summaries and analyses of the *Satires*, made with intent to prove certain theses which are not new, and which, even when they were new, did not require to be proved exhaustively. Thus in chap. i. 'Circonstances dans lesquelles Hor. a composé ses Satires,' many satires (*e.g.* I. 1. 6. 8. 9) which have a biographical interest are briefly summarised (pp. 30–34). In chap. ii. 'Publication et Chronologie des Satires' it is mentioned that in Book II. Hor. prefers dialogue to narrative, and this is immediately proved by a summary of most of the satires of that book (pp. 56–59). Next in chap. iii. on 'La composition des Satires—Idée fondamentale,' etc. it is first shown, by analysis, that in Bk. I. each satire usually has two or three themes, but

in Bk. II. only one, and then follow more elaborate analyses (pp. 64–98) to show that Hor. had no preconceived plan, but that ideas came to him in writing. In chap. iv. 'Procédés de Développement et de Raisonnement' we have first of all summaries to show how Hor. uses the particular for the general or vice versa, and how he suppresses transitional thoughts, and then further summaries to show the nature of the arguments employed, inductive here and deductive there. In the next chapter 'Procédés d'Exposition,' three favourite devices of Hor. are discussed and three several times we are taken through the *Satires* in order, first, to find all the instances of the 'interlocuteur fictif,' secondly, to find all the places at which a named character (as Ofellus) speaks in his own person, and thirdly, to note all the anecdotes. At p. 174 we reach 'Procédés de Style' and go through the text over and over again, collecting every instance of rhetorical question (pp. 181–193), apostrophe (193, 194), polysyndeton and asyndeton (195–213), and so forth. A brief specimen taken from this part will exhibit M. Cartaut's method very well. On pp. 219–229 he is calling attention to Hor.'s use of vulgar or colloquial Latin. This is how he does it (p. 220):

'S. I. 7. 1. Rupili pus atque venenum, expression grossière qui marque le



mépris d'H. pour le personnage. 2. Hybrida...Persius, expression méprisante. 31. compellans...cuculum, reproduction d'une injure usuelle. 35. hunc regem iugulas, expression familière, à sa place, étant donné l'adversaire.'

In the following ten pages every other satire is treated in the same way; then we have eleven similar pages on 'l'expression concrète et pittoresque,' and so on for nearly fifty pages more. There are chapters of the same sort on 'l'emploi des noms propres' (pp. 283-322), on philosophy in the *Satires*, and on 'la g  n  se et la valeur des id  es morales,' but even M. Cartault's industry was unequal to compiling an index. I should admire this industry more if it led to any discoveries, but it does not. M. Cartault's opinions, after all, are the same as those of every casual reader. Here is one of his conclusions (p. 140):

'En r  sum  , la caract  ristique du raisonnement dans les S. est la suivante: H.   vite la structure rigoureuse de l'argument, qui donnerait    ses S. une apparence dogmatique. Le raisonnement n'a jamais chez lui, lorsqu'il parle en son propre nom, sa forme scolastique compl  te. Il faut souvent le deviner sous une confiance personnelle, sous une anecdote, etc. Mais il est de la plus haute importance de le restituer mentalement pour l'intelligence des S. Quant    sa valeur, elle est tr  s in  gale. Bien qu'aimant beaucoup la discussion, H. n'est pas un puissant raisonneur, un de ces logiciens impeccables, qui ne disent que des choses justes et justement encha  n  es. Il raisonne parfois    c  t   et il se contente de para  tre, sur le moment, n'avoir pas

tort. Il est fin, ing  nieux; il ne se pr  occupe point de construire des d  monstrations d  finitives et qui r  sistent    toute attaque. Il n'approfondit pas volontiers; il se borne    jeter des id  es toujours int  ressantes et qui piquent la curiosit  , mais qui parfois,    la r  flexion, sont contestables et auxquelles on voudrait des assises plus solides.'

This opinion is the result of forty-two large and closely-printed pages of laborious analysis, but I must confess that, for my part, I was convinced before I had read the whole chapter.

The book, it will be seen, is a series of running commentaries, each written from its own point of view. The chief *cruc  s* are usually discussed in footnotes, in which M. Cartault displays a meticulous knowledge of every German criticism. At I. 1, 108 (*qui nemo ut avarus*) he thinks there is a lacuna of some lines. He would omit 4, 11 and rearrange the lines 8-12. At 6, 14 he proposed *negante* for *notante* some years ago and repeats the suggestion here. At 10, 66 he proposes *quam rudis e Graecis inlati carminis auctor*, which would refer to Ennius. These, I believe, are the only novelties in criticism. In exegesis I do not observe any novelties at all. I should, however, call attention (1) to some very interesting remarks (pp. 16-20) on Horace's social position when he returned to Rome after Philippi and his relations with Hermogenes, the *ambubaiaiarum collegia* and all the other Bohemians of the great city: and (2) to M. Cartault's discussion of Horace's use of proper names. He is emphatically of opinion that Horace satirised living persons under their real names.

J. Gow.

#### COCCHIA'S *TRISTIA OF OVID*.

*P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium libri quinque.* Revisione del testo e commento a cura di ENRICO COCCHIA. G. B. Paravia, Torino — Roma — Milano — Firenze — Napoli. 1900. 2 lire.

THIS handy edition of the *Tristia* deserves high praise: the editor shows good judgment and good scholarship. The text is

explained in short notes printed beneath it. The brief preface gives an accurate account of the Lorenzian MS., and of Politian's collation of the two lost MSS. rediscovered by myself in the Bodleian library. The preeminence of the Lorenzian MS., and of the family allied to it, is insisted upon, and doubts suggested by Thomas, *Revue Critique*, 1890, p. 46, are summarily dismissed.

Cocchia draws attention to the excellence of the emendations of Gronovius and Bentley, 'which' he says 'present the character not only of perfect evidence but of true genius, qualities which appear to be quite absent from or forgotten in the more recent criticism.' Heinsius deserved to be mentioned with these giants of criticism: for Heinsius did more for Ovid's text than any other scholar. Cocchia follows Bentley in the following places: iii. 5, 3 *nec*; iv. 3, 34 *non es?* at [tacitly]; v. 1, 16 *praemoneo, non est*; v. 5, 32 *consilio fugiunt aethera, Ponte, tuum*; v. 12, 53 *si qua*. In ii. 296 *uir*, and iv. 4, 47 *uiam* he follows Bentley it is true, but the readings have been subsequently discovered in MSS.

The text is a fresh recension, based on the materials collected in my edition. In doubtful passages, the MSS. reading is given along with the conjecture admitted into the text, reasons being sometimes assigned, sometimes not. The notes are concise, but adequate; no parallel passages are quoted. Though brief, these notes leave little untouched that calls for comment.

The handling of the text is not always fortunate: thus i. 1, 21 Riese's unnecessary conjecture *legendus* is printed, without one word to suggest that it is a conjecture, or that the MSS. reading is *legendum*, which is certainly right. In the same poem line 26 *peior* is printed without comment. This reading has poor authority: and *maior* the reading of the better MSS., though harder, appears to be right, and should have been mentioned. The meaning is, 'Do not defend yourself, a bad case will become more difficult through your defence.' i. 1, 112 *ii qui* printed in the text, is incorrectly stated to be the reading of Guelf. and Vat. These MSS. have *hii qui*, which stands not for *ii qui* but *hi qui*, which I have restored to the text. i. 6, 2 *Battis* is incorrectly printed for *Bittis*. v. 5, 45 *nata pudicitia est, moris probitasque fidesque* the reading of AGHPV is printed; though it seems to be hardly Latin. *Morum*

would be required. I have edited *oris*, which still seems to me most probable, and should certainly have been mentioned.

I proceed to notice a few points in the commentary. i. 2, 55 *et mandare suis, aliquā et sperare sepulcrum*, is printed, with the note *aliquā* 'in qualche parte sicura.' The editor goes on to remark that its indefinite meaning precludes us from taking *aliqua* as the object of *mandare*, and that if it were the object, it would be necessary to change *sepulcrum* into *sepulcra*. But *mandare* positively requires an object, and the meaning is 'to give some poor instructions to one's kinsfolk.' i. 2, 83 *obligor ut tangam* is wrongly explained 'obligor scil. votis.' i. 2, 101 the extraordinary reading *quolibet et minimis domui si favimus illi* is introduced: *quolibet* is explained as an ablative of means: 'if I have supported the imperial house by any act even in the smallest matters.' This seems hardly possible, and there is no difficulty about the best attested reading *quod licet et minimis* 'a thing which the humblest may do.' On ii. 94 the court of the *centumviri* is wrongly described as a criminal court. ii. 95 *res quoque privatas statui sine crimine iudex* means that Ovid acted as an arbitrator in *iudicia privata*. The note is misleading: '*iudex* come uno dei giudici invitati dal pretore a far parte del suo tribunale.' ii. 478 *ut male velle sequens sciat et revocare priorem* is an ingenious restoration: it is explained as 'to follow up and design damage to the opposite side.' iv. 10, 80 the editor follows me in restoring *matris proxima busta tuli* as against the usually accepted conjecture of Heinsius *matri—iusta*. Heinsius objected to *busta ferre* as *vix Latinum*. The editor correctly explains 'portai al sepolcro le ceneri'; but as he never quotes parallels, he does not attempt to support this. The justification I think is to be found in Lucan viii. 850 *summusque feret tua busta sacerdos*: cp. ix. 67 *nunquam dare busta licebit?* where however some MSS. have *iusta*.

S. G. OWEN.

#### STEWART'S HOMILIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

*Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv., with translation and notes.* By H. F. STEWART, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1900. 4s.

THE Latin patristic writers have suffered terrible things at the hands of their English

translators. In each of the three well-known series of translations instances may be found of divines who have ventured, on the strength of reminiscences, perhaps somewhat dim, of classical Latinity, to render into English writings of the third or fourth century. Countless passages have been

reduced to nonsense by such assumptions as that *denique* at that date meant 'finally,' and by ignorance of the fact that *ut* is normally a consecutive, and not a final, particle, unless it be fortified by *ad hoc* or something similar. Mr. Stewart is too good a scholar to fall into such errors as these. With one or two small exceptions, such as a mistranslation of *utique* on p. 44, his translation is as accurate as it is pleasant to read.

St. Augustine's Homilies are, for a student of Latin, among the least interesting of his writings, and those on St. John's Gospel, in which he is overpowered, almost to the loss of individuality of style, by the impressive simplicity of the text on which he is commenting, are particularly disappointing. Their permanent value, for the purpose for which they were composed, cannot be overstated. They are characteristic of Augustine at his best in thought and feeling; they are not so characteristic of him as a representative writer of the end of the fourth century. Rhetorician as he was, and master of several styles, he had a curious power of dropping his rhetoric when he undertook, in homilies or commentaries, to interpret Scripture. Not that he can always resist the temptation; but such flowers of oratory as that which occurs in Tract. 78, 2 '*hoc attendat Arianus et attentione sit sanus, ne contentione sit vanus aut, quod est peius, insanus*' are as rare in his exegetical writings as they are common in his Sermons. At the beginning of the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* he speaks of his '*incultus in nostra festinatione sermo*.' But there was certainly a deeper cause than that of haste. For the rhetorical training worked itself into the very nature of those who had undergone it. Pagan and Christian alike, they may be careless, verbose, involved, even (as Cyprian is) at times ungrammatical, but they instinctively employ the tricks of their trade; their terminal rhythms, in particular, fall without an effort into the accepted forms. It was easier for them to obey, than to disobey, the 'Law' of Meyer. Augustine, making all allowances for such exceptions as that mentioned above, stands apart from the rest. Not that he was less rhetorical in training than they; Norden, in his interesting *Antike Kunstprosa*, has shown from the

Sermons that he follows the general rules, and has made the valuable observation that Augustine was the first to form his rhythms by accent instead of quantity. This is not the case in the *De Civitate Dei*, which was at least as worthy of Norden's attention as the Sermons; indeed, that writer has not given Augustine the space that was his due, though he was right to omit the exegetical writings from his survey.

These must be regarded as composed with a deliberate rejection of what passed for eloquence at the time. In them the grammar is the chief point of interest for the non-theological student. Mr. Stewart deserves our thanks for the short account of its peculiarities which he has given; though he would have done well to make a rigid separation between that of the Latin Bible and of Augustine. They are as distinct in character as in date. But his notes, both in his Hints on Grammar and in the Commentary, are sound and good. He is sometimes too comprehensive, as when he brings in prehistoric roots to illustrate the Latin of the decadence, and sometimes a little ambitious, as in his treatment of *sacramentum*; and he should not have indulged in a moralising, after the style of Trench, upon past tenses. The later Romans, whatever their creed, misused them. Apparently they, like British schoolboys, took *missus sum* to mean 'I am sent,' and on that hypothesis constructed a new scheme of tenses; and this exaggeration of the compound forms spread to the simple, so that to express an imperfect a pluperfect has to be used. One or two points may be named which deserved illustration. The suppression of the antecedent before a relative pronoun or particle is often confusing; and the idiom *sui sperantes* = *qui in eum sperant*, and the extended use of substantives in *-tor* might well have had a note.

The exhibition of the Biblical text of these Homilies in parallel columns with the Vulgate and African Latin is useful. By an unfortunate accident, *k* and *e* are transposed on p. xxi. But the chief interest of Mr. Stewart's work is the grammatical. We are justified in hoping that some day he will publish notes on texts of later Latin which shall rival those of the Abbé Léonard.

E. W. WATSON.



AN OLD FRENCH TRANSLATION OF CICERO'S *RHETORICA*.

*Notice sur la Rhétorique de Cicéron.* Traduit par Maître JEAN D'ANTIOCHE, MS. 590 du Musée Condé, par M. Léopold Delish (Tiré des Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques). Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

THE well-known librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale has unearthed in the Musée Condé at Chantilly a very interesting early French translation of Cicero's '*Rhetorica*,' of which he has published an account, accompanied by two facsimile plates, and copious extracts. The translation was made at Acre for Guillaume de Saint-Etienne, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, by John of Antioch, 'also called de Harens,' in the year 1282. (It is curious that the date is on fol. 1 given as MCCC.LXXXII, on fol. 12 as M.CC.LXXII, while the true date MCC.LXXXII is only given on fol. 13). The Chantilly MS. is probably an original copy, and the translation has been carefully corrected, and other renderings in some places substituted. The translator has thrown the two books *de Inventione* and the four *ad Herennium* into one series, divided into 206 chapters. Two preliminary sections are prefixed, dealing with the various divisions of knowledge, and explain-

ing, among other things, how 'sermocinal science' is divided into grammar, logic and rhetoric. 'Gramaire fut amendée et parfaite par Precien.' Aristot fist logique. Et Marc Tullies Cyceron fut especial auctour de rethorique... cette art de rethorique avoit esté trouvée par les Grifons,' &c., &c. In the epilogue the translator explains the principles which had guided him: Quar chascune langue si a ses proprietiez et sa manière de parler, et par ce nul translateur o interpreter ne porroit jamais bien translater d'une langue a autre, s'il ne s'enformait a la manière et as proprietiez de cele langue en qui il translate; por laquel chose il covint au translateur de ceste science de translater aucune fois parole por parole, et aucune fois et plus sovent sentence por sentence, et aucune fois por la grant oscurté de la sentence li covint il sozjoindre et acreiste.' A second section is devoted to a sketch of logic, and to showing how reasoning, and especially the 'entimême' differs from rhetoric, in order that 'Brother Guillaume' may be more subtle in all questions.

This translation does not contribute much to the criticism of the text, but it is of some interest as a specimen of style and diction.

A. S. W.

WALKER'S *SEQUENCE OF TENSES*.

*The Sequence of Tenses in Latin, a Study based on Caesar's Gallic War.* By A. T. WALKER, Professor of Latin in the University of Kansas. 8vo. pp. iv, and 52. Lawrence, Kansas, 1899.

THE most acute and elaborate research may be entirely thrown away if its results are set down in a form which no one can understand. To apply such a truism to a particular case is a rather thankless task, and if Professor Walker's Dissertation contained no more serious matter than is commonly found in other Degree-Theses, its weaknesses might be ignored. But he has undertaken to deal with a question which is of first-rate importance to all students of Latin; and it is clear that he has conducted the

enquiry itself with the industry, the thoroughness and the syntactical discrimination which we expect from one of Professor Hale's pupils. His conclusions are interesting and attractive, *a priori*, since they seem to offer a rationalised version of the old rule of Sequence. But the author's object was to establish them by direct evidence; and in this, so far as his readers are concerned, he must be said to have failed. A little more patience in recording the results of his enquiry, a little sober criticism of obscure and faulty wording, and a day spent in making an Index Locorum might have made this dissertation a contribution to Grammar of permanent value. But as it is now presented the body of the paper is a wilderness of bare references, separated into blocks

by lines of definition, always curt, often perplexing, and sometimes quite unintelligible.<sup>1</sup> A line of numbers is no better evidence than 'what the soldier said.' Seeing that the whole argument turns on the precise significance of single forms, it is surely not too much to ask, first, that the one word or the two words for which each passage is cited should be added to the figures; and secondly and chiefly, that at least two or three cogent examples of every general statement should be printed at length—a dozen where the point is novel or difficult. In pp. 12–25, where comparatively simple cases are dealt with, the author does give one example of each rule before plunging into figures; but at this point he relaxes even his own standard, and in pp. 33–46, which contain all the hard cases, he prints no examples at all, save for a few of the subdivisions on pp. 38–40. Nor is it merely the reader who suffers. Such a misprint or miswriting as 'conclusions' (p. 37 l. 2), for (I suppose) 'comparisons' could hardly have passed uncorrected if the author had written out the solitary example which he has to cite (*alio tempore atque oportuerit*) instead of blinding his own eyes by giving only the reference. This kind of accident awakens uncomfortable doubts as to the worth of the references generally. In short, the reader will be able to judge whether the evidence supports or throws doubt on the author's conclusions, when, and only when, he has spent at least as much time in completing the work as the author has spent in beginning it.<sup>2</sup>

But enough has been said to show that the dissertation needs to be re-written; it is a much pleasanter task to urge that it is extremely well worth re-writing. The object of

<sup>1</sup> In some passages the author has stated (or printed) precisely what he does not mean. For instance on p. 40 we read as the title of a Class: 'The present of a general truth following a past in indirect question.' But if the reader verifies the reference he finds that it is not the Past that is in the Indirect Question, but the Present. A *not* seems to be omitted on p. 3, l. 20, and p. 30, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> Compared to this radical defect mere faults of style, such as the absence of capital letters (so that, e.g., 'the present' denotes both a Tense and a time), are venial enough. But the use of novel technical terms without any explanation is particularly tiresome. By looking up some of the references the reader may find the meaning of 'clauses in congruence' and 'clauses in coincidence' (p. 42); but I have completely failed to discover what kind of clauses are in 'pseudo-coincidence'—a term which Prof. Walker finds room to condemn but not to explain. He merely gives an example the difference of which from those cited under 'congruence' I have not grasped.

the study was to test the truth of a dictum of Professor Hale's which amounted to a denial of the existence of any law of Sequence, by a minute scrutiny of the meaning of every dependent Tense-form, Indicative or Subjunctive, in Caesar's Gallic War. The author starts by analysing the meanings of the Indicative Tenses into their elements, 'Time-sphere' and 'Stage of Action' (completed, in process, or imminent,) noting that aoristic Tenses denote only the Time-sphere without indicating the Stage of Action. Besides the aoristic uses of Present, Perfect and Future, he would recognise, and justly, an aoristic Pluperfect and Future Perfect, which simply state that an event occurred or will have occurred before some other past or future event, but in no way describe it; since it precedes another, it must be, of course, completed, but the speaker is not concerned with this aspect of it.<sup>3</sup> In '*he arrived after you had gone*,' the Pluperfect is aoristic; whereas in '*after he had made a fortune he cut all his old friends*,' the speaker directs attention to the result of a process; the Stage of the action is emphasised and the Tense may be fairly called 'Descriptive.'<sup>4</sup> For the Subjunctive Tenses a double use is laid down, one corresponding to the same Tenses of the Indicative, the other containing a reference to some future time, measured from a present or a past standpoint. Thus the Present Subjunctive serves both as Present and Future; the Imperfect, as Imperfect and Future to the Past, and so forth. (A more minute analysis is attempted in c.v, which appears in some respects doubtful, and in any case irrelevant to questions of Sequence).

The author next proceeds (p. 8) to give an admirable definition of Sequence, which whether it be original or not—and it seems to be given as such—will, I feel sure, be gratefully accepted by other students of Grammar. The description of the Perf. Subj. in e.g., *rogo quid fecerit* as aorist, is new to me but, I think, quite convincing, in view of the fact that a following Subjunc-

<sup>3</sup> The haphazard examples which follow are not taken from Prof. Walker, but I think they represent his meaning.

<sup>4</sup> On pp. 21 and 24 the author makes special subdivisions of Descriptive and Aoristic Pluperfects, in which the action 'both began and ended at the same time as the action of the Principal Verb' (on which either depends). So far as I can see this is not a correct statement of the force of the Tense in the examples he quotes; and it is certainly in direct contradiction to the definition of the Pluperfect meanings (p. 6).

tive is regularly in a Secondary Tense (*rogo quid curauerit ne ires*). All cases of Sequence<sup>1</sup> fall under one or other of three categories of which the first two are meant to apply to Dependent Verbs in the Indicative and Subjunctive alike.

1. All Tenses of Stage that belong to the same Time-sphere as the Principal Verb are said to be "in Sequence"; e.g. all Descriptive Imperfects... depending on a Past Tense. But a Tense of Stage depending on a Verb of a different Time-sphere, as an Imperfect depending on a Present, is *not in Sequence*.<sup>2</sup>

2. The Aorist is in Sequence with a Present, and the aoristic Pluperfect with a Past. The Aorist is the Tense, the user of which, so to speak, stands in the present and looks back at the past... The reverse does not hold good; a Present or Perfect depending on an Aorist is out of Sequence; so too an Aorist depending on an Aorist is out of Sequence. The relations between a Past and an aoristic Pluperfect are precisely the same as between a Present and an Aorist.....

3. A Subjunctive with future meaning is in Sequence if its "point of reference," past or present [*i.e. the point of time from which the action of the Subjunctive Verb is or was looked forward to*] belongs to the Time-sphere of the Principal Verb. That is, a Future from the Past (Imperfect) is in Sequence with a Past Verb.'

The only point in these canons about which, perhaps, some doubt may be felt is the statement that an Aorist is out of Sequence with an Aorist. The combination is of course frequent, both when the dependent verb is in the Indicative and when it is in the Subjunctive (though with this latter Mood its use is comparatively restricted); the question is what the Romans themselves felt in using it. Did they feel it a natural use of the Tenses, or a strained one? So far as the Subjunctive in Latin is concerned there can, I think, be no doubt that Professor Walker's view is correct, because of the preponderance of the Imperfect over the Perfect in Result Clauses such as (*B.G.*, 1, 39, 1) *tantus timor . . . exercitum occupavit ut . . . omnium mentes animosque perturbaret*.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the origin

of this use may have been, it would not have persisted unless the combination had been felt more natural than that with the Perfect (Aorist) Subjunctive in spite of the greater fitness of the latter Tense to denote a single result. And I do not see how this feeling of the naturalness of the Imperfect can be called anything but a feeling of Sequence, whether it was itself the original cause of the combination, or was partly the cause and partly the effect of it.

But with dependent Tenses of the Indicative the feeling is by no means so clear. So far as I can understand Professor Walker's view it is that such a combination as 'I went because he compelled me,' is logically out of Sequence, but grammatically permissible because of its convenience, *i.e.* its naturalness in expressing what the speaker is actually thinking, in a very large number of cases; and that no restrictions arising from a Sequence feeling grew up in the Indicative, though they did in the Subjunctive (p. 49 f.) because of the special meanings it had in the uses in which it first became subordinate.<sup>4</sup> The logical point seems to me doubtful, for the combination sounds quite regular when the subordinate Verb describes a State, e.g. in 'he came because I wished it';—no one in England says 'because I was wishing it'; and in any case it is better, surely, to admit frankly that in Latin Sequence exists merely for the Subjunctive. This is, in fact, the author's conclusion (see especially p. 50), but as his enquiry was made to ascertain whether there was any feeling of Sequence in the use of the Subjunctive Tenses which did not apply equally to the Indicative, he was led to employ the word in a neutral, and, as I think it appears, an incorrect sense.

The author then proceeds, with equal acuteness and zeal, to classify every dependent Tense form in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* according to its Tense and its precise time- and stage-meaning, and those of its governing Verb. He finds only thirteen Subjunctives that are out of Sequence, against 1861 in Sequence. From the way in which the examples are recorded, or

<sup>1</sup> I cannot understand why the author 'excepts' two classes of clauses (on p. 8); on p. 7 he has shown that one of them is not in Sequence at all.

<sup>2</sup> The original wording runs 'is an exception,' which does not seem to express what the author means. And in this extract and in those that follow below, anyone who dislikes capital letters must please blame the reviewer not the author.

<sup>3</sup> The list of references for the Impf. is given on p. 31, for the Perf. on p. 40. Like the other lists, they need verifying and perhaps sifting, but on such a point as this they may no doubt be taken as approximately correct.

<sup>4</sup> For instance in *oro facias* and *orabam faceres* the wish which the Subjunctive expresses is not completely intelligible without some indication, or assumption, (1) of the person who felt or feels it, and (2) of the time at which it is or was felt (as well as of the time to which it refers which the Subjunctive Verb itself expresses). The first of these, it is clear, is implied by the subordination to the Principal Verb, the second by the choice of a Tense which corresponds to that of the Principal Verb, *i.e.* by Sequence.



rather, concealed, it is impossible to feel confidence in these figures. But the conclusion of the whole matter is worth quoting (p. 52).

'I believe that in Caesar every Tense of the Subjunctive and Indicative alike has its own meaning, and is never wrested from that meaning by a rule of Sequence.<sup>1</sup> But I believe also that Caesar had a feeling of Sequence that led him to avoid irregular [i.e. *non-sequent*] uses of the Subjunctive and gave him [*sic*] a tendency to use an equivalent Indicative construction if possible, or otherwise to recast the sentence.'

The chief example of this tendency is given on p. 47.

When Caesar wishes to express a past reason for or against a past act he uses with apparent indifference the Subjunctive with *cum* or Indicatives with *quod*, etc. . . . But Caesar is very fond of giving a still existing reason for a past act, and the Verb which expresses the reason must, of course, be in the Present. Now in every case of this kind Caesar uses one of the Indicative constructions, avoiding the Subjunctive (C. X. 3, 2).

These statements are *a priori* so probable, i.e., they accord so well with the traditional view, that I have no doubt they are substantially correct, in spite of the hesitation which must be felt as to the author's collection of evidence.

One more reservation, however, must be made. All Primary Tenses which are retained in Or. Obliqua by what is called *repraesentatio*, are treated in a very summary manner. 'Presents and Perfects depending on a Past are given [i.e. *counted*] as if they were the Imperfects and Pluperfects for which they stand' (p. 11). This declaration is at least frank, and it has the merit of limiting the enquiry by absolutely disregarding a thorny question. But it appears to have involved the author in some confusion, at all events of expression. I can only confess that the

passages in which *repraesentatio* is mentioned (pp. 35, 36 and 41), and the reason deduced for excluding twenty-three of the thirty-six exceptions to Sequence which Heynacher counted are completely obscure to me; though I have studied them more than once in the hope of getting light upon a question which has occupied me for some time past, namely, the strange variations of Sequence which appear in 're-presented' passages in the historians—e.g. 1, 8, 2 *quo facilius si transire conarentur prohibere possit*—a collocation which Professor Walker's somewhat drastic method enables him to regard without uneasiness. This is not the place to advance the views which I have been led to form, but I hope to deal at length with the whole matter ere long, and I shall be very greatly helped by Professor Walker's definitions. Here I will only say that on this question of *repraesentatio* we appear to start from opposite points of the horizon. To him the Secondary tenses are the true and original forms, the Primary are mere rhetorical interlopers. To me the problem is to trace the gradual process of infection by which what I may call the Secondary tone spread from the Subjunctives in immediate dependence upon the Past introductory Verb, and probably also from the Unreal but half-independent Past Jussive, to all the Dependent Verbs in the heart of the actual speech, until we reach the uniformity which is commended by our school-grammars, but which in speeches of any length is comparatively rarely practised by any one but Cicero. *Sed nunc non erat his locus*.

Let me conclude by expressing the admiration which I heartily feel for the courage with which Professor Walker has carried through a most laborious study and the high degree of precision to which he has pushed his analysis of the Tense-meanings. If he can find the leisure so to expand and elucidate his account of the enquiry as to make its form worthy of its substance, he will render a permanent service to Latin Grammar.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF,  
December, 1900.

<sup>1</sup> This of course is not the only effect of Sequence. A Primary governing Verb demands a Perfect in the Subjunctive of Indirect Questions, whether the original question had the Perfect or Imperfect or Pluperfect. This 'flattening out' Prof. Walker denies altogether for Caesar. It is surprising to learn that there are no parallels in Caesar to the examples quoted from Cicero by, e.g., Allen and Greenough, § 387 b, 3.

## RECENT VEDIC LITERATURE.

- A History of Sanskrit Literature*, by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit. (Short Histories of the Literatures of the World, IX.). London: Wm. Heinemann. 1900. 6s.
- Hymns of the Atharvaveda, together with extracts from the ritual books and the commentaries*, translated by MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLII). Clarendon Press, 1897. 21s.
- The Atharvaveda*, by MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, II. 1 b). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1899. 6M.
- Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, III. 2). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1897. 9M. 50.

THE appearance of the first of these books in a popular series is a matter of no little interest. It has long been an affectation of the educated classes in England to ignore the existence within the British Empire of languages and literatures other than their own. That the classical literature of more than one half of the Queen's subjects is written in Sanskrit has not sufficed to make it an exception: and such interest as has hitherto been shewn by the general public has been chiefly won by reflected views of the studies of Germany and America. Professor Macdonell has aptly signalized his accession to the Boden chair by the publication of this work, the first history in English of Sanskrit literature as a whole: a fact which he records, not with the note of triumph to which we have become accustomed in this department of study

inuat immemorata ferentem

ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri

but with an expression of surprise and almost of shame which comes with more dignity from one who identifies himself with his University, and feels that it is no matter of pride that the young men who leave our shores every year to become the rulers of India have so long been left without any connected or adequate account of the literature which affords a key to the civilisation of its millions of citizens.

The popular character of this book does not cover any want of thoroughness or accuracy in detail: the appended bibliography

would alone make it invaluable to students. One half of the volume is given up to a study of the Vedas, at the cost of the exclusion of a full account of the technical literature of law, science, and art, in order that the reader may lay a solid foundation for a general view of Indian civilisation by a real acquaintance with the life and thought of Ancient India. As Professor Macdonell in his work on 'Vedic Mythology' was singularly reticent in the expression of his own conclusions from the mass of materials which he there collected and ordered, this part of the book has the importance of an original and fairly full study of the Rigveda and Atharvaveda. It is illustrated by original and tasteful renderings of numerous selected passages from these works, translated into English unrhymed verse, after the example of Grassmann. The English metres reproduce 'as far as possible' the measures of the original: that is, they bear precisely the same resemblance to them that Longfellow's Hexameters or Tennyson's Alcaics bear to the classical metres. Rhyme is avoided, as 'misrepresenting the original Sanskrit.' It might have been well to warn the reader that the English accentual rhythm is equally strange to the original.

The following are instances of Professor Macdonell's translations:—

## HYMN TO NIGHT. (Rigveda x. 127).

*Night coming on, the goddess shines  
In many places with her eyes:  
All-glorious she has decked herself.*

*Immortal goddess, far and wide  
She fills the valleys and the heights:  
Darkness with light she overcomes.*

*And now the goddess coming on  
Has driven away her sister Dawn:  
Far off the darkness hastes away.*

*Thus, goddess, come to us to-day,  
At whose approach we seek our homes,  
As birds upon the tree their nest.*

*The villagers have gone to rest,  
Beasts too with feet and birds with wings:  
The hungry hawk himself is still.*

*Ward off the she-wolf and the wolf,  
Ward off the robber, goddess Night:  
And take us safe across the gloom.*

## TO VARUNA. (Atharvaveda iv. 16).

*This earth is all king Varuna's dominion,  
And that broad sky whose boundaries are distant.  
The loins of Varuna are these two oceans,  
Yet in this drop of water he is hidden.*

*He that should flee afar beyond the heaven  
Would not escape King Varuṇa's attention :  
His spies come hither, from the sky descending  
With all their thousand eyes the earth surveying.*

*King Varuṇa discerns all that's existent  
Between the earth and sky, and all beyond them ;  
The winkings of men's eyes by him are counted ;  
As gamblers dice, so he lays down his statutes.*

The drawback to this method of translation is obvious. Unrhymed verse is only known in English in association with the epic style, than which nothing can be further from the character of a Vedic hymn. The dignity of the latter of these hymns would come more home to English readers if it were translated into measured prose upon the model of the revised version of the *Psalms* or the *Book of Wisdom* : whilst the simplicity of the former would be better brought out by the conventional 'tags.' The question is not unimportant, since a standard translation of the two Vedas must be hoped for at no very distant date.

In the opening chapters of the book we find a short sketch of the history of Sanskrit philology, in which due honour is paid to the pioneers of the latter half of the eighteenth century : and a general sketch of Vedic literature to the time of Buddha. Chapter III deals, amongst other matters, with the metres of the *Rigveda*. The account of the *Trishtubh* and *Jagatī* metres is so short as to leave a false impression : neither is the existence of the caesura mentioned, nor the law that the iambic rhythm must be broken near the commencement of the second half of the verse by making the sixth syllable short. Chapter IV deals with the 'Poetry of the *Rigveda*,' which is well defined as a 'body of skilfully composed hymns, produced by a sacerdotal class and meant to accompany the Soma oblation and the fire-sacrifice of melted butter.' After this, it is rather strange to read that 'its poetry is marred by frequent references to the sacrifice.' It would be equally appropriate to say that a pre-Raphaelite landscape is 'marred' by the St. Sebastian in the foreground, or ivy by the old building to which it clings. Underlying the phrase is the assumption that the hymns of the *Rigveda* are or should be addressed to personifications of Nature. This is next somewhat naively admitted in the argument that it (the *Rigveda*) 'is on the whole much more natural than might under these conditions be expected. For the gods who are invoked are nearly all personifications of the phenomena of Nature.' Here we have unveiled the true history of the genesis of

the sun-myth. It is natural to worship Nature. From this ambiguous and unproven major premiss, coupled with the equally questionable minor, that 'the mythology of the *Rigveda* represents an earlier stage of thought than is to be found in any other literature' we arrive at a dogmatic principle of interpretation against which detailed criticism is powerless. Thus the name of the god Varuṇa still 'seems' to the writer to have originally meant the 'encompassing sky,' and is still identified with the Greek οὐρανός, although the character of the god, as sketched by him 'as nearly as possible in the words of the Vedic poets themselves,' does not in the least bear out this interpretation. With equally little reason Savitri, the 'Stimulator,' is said to be a solar deity, as representing the quickening activity of the sun : and we are told of Pūshan, the 'Prosperer,' that 'the conception underlying his character seems to be the beneficent power of the sun, manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity,' and again of Viṣṇu, 'that he is the most important of the solar deities. The essential feature of his character is that he takes three strides, which doubtless represent the course of the sun through the three divisions of the universe.' Not one of these three deities is associated with the sun by the authors of the Vedic hymns, and it is arguing in a circle to bring them forward as evidence of nature-worship in the *Rigveda*. The critical reader of this book will however put aside these theorizings, due to an exaggerated respect for the teaching of a past generation in Oxford, and will confine himself to the statements which are supported by the quotations. In the latest hymns of the *Rigveda*, as well as in those of the *Atharvaveda*, he will find himself brought closely into contact with the world of folk-lore, with the worship of plants, beasts, and serpents, and with the practices of magic.

Perhaps the discussion most interesting to the future Indian civilian is that which deals with the practice of widow-burning. As is well known, Hindus have always justified this practice by the authority of the Vedas. European students have however maintained that the Vedas enjoin the contrary. Professor Macdonell writes as follows :—

'In conformity with a custom of remotest antiquity still surviving in India, the dead man was provided with ornaments and clothing for use in the future life. The fact that in the funeral obsequies of the *Rigveda* the widow lies down beside the body of her deceased husband and his bow is removed from the



dead man's hand, shows that both were in earlier times burnt with his body to accompany him to the next world, and a verse of the *Atharvaveda* calls the dying of the widow with her husband an old custom. The evidence of anthropology shows that this was a very primitive practice widely prevailing at the funerals of military chiefs, and it can be proved to go back to the Indo-European age.

The following stanza (8) from the last funeral hymn (x. 18) is addressed to the widow, who is called upon to rise from the pyre and take the hand of her new husband, doubtless a brother of the deceased, in accordance with an ancient marriage-custom :—

*Rise up : come to the world of life, o woman ;  
Thou liest here by one whose soul has left him.  
Come ; thou hast entered now upon the wifehood  
Of this thy lord who takes thy hand and woos thee.*

The speaker then, turning to the deceased man, exclaims :—

*From the dead hand I take the bow he wielded,  
To gain for us dominion, might, and glory.  
Thou there, we here, rich in heroic offspring,  
Will vanquish all assaults of every foe-man.*

*Approach the bosom of the earth, the mother,  
This earth extending far and most propitious ;  
Young, soft as wool to bounteous givers, may she  
Preserve thee from the lap of dissolution.*

*Open wide, o earth, press not heavily on him,  
Be easy of approach, hail him with kindly aid :  
As with a robe a mother hid's  
Her son, so shroud this man, o earth.*

Referring to the bystanders, he continues :—

*These living ones are from the dead divided :  
Our calling on the gods is now auspicious.  
We have come forth prepared for dance and laughter,  
Till future days prolonging our existence.*

*As days in order follow one another,  
As seasons duly alternate with seasons,  
As the later never forsakes the earlier,  
So fashion thou the lives of these, Ordainer.'*

In this short discussion the writer seems to me to shew a true appreciation of the character of the Vedic poems. They do in this instance record a practice which is very ancient, and may perhaps be called 'very primitive' until we have some further knowledge of its origin. But this practice is recorded only to be condemned. Wife and bow are laid by the side of the dead warrior as of old, but only to be solemnly removed from them. The spokesmen of a reformed religion shake off the tyranny of the 'dead hand.' Not to the deceased warrior, but to his living kinsmen belong wife and weapons. To think otherwise is devilry, and no pure worship of the gods. Such is the supreme law of the Universe, once for all determined by its Creator. It is true that this language may seem at first sight more appropriate to a Hebrew prophet denouncing the sacrifice of children to Moloch, than to a Vedic bard: but

that may be because our commentators so seldom remind us that the Hebrew prophets and the Vedic bards were (roughly speaking) contemporary, or that large parts of their wisdom were derived from the same source.

On p. 127 Professor Macdonell refers to the panegyrics or 'Praises of Gifts,' which incidentally furnish us with many historical data connected with the names and homes of the Vedic tribes. He is in error in ascribing late date to these hymns and fragments generally; on the contrary, all those which contain historical data belong to the very earliest epoch of Vedic poetry.

Chapter VI deals with the 'Rigvedic Age,' and depicts its general state of civilisation. The attempt to fix the geographical limits of the poems is only partially successful, since the names of places and rivers mentioned in the earlier hymns cannot be identified: but it is rightly stated that 'by the end at least of the Rigvedic period some of the Aryan invaders had reached the western limit of the Gangetic river-system.' The sketch of the social system combines features which belong to widely-separated centuries, and institutions of which some were proper to the conquerors, others to the conquered tribes: but here again a truly historical treatment is no easy matter. How widely commentators may differ in their deductions from the same facts is curiously illustrated in the few lines which deal with the state of morality in this period. From the fact that mention is made in the *Rigveda* of courtesans and of 'women who deceived their husbands' Pischel has drawn the conclusion that the poems were produced in a corrupt age and for the delectation of a decadent court: whilst Macdonell writes 'That the standard of morality was comparatively high may be inferred from the fact that adultery and rape were counted among the most serious offences, and illegitimate births were concealed.' Macdonell's view appears to me the more just.

Chapter VII deals chiefly with the *Atharvaveda*, which in the writer's view, shared by Professor Bloomfield with whose recent works this article deals later, is 'for the history of civilisation on the whole more interesting and important than the *Rigveda* itself.' At any rate its position is better understood. 'It does not represent the more advanced religious beliefs of the ruling priestly class, but is a collection of the most popular spells current amongst the masses, who always preserve more primitive notions with regard to demoniac powers. The spirit which breathes in it is that of a prehistoric

age. A few of its actual charms probably date with little modification from the Indo-European period.' In view of the claims made by Bloomfield for an early date for the Atharvaveda, it is well to note Macdonell's opinion that 'with regard to the higher religious ideas relating to the gods, it represents a more recent and advanced stage than the Rigveda,' and that 'the language of the Atharva is, from a grammatical point of view, decidedly later than that of the Rigveda.' It remains to be pointed out that in metrical form also the Atharva veda represents a later development of the standards of the Rigveda. Without here discussing the question whether the magical beliefs incorporated in this Veda are those of the Indian natives or of the lower classes of the Aryan invaders, it should be made plain that these beliefs are brought at least into external harmony with the religious system of the priestly classes: that is, they are new and comparatively orthodox spells designed to drive the unorthodox out of use. But the feeling that the whole system is out of harmony with the Vedic religion has always survived in India, and the book is even yet not fully included in the sacred canon.

The remaining chapters of this book are full of interest even to those who, like the present writer, have but a slight acquaintance with the materials with which they deal: I can only allow myself to quote one or two of Professor Macdonell's translations of short love-poems.

## I.

*Beside the lamp, the flaming hearth,  
In light of sun or moon or stars,  
Without my dear one's lustrous eyes  
This world is wholly dark to me.*

## II.

*Let not thy thoughts, o Wanderer,  
Roam in that forest, woman's form:  
For there a robber ever lurks  
Ready to strike—the God of Love.*

## III.

*This maiden like a huntsman is;  
Her brow is like the bow he bends;  
Her sidelong glances are his darts;  
My heart's the antelope she slays.*

Professor Macdonell's book may be most warmly recommended to all those who are not content to be ignorant of one of the most important of classical literatures, and it is to be hoped that it will give a marked

impulse to Sanskrit studies at his own University and elsewhere.

Professor Bloomfield's *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* forms one of the handsomest volumes in the series of the *Sacred Books of the East*, and it will at once take rank as one of the most important. Yet no volume brings into clearer light the defects of the original design of this series, which has not the courage either to be frankly popular or genuinely scientific, and which has expended on wide margins and exaggerated type the zeal and resources which might have made a new epoch in Oriental studies. This volume contains a translation of about one half of the distinctive matter of the Atharvaveda, with a short introduction and a fairly adequate commentary. This is much for which we have to thank the Clarendon Press and the writer, and far more than the general reader has any use for: yet it is impossible not to regret that the opportunity for a complete edition has been lost. Professor Bloomfield, we may well imagine, would readily have given us this, after the many years he has devoted to his favourite subject: and the publishers have not been grudging in allotting almost 800 pages to this volume. Ludwig's *Rigveda* contains about 2,300 pages, excellently printed, and with introductions and commentary on a far more ample scale, admitting liberal quotations from later Sanskrit writers: and as the Rigveda is not quite three times as long as the Atharvaveda, it is clear that a standard translation and commentary for the whole of the latter might have been given in the same compass as the volume before us. As it is, we have now almost a dozen incomplete translations, and have still to wait for a complete translation, which is however promised us as a posthumous work of the late Professor Whitney.

The introduction to this volume contains important essays dealing with the history and standing of the Atharvan texts, which, as is generally known, are not fully recognised by the Hindus as canonical. The title found in the book itself is Atharvāṅgirasah, or works of the Atharvan and Aṅgiras priests. The former Professor Bloomfield identifies with auspicious spells or 'white magic,' the latter with the darker practices of sorcery. But as that which is useful to oneself is very often

harmful to others, the distinction is not well maintained: the Atharvan priests would have found their profession straitened if they had not undertaken to curse, as well as to appease and bless: whilst the common people felt an aversion to the whole body of practices, of which they stood in a vague dread.

The Atharvan hymns are rearranged for the purposes of this translation in the following groups: (1) against diseases, (2) for long life and health, (3) against demons and enemies, (4) love-charms, (5) charms for kings, (6) charms to secure influence in the assembly, (7) business charms, (8) charms in expiation of sin and defilement, (9) charms in the interest of the Brahmans, (10) cosmogonic and theosophic hymns. It will thus be seen that their subject-matter includes the whole sphere of public and private life, and indeed gives us a complete picture of the folk-lore of the Vedic people, so far as it was at the time authorized and systematized by the Brahman priest. The material of the charms includes the use of plants, trees, minerals and waters, as well as sympathetic magic and elementary medical appliances, mostly of a loathsome character. Yet it is clear that all these are subordinate in importance to the use of the 'word,' or metrical recitation, so that it is the hymns themselves, as recited by the professional charm-worker, which really possess the magic power. These are on the whole of a simple character, and their chief difficulty consists in identifying the names of natural objects and other *termini technici* which occur in them. As an illustration of a state of feeling common to the Aryan peoples at all times, and illustrated not least well by the history of Rome, I may quote the following prayer for 'harmony' in the public assembly or vestry-meeting. The 'harmony' is of course to be obtained by all the other members giving way to the views of the speaker.

ATHARVAVEDA, vii. 12.

1. May assembly and meeting, the two daughters of Prajapati, concurrently aid me! May he with whom I shall meet cooperate with me: may I, O ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled!

2. We know thy name, O assembly: 'mirth,' verily, is thy name: may all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me!

3. Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the understanding: in this entire gathering render, O Indra, me successful!

4. If your mind has wandered to a distance, or

has been enchained here or there, then do we turn it hither: may your mind take delight in me!

The commentary contains full references to previous European and Indian studies of the hymns, and gives parallels to the charms amongst European nations. There is a good index, but nothing to correspond with the Vocabulary given by Professor Oldenberg in his *Hymns of the Rigveda*, which is so useful a supplement to the existing dictionaries.

*The Atharvaveda* by the same author is practically a companion volume, though it appears in another series. It is one of the English volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, now appearing in 37 parts under the editorship of Professor Kielhorn. This international effort is a pleasing advance upon the present want of system, by which monographs on technical subjects have to be hunted up from journals published in a dozen different countries. French Orientalists are however sadly conspicuous by their absence from this series, an absence which is certainly not due to any unwillingness on the part of the editor to include contributions in the French language. The whole series is well printed and on good paper: the occasional use of a comparatively small type gives room for a wealth of bibliographical reference which is impossible in the *Sacred Books of the East*. It is however necessary to pass over much that is excellent in this volume in order to call attention to a heresy upon which much stress is laid, and which seems to result from a confusion of thought which should be cleared up without delay: namely, the contention that the Atharvaveda is in a way contemporary with the Rigveda. I say 'in a way,' because the immense body of evidence which supports the traditional view of later date is not ignored by the author, who admits 'that the existing collections of the Atharvan are the final product of a redactorial activity much later than that of the Rigveda, and that many hymns and prose pieces in the A.V. date from a very late period of Vedic productivity.' Yet he objects vigorously that 'for reasons that are nearly always one-sided and subjective, sometimes patently erroneous, the language of the popular or Atharvanic hymns is generally regarded as chronologically later than that of the hieratic hymns, and thus every Vedic hymn



that deals with popular matters is condemned on account of its language to a berth in the "later Vedic period." Now the author may be assured that the value of the Atharvan hymns will not in the long run be determined by their antiquity, and that they will not be 'condemned' merely because they are of later date than the hymns of the Rigveda. The fact that the former are, apparently without exception, written in a dialect which stands nearer to that of classical Sanskrit than to that of the Rigveda is undisputed: the evidence is given on almost every page of Whitney's Grammar. Indeed Professor Bloomfield has stated this in stronger terms than any of his predecessors, when he speaks of the two books as written in two different languages, the 'hieratic' and the 'popular,' which he compares to the language used by a clergyman in the pulpit and at the dinner-table respectively. We are of course familiar in many countries with the distinction between a sacred and a profane dialect, but in every case the sacred dialect is in itself the older, and works written in it offer a presumption of greater antiquity. In this case however Professor Bloomfield thinks that the two dialects have grown concurrently from a common origin. His reasons are (1) that many of the forms considered 'old' are found in the Atharvaveda, e.g. *kṛidhi* in Av. iii. 18, (2) that many of the forms considered 'late' are, on the contrary, of Indo-European antiquity.

These objections seem to me due to an imperfect conception of the continuity of language. The date of a particular writing can certainly not be determined by an analysis of the form of any one or two words it contains, but only by a general comparison of its contents. No one would hesitate to fix, on linguistic grounds, the relative dates of a canto of the 'Faery Queene' and a poem of Walt Whitman: yet in old English works we occasionally find words and forms which are, at first sight, surprisingly modern, and which are, in fact, the predecessors of favourite modern turns of thought: and it is well known that many 'Americanisms' are derived from very old English dialectal uses. Bearing this in mind, there is no difficulty in dealing with Bloomfield's instances, which treat of points familiar to students of comparative philology. Thus the form *kṛidhi* is in the Vedas found at an earlier time than *kuru*, yet it is recorded by Whitney as a form which remains in use till classical times.

The dual in *-au* is not used in the Rigveda proper before consonants: but it is regularly used before vowels, and therefore it is not surprising to find it also in other languages. So *-aiḥ* is reckoned as a 'late' form of the instrumental plural in the Rigveda: but by this is only meant that those hymns in which the two forms *-ebhiḥ* and *-aiḥ* are used side by side are older than those in which the latter form is used exclusively. The root *lubh* is Indo-European, and again is found in classical Sanskrit: but we cannot on that account leave out of sight the fact that in one stage of the Sanskrit language the letter *l* is practically disused, and that that stage is the earliest appears from the fact that it has left its mark upon the history of the language as a whole, so that in many words Indo-European *l* is represented permanently by Sanskrit *r*. Of course comparative philologists are well aware that it is by no means unusual for the later stages of two languages to agree in features which are absent in the earlier stages of one or both. Thus classical Greek and classical Sanskrit agree in using the augment invariably in historic tenses; yet in the Homeric and Vedic poems alike the use of the augment is optional. The development of language is not always continuous, and to that extent it must be admitted that linguistic data are a 'broken reed,' when taken alone. Not however in the instance chosen by Prof. Bloomfield, where on his own shewing the evidence is decidedly in favour of the later date of the Atharvan.

More ingenious is Professor Bloomfield's discussion of the problem of metre. Confining himself to the Anuṣṭubh stanza of four octosyllabic lines, he gives its scheme in three forms, which may be more fully stated as follows:

(I) *Anuṣṭubh of the later Avesta.*

Pādas *a, b, c, d* are each of the type

≈ ≈ ≈ ≈ ≈ ≈ ≈ ≈

that is, the quantity is throughout indifferent.

(II) '*Hieratic*' *Anuṣṭubh.*

Pādas *a, b, c, d* are each of the type

≈ - - - | ~ ~ ~ ≈

that is, each forms an iambic dimeter.

(III) 'Popular' *Anuṣṭubh*.

Pādas *a*, *c* are of the type

≈ - ≈ - | ~ - - ≈

„ *b*, *d* are of the type

≈ - ≈ - | ~ - ~ ≈

that is, the first and third pādas end with a trochee, breaking the general iambic rhythm.

Now, argues Prof. Bloomfield, it is improbable that (II) passed to (III) through the stage (I), which we find only in a cognate language: this would include a change from a stricter to a laxer rhythm, which is contrary to the general trend of Hindu metrical development. Instead we may assume that (II) and (III) were independently developed from (I), the 'hieratic' poets giving the verse a 'more exquisite' treatment by introducing the iambic rhythm at the end of each hemistich.

This theory rests upon a too superficial study of the facts. In the first place the Avestan octosyllabic line has nothing to do with the matter. Whether the non-quantitative line represents the earliest stage of Indo-European verse, or (as I think far more probable) a degeneration of metre peculiar to the Iranian branch, it is not closely connected with either of the Sanskrit forms, which agree in a general iambic rhythm, which is in all cases well marked in the first half of the pāda. In the last half the earliest Vedic verse uses with fair frequency the cadence ~ ~ ~ ≈: the stricter iambic cadence ~ - ~ ≈ becomes compulsory later, in accordance with the general tendency to greater strictness. Thus the two Vedic forms differ ultimately in the quantity of a single syllable only (the seventh) in two of the alternate pādas: and we have a transition period in which the use of the later form gradually becomes more prevalent. The option of quantity in the fifth syllable is a fiction of Professor Bloomfield's, except so far as all Vedic metres admit of occasional irregularities. A wider study of Vedic metres would have shewn that the artifice here resorted to, namely a sharp change in rhythm to avoid monotony, is by no means without parallel in Sanskrit. The general rhythm of the Trisṭubh metre is iambic: but the Vedic poets generally (as has been mentioned above) have varied this by making the sixth syllable short; whilst the later writers have increased the divergence from the original type by favouring a long fifth syllable. In the Greco-Latin

metres the same principle is illustrated by the familiar *scæzon* of Martial.

Now if all questions of language and metre were put aside, the later date of the Atharvaveda would still appear clearly from its theological conceptions, as to which it is sufficient to refer to Professor Macdonell's book and Professor Bloomfield's own admissions. I have dwelt upon these points because it is not uncommon to find the *obiter dicta* of Sanskrit philologists picked up by writers on comparative philology, and made the basis of general theories of wide import: and it is therefore desirable that views which appear to be unsound should be at once criticised. The element of truth in Professor Bloomfield's contention can be stated very simply. The magical practices described in the Atharvaveda are probably of indefinite antiquity, but whether they are in the main European or Asiatic remains undetermined. They were very likely accompanied by spoken spells: but whether these were in prose or in verse, in Sanskrit or in other languages, we cannot determine. The earliest spells we possess are contained in the later parts of the Rīgveda. The difference in dialect between the Rīgveda and the Atharvaveda is not necessarily to be explained as entirely due to difference in time: it may be partly due to the influence of foreign teachers and of professional schools. But in its main features Vedic Sanskrit is an older form of classical Sanskrit, and the dialects of the Atharvan and the Brāhmaṇas stand between. We have no indication that Vedic Sanskrit was used for composition by poets to whom it was an artificially acquired language. When its distinctive sacred character was recognised, its verses were borrowed in their completeness and used for magic purposes without any regard to their original meaning: and so it happens that the last book of the Atharvaveda consists almost exclusively of verses borrowed without alteration from the Rīgveda.

The title of Professor Hillebrandt's book gives an inadequate idea of the interest of its contents: for the so-called 'ritual literature' covers every act of life from birth to death, and thus includes minute description of the whole folk-lore of the Hindu people: differing in spirit from the Atharvaveda in that the desire to wrest personal advantage from the ceremonies is absent. The author treats his subject more

systematically from the standpoint of comparative antiquities than either of the preceding writers. He first deals with the view, which he thinks still to be held by the majority of Orientalists, that the minute ceremonies were invented by an idle priesthood in order to strengthen their hold upon the people. He holds on the contrary that the religious customs as well as the laws of the Hindus are based upon immemorial antiquity, of which the priesthood were diligent and conscientious students. He therefore first deals with those customs which appear to be part of Indo-European institutions, and in particular with the marriage customs. Thus, when the Indian ritual prescribes to the bride the duty of weeping as she leaves her father's home, and a special verse has to be recited as an accompaniment to her tears, Hillebrandt compares similar customs amongst Russians and Czechs, and explains them by the violent character of the primitive marriage. In the German Palatinate it appears that the bride must begin to weep from the day of her betrothal, and indeed 'so awfully violently, that she can hardly eat a morsel.' A similar observance connects India with the district of Aargau. In the latter, when the bridegroom drives off, the young people of the neighbourhood block the road with cords and pieces of iron, tied together by coloured cloth, and the bridegroom must cut his way through these impediments with the wedding sword. In India the bridegroom, during the recitation of a particular verse,

lays a red thread in the track of one wheel, and a blue thread in the track of another. Whilst reciting the next verse he drives over them. The custom of throwing rice after newly-married couples is also mentioned as common to many countries, amongst which our own (curiously enough) is not included. The ceremonies connected with the twelve days which separate the old year from the new are treated in the same comparative spirit.

It is perhaps needless to say that on subjects of this kind the author's views will not meet with assent in all quarters. In dealing with matters more specifically Indian he is necessarily on surer ground. In describing the ritual of the Rigveda he has the courage to draw his materials solely from the text of the hymns, and to deduce the conclusion that the ceremonies of that time, though they had reached a considerable degree of elaboration, were still far simpler than in later periods. As a whole, this book may be described as not only an indispensable guide to the student of this department of Sanskrit literature, but also as an invaluable collection of facts interesting to the student of any side of primitive antiquity or folk-lore.

The fact that four volumes of such importance as those here reviewed have been issued in rapid succession is an indication that the study of ancient Sanskrit is by no means losing its attractiveness.

EDWARD V. ARNOLD.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### LATRANS IN PHAEDRUS.

In the review of Postgate's *Corpus*, Fasc. iii, which appeared in the *Classical Review* for December 1900, Prof. Housman has been led, by his cross-nibbed pen perhaps, to do me a little injustice. Commenting on my edition of Phaedrus, at V. 10. 7 (*canem obiurgabat, cui senex contra latrans*), he says 'One generally accepted emendation, Bentley's *Lacon* (loc. cit.) Dr. Gow refuses, and prints the false quantity *lātrans* with nothing to mark it as corrupt: I know that Auienus says *lātrantis*, but Auienus says quasi.' This remark appears to impute to

me ignorance of the usual quantity of *latrans*. As a matter of fact, my note on the passage runs '*latrans* PR, *Lacon* Bentl. in *ā* breuiato offendens, *latrans* cui c.s. Cunningham, *latrans* substantiue accipiens.'

It is not easy to see what Prof. Housman wants. Did he desire me to mark by obelus, or note, that a possibly genuine word was corrupt? On the merits surely *latrans* has rather the best of it. Prof. Housman will not deny that *latrans* is sound Latin for 'a dog' (Ovid. *Met.* viii. 412 *inmeriti fatum latrantis*) and that Phaedrus elsewhere uses



a descriptive epithet as a noun (I. 1. 6 *laniger* 'the lamb', I. 11. 6 *auritulus* 'the ass', IV. 4. 3 *sonipes* 'the horse', IV. 9. 10 *barbatus* 'the goat'). Again, it is unlikely that Phaedrus, after using *canis* twice, should substitute the specific name *Lacon*: indeed neither *Lacon* nor *Molossus* occurs in Phaedrus at all. In I. 1 the sequence is *agnus*—*agnus*—*laniger*: in I. 11 *asellus*—*auritulus*—*asinus*: in IV. 4 *equus*—*sonipes*: in IV. 9 *hircus*—*barbatus*—*hircus*. The evidence of style is thus strongly in favour of *latrans*. Cunningham's emendation is improbable because *latrans*, placed at the beginning of the sentence, would naturally mean 'barking' and not 'barker.' The existing MS. P does not give the least hint of suspicion: *latrans* is fully and clearly written, and Prof. Housman's conjecture that *Lacon* was corrupted by the following *non* is quite arbitrary, for, though Phaedrus is written as prose in P, there is no evidence

that he was so written in P's archetype. Against style and tradition, therefore, stands only a rule of prosody which is not so clear. Avienus, who must have known Vergil's (*Aen.* VIII. 698) *omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis*, nevertheless wrote *cura latrantis Anubis*. The *a* may have been really short, usage in the poets notwithstanding, or it may have tended to become short in the *sermo quotidianus* or when *latrans* was used as a noun. I believe that the *i* of *migro* is short only in Ter. *Hec.* 589 and Manil. III. 79: similarly the *a* of *flagrum* is short only in one or two passages of Plautus. Lastly, Phaedrus was a foreigner and may have made a mistake, as foreigners will. There happen to be so many chances of evading the rule of prosody that I think I was not bound to treat it as paramount and to obelize *latrans* as corrupt.

J. Gow.

#### PROF HOUSMAN, BENTLEY, LUCAN.

'FINDING faults,' says Prof Housman, if they are real and not imaginary, is the most useful sort of criticism.' So I have thought as long as I can remember, and I am truly glad to learn that I have been right.

In settling the text of an ancient author there are two main lines of fault-finding: there are the faults of the MSS tradition, and the faults of the author himself. When MSS evidence is conflicting, and when it tells, as it sometimes does, on the side of that reading which is in itself clearly inferior, it is of the first importance to take full and fair account of the character and circumstances of the author so far as they are known to us. It may well be that what commends itself to the judgment of a modern scholar as the better reading is not (even though that scholar be infallible) what the author wrote. The cases of the several authors vary, and a slip that would be improbable in Statius' *Thebaid* *bis senos multum vigilata per annos* may more safely be allowed to stand in an unfinished poem by a young and fluent writer.

To take the case of Lucan. Prof Housman finds fault with me for 'refusing corrections by Bentley and others.' Now I admire the cleverness and learning shewn

in Bentley's 'corrections' as much as any one. But when I ask myself in each case 'is this a correction, or an improvement, or both, or neither?' I find myself generally constrained to answer 'an improvement, at least from Bentley's point of view.' And it seems to me that the mature and ratiocinative Bentley was out of touch with the crude and uneven rhetoric of Lucan, and that his actual results are in this case of little value. As for 'correcting,' he could not help it: but his attempts to correct Milton betrayed the false direction of much of his work.

But it may be said that some corrections are so obvious, the improvement in the sense so manifest, that we must perforce accept them. Thus in I 481 *inter Rhenum populos Albimque iacentes* does indeed seem preferable to *Alpem*, let alone *Alpes*. But two objections soon occur (a) with *Albim* the reference is clearly to Germans, and it is not certain (see 308-9) that Lucan is thinking of Germans rather than Gauls, (b) the words 'inter Rhenum Alpemque' seem strained when judged by a modern map, but Lucan had not a modern map. And when I read the queer geographical notions of Polybius (III 47), when I recall the endless controversies to which the Roman landings in

Britain have given rise, I am loth to 'correct' the MSS for the sake of bringing the text into harmony with modern knowledge. If the maps of Lucan's time were at all like the *tabula Peutingeriana*, then the Rhine made an acute angle with the Alps, and there is no reason to suspect the text.

So much for a correction which so far as I know is not Bentley's. The conjecture *Belgis* for *bellis* in I 463 is due to him. But it should be added that he proposed to rewrite lines 460-72 in an astounding manner, in fact as a master correcting a pupil's exercise. If the MSS are worth no more than this, then it is a case of 'every man his own Lucan.' No doubt the just and unaggressive character attributed to the Chauci by Tacitus (Germ. 35, not 33) makes it seem strange that Caesar should have kept military posts 'to restrain them either from war or by means of war.' But if we read *Belgis* and paraphrase 'to restrain them from attacking the north-east of Gaul,' the position is still stranger: if this is not to call the Chauci wilfully aggressive, what is? It is hard for me, who am 'too little concerned with the sense of what Lucan is supposed to be saying,' to offer an opinion: but may not *bellis* mean 'by wars,' that is, by campaigns carried on, when necessary, beyond the Rhine? Did not Caesar twice cross the Rhine to impress the Germans? Are not the Chauci a rather ill-chosen *pars pro toto*?

Among the changes proposed by Bentley in this part of Lucan is in lines 464-5 Rhenique *ferocis* deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus *annem*. The MSS tradition is *feroces* and *orbem*. Bentley asks 'quid vero illud *orbem*? an totus orbis undique apertus, quia ripa Rheni deserebatur?' He takes *orbis* to mean the whole world. So in III 276 'nunc huc nunc illuc, qua flectitur, ampliatur *orbem*' Prof Housman renders 'the globe,' and regards the result with not unjustified dismay. But need we accept this? Even *totus orbis* is used with exaggeration where only the Roman world (VIII 211-2 *orbis* qua Romanus erat) is meant. Thus I 110 quae mare quae terras quae *totum* possidet *orbem*, while in 166-7 *totoque* accersitur *orbe*, quo gens quaeque perit the non-Roman East is more particularly referred to. Of the uses of *orbis* with adjectives, such as *extremus medius arcuos eous Latius Thessalicus* and many more, there is no need to speak. But V 686 et *tantus* caput hoc sibi fecerit *orbis*, '[the people of] so large a part of the (Roman)

world' is worth noting. And in VIII 603-4 *ne quo non fiat in orbe* heu facinus civile tibi we see the transition to the use of *orbis* by itself as 'a part of the world.' In I 369 ut victum post terga relinqueret *orbem* it is the whole world, meaning in truth but a part. In IX 416-7 *maior* in unam *orbis* abit Asiam it is 'a greater part of the world.' In IX 436-7 *natura deside torpet orbis* 'the world' is no more than 'the surface of the country.' In IX 466 *orbemque* a sede moveret, 481 sic *orbem* torquente noto, the idea seems very confused, as happens in Lucan at times. In X 476 gelido circumfluit *orbis* Hiberno it is 'the country,' as IV 407 Adriaco tellus circumfluit ponto.

To return to I 465 apertum gentibus *orbem*, I hold that it means 'the [Roman] world laid open to [barbarous] nations,' that is, nations not owning allegiance to Rome, *gentibus externis*. See Haskins' notes on I 31, 82. In III 276 nunc huc nunc illuc, qua flectitur, ampliatur *orbem* I render 'according to its various bends enlarges a continent to East or West.' That is, this or that continent. In this passage *orbis* is comparatively easy to understand, being helped by *diversi mundi* which precedes. Whether the reading *hunc...illum* is on other grounds preferable or not, is a different matter. That the sense compels us to adopt it I feel unable to concede. A good deal here and elsewhere depends on the value to be assigned to the codex Vossianus primus (V). If Prof Housman would finally settle this question, readers of Lucan would owe him many thanks. We might perhaps be able to read (for instance) *recepimus* in VIII 831.

It is unnecessary to discuss points where I agree with the Professor, such as the questionable use of the name 'Pauline' to describe a certain class of MSS. Nor need I deal with such matters as the readings of I 588 and 687, on which I have already said what I had to say in previous numbers of the *Classical Review*. It will be enough for my purpose if I have succeeded in shewing that Prof Housman does not always manage to state the case fairly against a reading when he is in a hurry to dismiss it with contempt. Who it is that neglects 'the sense of what Lucan is supposed to be saying' is a question upon which opinions may differ—or rather might have differed; for I have now learnt that in readings—never mind reasons—there is one final Court of Appeal.

The passage I 531 calls for special notice. I have accepted the reading 'et varias ignis *tenso* dedit aere formas.' Prof Housman would read *denso* with VG. He refers to the regular quotation of editors, Seneca NQ VII 21 § 1, where it is said that the Stoic view is that comets and certain other fiery phenomena *denso aere creari*. But Lucan has already done with the comet and the *faces*, and it is not clear to me that what he is now describing is included in the things mentioned by Seneca. And to say that Lucan is 'copying his uncle' is only true if 'copying' does not mean 'following.' For in his next chapter Seneca adds 'ego nostris non adsentior,' and gives his reasons.

At this stage let me insert a passage from a letter written to me by Prof J. S. Reid before I even knew that I had the honour of being noticed by Prof Housman. He says "It may interest you to know that I have for a long time thought *tenso* right, because it chimes in so well with Stoic terminology. The term *τόνος* (commonly rendered by *intentio*) encounters one at many points in the Stoic system. Things approximate to the pure *πνεῦμα* in proportion to the degree of *τόνος* which they possess. The expression occurs most commonly in connexion with mental phenomena, but, as the mind is regarded as purely material, that does not matter. The cold air, acquiring more *τόνος*, naturally passes into fire, and with the reading *tenso* the line of Lucan is genuinely Stoic. That air may be said to be 'put on the stretch' is shewn by the following passages.

Epictet II 23 § 4 τὸν μεταξὺ ἀέρα οὕτως ἐνεργὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἔντονον ὥστε δι' αὐτοῦ τεινομένου πως δικνεῖσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν;

Gellius V 16 § 2 Stoici causas esse videndi dicunt radorum ex oculis in ea quae videri queunt emissionem aerisque simul intentionem.

Seneca N Q II 6 § 3 intentionem aeris ostendent tibi inflata nec ad ictum cedentia ...quid enim est vox nisi intentio aeris, ut audiatur, linguae formata percussu? [there is more in this chapter and in cc 9, 57].

It is true that elsewhere Seneca talks of

the emission of light accompanying the compression or thickening of the air. Whether the Stoics did so or not is far from certain. In his *Nat Quaestt* Seneca inserts matter from all quarters, even from Lucretius."

When therefore Prof Housman says 'Air is notoriously incapable of tension,' I may accept his authority in a department where he has done nothing to create mistrust of his judgments. But the question is not one of modern Physics: it is the point of view of Lucan and his Stoic teachers with which we are concerned. As for Dr Hosius, who restored *tenso* from what he believed to be the better MSS authority, his defence will be found in the *Neue Jahrbücher* for 1893 page 340.

I should not have made any reply to the remarks of Prof Housman were it not that the credit of the new Corpus is concerned. In such a work it is hardly possible to be too cautious in avoiding needless emendation: and this is particularly the case in dealing with an author the MSS of whom 'may almost be called good.' A conservative spirit must predominate, if the work is to be of any use. Again, in a cooperative work there will be delays. The completion of each instalment depends on the slowest contributor. The single-handed worker has in point of speed a great advantage over the driver of a team.

But if I were simply editing a text on my own account I should still be under a conviction of the difficulty of attaining results that could fairly be called certain. One moves in a region of probabilities varying from more or less ingenious guesswork to moral certainty: and the latter is rare. If this conviction has made me culpably timid, I can at least assure Prof Housman that I try to imitate Prof Francken in 'disinterestedness' and 'unwillingness to be duped.' But I am far from having reached those *edita doctrina sapientum templa serena* around which the *intentio aeris*, or rather *aetheris*, is in all probability extreme.

W E HEITLAND.



## In Memoriam.

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VICTORIA REGINA IMPERATRIX.

MDCCCXXXVII—MDCCCL.

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Σήμερον αιάζοντες ἀποφθιμένην Φερενίκην,  
 κλαυτὸν καὶ Θανάτῳ κῆδος ὁδυρόμεθα·  
 νικᾷ δ' εἰς ὅδε πάντας ἐπιρρεύσαντας ἐπαίνους,  
 φίλτερος ὡς ἀστοῖς οὐ γένετ' οὐδ' ἔσεται.

J. P. P.

BRITANNIA VICTORIAE  
 MATRI DESIDERATISSIMAE.

MATER, ob augustum nomen venerata tot annos,  
 Saecula dum current, cara futura magis,  
 Quae totiens oculos populi Regina beabas  
 Luce tui vultus et bonitate tua,  
 A! nunquam reditura, mei tamen incola cordis,  
 Orbatae praesens saepe putanda, VALE!

H. M. B.

Ἦδε, φίλοις λαοῖσι φίλον σέβας, ἔσχε δικαίως  
 Νίκης κυδαλίμην εἴ τις ἐπωνυμίην,  
 εὐβούλοις πρέψασα μετ' ἀνδράσιν, ἐν δὲ γυναιξίν  
 οἷα γυνή· δισσῆς δ' αἶνον ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς,  
 πένθος ἐφόισιν τε καὶ ἐσπερίοισι λιποῦσα,  
 λείπει ξενὸν ἄγαλμ' ὃν κλέος ἐσσομένοισι.

W. H.

## A LOST WORDSWORTH FRAGMENT.

It may interest your readers to see a fragment of verse on a classical subject, written by Wordsworth in the first decade of this century, which has quite lately come to my knowledge. As all his readers know, he translated a small part of Virgil, and I hope soon to publish some of his more elaborate attempts to give an English version of parts of Juvenal; but this small fragment, which is the second of more attempts than one on his part to deal with the subject of Harmodius and Aristogiton, may be printed now.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

*The University,  
St. Andrews.*

And I will bear my vengeful blade  
With the myrtle's boughs arrayed  
As Harmodius before  
As Aristogiton bore,

When the tyrant's heart they gor'd  
With the myrtle-braided sword,  
Gave to triumph Freedom's cause  
Gave to Athens equal laws.

Where, unnumbered with the dead,  
Dear Harmodius, art thou fled?  
Athens sings 'tis thine to rest  
In the islands of the blest,  
Where Achilles swift of feet  
And the brave Tydides meet.

I will bear my vengeful blade  
With the myrtle boughs arrayed,  
As Harmodius before  
As Aristogiton bore  
When in Athens' festal time  
The tyrant felt their arm sublime.

Let thy name, Harmodius dear,  
Live through heaven's eternal year.  
Long as Heaven and Earth survive  
Dear Aristogiton live,  
With the myrtle-braided sword  
Ye the tyrant's bosom gor'd,  
Gave to triumph Freedom's cause  
Gave to Athens equal laws.

W. WORDSWORTH.

## OPENING SCENE OF SHELLEY'S 'HELLAS.'

MAHMUD *sleeping: an Indian Slave sitting  
beside his couch.*

*Chorus of Captive Greek Women.*

We strew these opiate flowers  
On thy restless pillow:  
They were stripped from Orient bowers,  
By the Indian billow.  
Be thy sleep  
Calm and deep,  
Like theirs who fell—not ours who weep.

*Indian.*

Away, unlovely dreams!  
Away, false shapes of sleep!  
Be his, as heaven seems,  
Clear and bright and deep;  
Soft as love and calm as death,  
Sweet as a summer night without a breath.

XOP.

Θρόνα τὰδ' ἀμφί σοι Στρ. α.  
βάλλομεν ἵπνοφόρα κοιτὰς, Ἰνδικὸν  
τά ποτέ μοι δρέφθη παρὰ κλύδων' ἁλὸς,  
κήπων θρέμμαθ' ἑψών.  
'Αδὺς ἐπὶ βλέφαρα βαθύς θ' ἵπνος, ἄναξ, ἔστω  
σοι  
μή τι κατ' ὄμμ' ἀμὼν τῶν πολυδακρύων, τοῖς δ'  
ἐκεῖ  
πρᾶσσουσιν ὁμοῖος.

ΙΝΔΗ.

τοὺς ψευδεῖς ἀπενέπω φόβους, Στρ. β.  
μορφῶν τε ῥίπας ὀνειροφάντων.  
Ὑπνον δ' ἔχῃς  
ὁμοῖον οὐρανῷ θεῶν,  
ἀνέφελον ἀθόρυβον βαθύν,  
τοῦ μαλακοῦ τ' ἔρωτος  
καὶ θανάτου μᾶλλον φίλον,  
φέροντα τὰς μεθ' ἐσπέραν  
εἰρήνας ἀνήμεμον χάριν.

*Chorus.*

Sleep, sleep! Our song is laden  
 With the soul of slumber;  
 It was sung by a Samian maiden  
 Whose lover was of the number  
     Who now keep  
     That calm sleep  
 Whence none may wake, where none shall  
 weep.

*Indian.*

I touch thy temples pale,  
 I breathe my soul on thee;  
 And, could my prayers prevail,  
 All my joy should be  
 Dead, and I would live to weep,  
 So thou mightst win one hour of quiet  
 sleep.

*Chorus.*

Breathe low, low,  
 The spell of the mighty Mistress now!  
 When Conscience lulls her sated snake,  
 And tyrants sleep, let Freedom wake.

Breathe low, low,  
 The words which, like secret fire, shall flow  
 Through the veins of the frozen earth—low,  
 low!

*Semichorus I.*

Life may change, but it may fly not;  
 Hope may vanish, but can die not;  
 Truth be veiled, but still it burneth;  
 Love repulsed, but it returneth.

*Semichorus II.*

Yet were Life a charnel, where  
 Hope lay confined with Despair;  
 Yet were truth a sacred lie;

## XOP.

Ὕπνωσσι, ὥς ἐμοὶ  
 φίλτρον ἔχει θεόθεν ῥῶδ' ὕπνου,  
 Σαμιακᾶς εἶρημά ποτε παιδὸς, ᾧ  
     πολλῶν κείτο μετ' ἄλλων  
 ἄσπετον εἰρόμενος ἀνὴρ χύσιν ὕπνου, τὰς οὐδεὶς  
 αἴτις ἀνηγέσθη πολυπύκνον βροτῶν· οἷόέ τις  
 λαχὼν ἐδάκρυσεν.

Αντ. α.

## INDH.

Θελκτρὸν μὲν χερὸς πᾶσάν τέ σοι  
 ψυχὰν ἐπέπνευσ' ἐμὰν προταρβοῦσ'·  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν  
 θεοὶ κλύοντες εὖ λιτὰς  
 ἀχάριτον ἀβίωτον μόρον  
 δοῖεν ἔχειν θελούσῃ,  
 καὶ δακρύων οἴων' αἶε,  
 σύ γ' εἰ μίαν περ εὐφρόνην  
 εὐκαλον λάχοις ὕπνου χάριν.

Αντ. β.

## HMIX α.

ᾠ φίλαι, ἦκα νῦν, ἦκα μάλ', ἀλλ' ὅμως Στρ. γ.  
 τὰς μεγάλας θροεῖτ' ἰὰν Μатέρος·  
 εὔτε γάρ ὥς ὅφισ κορεσθεῖς βορᾶς  
 τυράννων εἴδῃ σύναυλον βία  
 δαίμα, τότ' οὖν ῥοπαῖς ἐλπίς ἐγειρέσθω  
     δμῶσιν ἐλευθέρως.

## HMIX β.

Ἦκα μάλ', ὥς ἀνώγεις, ἄτρεμας λόγον Αντ. γ.  
 τῶν μέγ' ἐρισθένων θροήσω βοᾶν.  
 νᾶμα κεκρυμμένον γὰρ εἶσιν θεᾶς  
 πυρῶδες χωροῖν ἔσω Γᾶ φλεβῶν  
 Μатρὶ, τὸ πρὶν δ' ἄφαρ ῥίγος ἀποστάξει.  
 Ἦκα δ' ὅμως ἴτω.

## HMIX α.

Ἀλλαγὰς μὲν ἔχει βίος  
 πάμπαν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀποφθίει·  
 θνάσκει τ' οὐποτ' ἄρα μερόπων  
     ἐλπίς, καίπερ ἀπ' ὅσων  
 πόλλ' ἔρρωστα· μένει τ' Ἀληθείᾳ φέγγει  
     λαμπρῇ  
 κᾶν καλύπτραις φαινομένα·  
 πολλά τ' Ἔρως ἐρώτων  
 ἀμπλακὼν παλαιορτος ἦλθεν ἔμπαρ.

Στρ. δ.

## HMIX β.

Ἦν δ' ἂν οἶν βίος οὐ βίος  
 ζῶσιν, ἂ δ' ἂν ὑπὸ σκότη  
 πολλοῖς ψεύδεσιν ὁμόταφος  
     θνητῶν ἐλπίς ἐπαύσθη·  
 καὶ δ' ἔρρεψε θεῶν ἀληθείᾳ ψεύδος ἀκοῖεν,

Αντ. δ.





The slab was evidently a terminal stone indicating the limits of some *τέμενος* consecrated, in all probability, to the Kabeiroi Daemons who were specially worshipped in the island of Samothrace which lies off Dedeagatch.

G. F. ABBOTT.

SALONICA, TURKEY  
Nov. 17, 1900.

## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C. R.* 1900, p. 236).

THE following short account of the excavations of the Forum deals with the period from last March to the beginning of January. The work still continues with undiminished activity under the direction of Comm. Boni, and if, as all archaeologists hope, it is to be carried through with the same thoroughness that has marked it hitherto, another year or two may be spent before the area of excavation need be enlarged. It is the first time that any attempt has been made to reach the level of the primitive Forum—previous investigation has rarely penetrated even so far as the Forum of the last days of the Republic—and the results attained are most striking. A careful stratigraphic exploration of the Comitium has led Comm. Boni to recognize within a depth of 13 feet 8 inches the presence of no less than *twenty-three* different strata, each of which has been carefully examined and the objects belonging to it classified and separately arranged. The lowest of these contained, besides a flint and a piece of iron, probably belonging to some tool or weapon with a flat blade, fragments of large vases with red paste, and one piece of a vase of the Villanova type of the so-called Latin period, with geometrical designs scratched upon it.

A preliminary account of the excavations of the Comitium with many illustrations will be found in *Notizie degli Scavi* August 1900 p. 295 *sqq.*

If similar researches can be carried on in other parts of the Forum, it is obvious that the gain to our knowledge of its earlier history and topography will be incalculable. It is not too much to say that all that was known hitherto of the pre-Caesarian Forum<sup>1</sup> came from the classical authors.

<sup>1</sup> An exception must be made in favour of the Regia: but here our knowledge, which was due to the enterprise of non-Italian archaeologists—Jordan, Nichols and Hülsen—was, as the present excavations have shown, by no means complete.

It is of course to be regretted that the inevitable consequence of such deep level excavation is the destruction of a certain amount that belongs to the imperial and mediaeval periods which, were it possible, one would gladly see preserved. A convenient means of exploration is however often afforded by the numerous wells, belonging as a rule either to the period of the Republic or to the Middle Ages. These wells occur all over the Forum, and their presence in such numbers (30 or 40) is not altogether easy to explain. There is also ample space for sinking shafts in the large travertine paved central area of the Forum, and even in such a building as the Basilica Julia many gaps in the pavement may be utilized.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it is certain that only by the removal of what lies above can we gain information as to the Republican Forum of which we know so little, and the primitive Forum, of which we have hitherto known nothing: and this consideration, added to the assurance that careful notice has been and will be taken of all that has to be destroyed before its demolition is begun, will lead us surely to the conclusion that the gain infinitely exceeds the loss.

### I.—Comitium.

Turning to the consideration of details we find that the controversy as to the Stele is being carried on with undiminished activity. The articles on the subject are literally legion: interesting summaries of the discussion are published periodically by Tropea in the *Rivista di Storia Antica*. Tropea agrees with Pais (*Nuova Antologia* Nov. 1899 Jan. 1900) Comparetti (*Iscrizione arcaica del Foro*) and Hülsen (*Rivista di Storia antica* 1900, 333) in the view that the inscription speaks of sacred formalities to be performed by the rex (*i.e.* the rex sacrorum) in the Comitium upon either the 24th March or the 24th May, on which days the calendars note, 'quando rex comitiavit, fas.' The words iumentum and kalator, which occur in the inscription, may permit the supposition that the rex was empowered to appear in the

<sup>2</sup> A basis for such explorations is formed by the accurate determination of the altitudes of the chief points in the Forum which was carried out in the spring of last year, of which an account is given in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, p. 200. With this account is given a general plan of the excavations, the only one at present available. This plan is reproduced in a handy form in Borsari's brochure *The Roman Forum in the light of recent excavations* (Officina Poligrafica Romana) Rome 1900.

Comitium in a carriage (see XII Tab. ap. Gellium 20, 1, 8). As however at least half of the inscription is wanting, and much of what remains is incomprehensible, attempts at complete interpretation and still more at adequate restoration seem doomed to failure. An important contribution to our knowledge as to the period to which the whole group of monuments belongs has been made by Savignoni in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for April 1900, p. 143. After a thorough examination of the objects discovered under the niger lapis of Maxentius, he comes to the conclusion that they belong to different periods, the earliest to the 7th, the latest to the 1st century B. C., the earliest and latest periods being most numerously represented. Further, they were not found lying in strata of different epochs, but were mixed up, so that they had evidently been brought from elsewhere, and therefore give no clue as to the date of the monuments which they covered. All that can be said is that the objects are clearly of a sacred nature, and that this is probably the reason why they were used to cover the remains of a group of monuments of peculiar sanctity. It is possible that they were brought here from the 18 small pits (cf. *C.R.* 1900 p. 237) which were found in the area of the Comitium. This supposition would account for the fact that these pits (which we thus assume to have been intended for the reception of votive objects) have all been found to contain earth only.

This announcement has somewhat modified the conditions of the discussion. It has now become perfectly clear that this sacra stipes cannot be used to date the inscription of the Stele. This one might have suspected before from the mention by Boni in the first report of the discovery of the existence of chips of Pentelic marble, of black marble of the variety to which belong the slabs of the lapis niger, among the objects found<sup>1</sup> (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1899 p. 157, 158): though Gamurrini's solemn declaration on the very next page of the same report (*ibid.* p. 159) that the sacra stipes certainly belonged to the first half of the 6th century B. C. and could not possibly be later seems to have (as might have been expected from the circumstances under which it was made) misled the majority of archaeologists: and Pais is amply justified in asking (*Rivista di Storia antica* 1900 p. 295) why a year was allowed to pass (during

which innumerable treatises on the subject were written) before the world was informed that, after all, the so-called sacra stipes contained objects belonging to the first century B. C. and could not therefore be used as evidence for the dating of the inscription. Even Comparetti was not in possession of all the essential facts at the time when his work—the best that has so far appeared on the subject—was written (compare Tropea's remarks in the same periodical 1900 p. 300).

The stratigraphic examination that has been made in the Comitium has already been referred to. Among the finds of interest are a few amphorae, buried purposely in this spot, which remind one of the 'locus qui vocatur doliola ad cluacam maximam, ubi non licet despuere, a doliolis sub terra' (Varro L.L. v, 157). This has generally been taken (Jordan I, 2, 486, Gilbert I, 78) to have been situated in the Forum Boarium, near the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima; but it may well have been here, as Boni (*op. cit.* p. 316) thinks. We must remember in this connexion that the Cloaca Maxima which runs along the S. E. side of S. Adriano (the Curia) has recently been discovered not to have been the original one, but a later deviation of its course (see below): but even so, the earliest Cloaca Maxima is not far distant. Other noteworthy discoveries are an extensive deposit of flanged roof tiles in the twentieth stratum, and, near the mouth of a Republican well at the E. end of the steps of the Curia, some fragments of very fine stucco decoration, which may have belonged to the internal decoration of the Curia of Sulla or of Caesar (Boni *op. cit.* p. 302). An interesting article by Lanciani (*Bull. Comunale* 1900, 13) points out that the fountain which has recently been discovered in front of the Curia was not the only one in this district, but that the well-known Marforio also occupied a place near by (on the N. W. side of the church of S. Martina) during the Middle Ages. It is very doubtful whether the 'Tiberis' mentioned by the Einsiedeln pilgrim is a reference to this statue (cf. Jordan *Topographie* ii, 348. *Röm. Mittheil.* 1891, 50 Lanciani *Monumenti dei Lincei*, 496): but it is spoken of in all the various editions of the *Mirabilia*, and was only removed in the time of Gregory xiii (1572–1585).

The granite tazza which from 1593 till 1817 served as a fountain basin near the temple of Castor, and now stands between the statues of the Dioscuri in the

<sup>1</sup> We are now told that fragments of giallo antico, (Numidian marble) and rosso antico (Taenarian marble) were also found (Savignoni *loc. cit.*)



Quirinal may very well have belonged to the newly discovered fountain, as it certainly came from the neighbourhood of S. Adriano. Flaminio Vacca (*mem.* 69 in *Fœa Miscellanea* vol I p. 83) states in fact that it was found when the Marforio was removed. Giovanni Ruccellai however in his description of the jubilee of 1450 (published in *Archivio soc. rom. Storia patria* iv, 563) speaks of 'a large marble figure almost lying down, which is called Marfuori, with a vase or basin by it.' And Nicolas Muffel, writing in 1452 (*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, published by Michaelis in *Römische Mittheilungen* 1888, 254) says 'in front of the prison of S. Peter lies a large carved figure and it has in front of it two basins of marble about seven toises in diameter.'

No other account speaks of two fountain basins, but if Muffel is to be trusted one of them must have stood close to the Marforio, as Ruccellai's account would imply, while the other belonged to the newly discovered fountain in front of the Curia.

## II.—Rostra.

Comparetti (*L'Iscrizione arcaica del Foro*, p. 6), maintains that the earliest Rostra are to be found on the west of the Stele, where a platform of tufa blocks, orientated exactly according to the cardinal points, has been discovered. The orientation of the Sacellum formed by the two pedestals immediately on the E. of the Stele, with a space between them, probably occupied by the original lapis niger, is not as I stated in *C.R.*, 1899, 321, almost due N. and S., but diverges about 30° E. of N. This, as Hülsen notes (*Riv. di Stor. Antica*, 1900, p. 402), corresponds with the orientation of the south side of the Carcer and of the temples of Concord and of Saturn, as the orientation of the supposed Rostra corresponds with that of the Comitium as proposed by him in *Röm. Mittheil.* 1893, 79 sqq.: the only alteration to be made is that the dividing line between Comitium and Forum must fall 35 metres further south than he had supposed, so that the rostra, the stele and the sacellum may coincide with it. The only difficulty is that the 'tomb of Romulus' would be neither 'post rostra' nor 'pro rostris' (the phrase, whichever reading is preferable, must refer to an orator facing either Forum or Comitium), but alongside of them.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C.R.* 1899, 465.

<sup>1</sup> The scholia of cod. Paris. 7975 on the same passage (Hor. *Epod.* 16, 13) give the following

Thirty or forty yards further to the S.W. behind, but for the most part to the S. of the semicircular structure, faced with slabs of portasanta, which, in its turn, lies behind the edifice, which has from 1883 up till now been known as the Rostra of Julius Caesar, a building of quite a different nature has been discovered, which is held by Boni to be the Rostra of the great dictator. It consists of a row of eight small arched chambers, the northernmost of which lies in a straight line between the column of Phocas and the tower of the Capitol: they are about 5 feet in height from floor to crown of arch, 5½ in span, and 7 in depth. The walls are constructed of opus incertum of capellaccio tufa, which is dark-green and compact when not exposed to air or sun, but soon becomes ash-gray and lamellar, flaking very easily, and the voussoirs of the arches are neatly cut blocks of the same material. The whole was covered with coarse white cement, with a quarter round moulding in the angles between walls and floor. The floor of the chambers, and the area in front of them for the space of about 18 feet, is paved with roughly cut tesserae of brick, resembling closely that found in the vicus Tuscus (*C.R.* 1899, p. 466). A piece of a similar pavement, but at a higher level and with larger tesserae, has been discovered near the north angle of the Basilica Julia (see below).

The spring of the arches is only about 1 foot above the level of the tessellated pavement; the lowest voussoirs tail into one another, and on all the piers, with the exception of the terminal piers at the N. and S. ends and the last intermediate pier but one<sup>2</sup> to the south, there is a double cornice.

Above the arches runs a line of tufa slabs, which were also covered with stucco and form the edge of the floor of rammed tufa, which lies over the top of the arches.

This structure was obviously a platform of some kind, but its identification with the Rostra of Caesar is open to grave doubts. The great argument in its favour is the coin of the gens Lollia, figured by Babelon, *Monnaies de la République* II., 148, no. 2. This coin dates from about 45 B.C., according to Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité* II, 311, having probably been struck

account: plerumque aiunt in rostris Romulum sepultum fuisse et in memoriam huius rei leones duos ibi fuisse, sicut hodieque in sepulchris videmus, atque inde esse ut pro rostris mortui laudarentur.

<sup>2</sup> The last intermediate pier is almost entirely destroyed.

by M. Lollius, M.F., (consul 21 B.C.) in honour of his father (?) M. Lollius Palikanus, who was tribune in 71 B.C. and might have been elected consul in 67 B.C. had not Piso refused to announce his name even if he should be elected (Val. Max. III. 8 § 3).<sup>1</sup>

This much discussed coin has been held by some writers to represent a bridge or the Navalía, but Jordan (*Topographie*, I. 2, 355, note 64) maintains that the subject is the Rostra. We see five arches, supported by four pillars (the end pillars not being shown), from three of which rostra project towards the left; above the arches runs a double line (slightly curved downwards owing to considerations of space), and upon this stands a seat like a bisellium, above which is the cognomen Palikan(us). There is thus a certain similarity between the coin and the newly discovered structure: but it must be noted (1) that it is not at all easy to tell whether in the coin the rostra are represented as attached to the pillars or as projecting through the arches (in the latter case we should probably have to consider the coin as a representation of the Navalía), (2) that the structure in question, the cement facing of which is in extremely good preservation, presents no traces whatsoever of having ever had anything in the nature of rostra attached to it.

There are, however, even stronger arguments against Boni's theory. In the first place, looking for the moment only at the style of its construction, one would be inclined to date the building a good deal earlier than the time of Caesar. According to Lanciani *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 45, the use of opus incertum was abandoned 'about the time of Sulla in favour of the more regular opus reticulatum'; and the specimen before us bears the closest resemblance to the opus incertum of the porticus Aemilia (*op. cit.* p. 44, Fig. 17) which dates from the earlier half of the second century B.C. In view of the fact that no general canons for dating Roman buildings within a few years by their style of construction have as yet been established, too much stress need not be laid upon this argument. But it is surely fair to say that the whole structure is too poor<sup>2</sup> to form part of the great reconstruction of the Forum and the buildings surrounding it, which was planned by Julius and completed by his successor. It

may be noted also that it adheres to the orientation of the temple of Saturn, though, as the Rostra of opus quadratum face almost precisely the same way, the fact is not decisive.

Lastly (and this is perhaps the most important consideration) we find that the first arch and part of the second (from the N. end) fall behind the semicircular structure faced with slabs of portasanta: the concrete core of this adheres to and blocks up these arches, and the whole rises about seven feet above the platform which they support, so that it is obvious that the construction of the hemicycle meant the destruction, or at any rate the superseding, of the arched structure. On the other hand, notwithstanding the contention of Jordan (*Topographie* I. 2, 241), who is followed by Richter (*Jahrb. des Inst.*, 1889, 3), that the hemicycle is later in date than the Rostra of opus quadratum, the arguments by which Nichols (*Notizie dei Rostr*i pp. 38-45) maintains the contrary seem to me decisive. This being so, if we assume that Boni's theory is correct, we have to find the Rostra which were in use at the time when the Rostra of opus incertum were obstructed by the hemicycle and the Rostra of opus quadratum were not yet constructed; and we seem to be left with the necessity of supposing that the hemicycle itself at one time served as the Rostra. But if the Rostra was a templum (Livy VIII. 14 § 12 rostris (navium Antiatium) suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit, rostraque id templum appellatum), it can never have been a building of this kind (cf. Jordan, *Topographie* I. 2, 356, note 64 *ad fin.*). Further, the nails which are found in the slabs of portasanta, and which supported apparently something in the way of metal ornaments, can never have carried anything so heavy as the Rostra must have been. Nor does the discovery of tiles bearing stamps of the time of Severus (*C.I.L.* xv. 405) in the pavement of the room beneath the platform of the Rostra of opus quadratum necessitate our supposing that the building as a whole cannot belong to the time of Caesar or Augustus, for this tile floor is not organically connected with the structure. We seem to be led to the conclusion that some other name must be found for the newly discovered arcade, and it is just possible that here we have the Graecostasis of the Republic. This must have stood on the right of the Rostra to one standing on the steps of the Curia (Pliny *H.N.* VII. § 212, Jordan *Topographie* I. 2, 341, cf. Varro *L.L.* V. 154, 'sub dextra huius (the rostra) a comitio

<sup>1</sup> To this fact the curule chair on the reverse of Babelon *loc. cit.* no 1. alludes.

<sup>2</sup> The presence of the cornice on some of the pilasters only is a very noticeable peculiarity.

locus substructus is Graecostasis appellatur,' and not very far off; but beyond this we have no data for fixing its site, except that it was above the comitium close to the Volcanal; for the aedicula Concordiae described by Pliny *H.N.* XXXIII, 19, as 'in graecostasi, quae tunc supra comitium erat,' is placed by Livy IX, 46 'in area Volcani,' which was 'locus editus' (Gell. IV. 5, 4) 'supra comitium (Festus p. 290 Müll.) and not very from S. Adriano (*C.I.L.* VI 457) nor the Forum Julium (Pliny *H.N.* XVI. § 236, Hülsen *Röm. Mith.* 1843, p. 87 note), in front apparently of the temple of Concord (Livy XL, 19 § 2, speaks of 'area Volcani et Concordiae').

The Senaculum was also close by according to Varro *L.L.* V, 156 'senaculum super Graecostasim, ubi aedes Concordiae et basilica Opimia.' It is worth noticing that, behind the centre of the hemicycle and about 10 ft. below the travertine slabs which crown it, there has recently been discovered a small portion (about 18 ft. in depth) of an open area paved with chips of red tufa rammed hard, ending off with a slab of capellaccio tufa with curved edge, in front of which runs a gutter, and beyond this another slab of tufa at the lower level. The area is cut off on the north-west by the cloaca of the Vicus Jugarius, the crown of which is about two feet above it; under it runs a box drain of slabs of tufa. This area must have extended at least as far as the north end of the platform of the arched structure of opus incertum, which is slightly higher in level. It may be conjectured that this area is either the Senaculum or the Volcanal, falling as it does in front of the steps of the temple of Concord. The gutter at the edge of it has the same orientation as the arched structure just mentioned.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

(To be continued.)

#### WICKHOFF AND STRONG'S *ROMAN ART*.

*Roman Art. Some of its Principles and their Application to early Christian Painting.*  
By FRANZ WICKHOFF. Translated and edited by Mrs. STRONG (Miss E. Sellers).  
W. Heinemann. £1 16s. net.

THE second title of this book is more exact than the first. When, some years ago, the important illuminated Vienna MS. of Genesis was published officially, Prof. Wickhoff

wrote for the plates a general introduction of ninety-six pages explaining the origin and character of the art shewn in the illumination of the MS. His discussion, however, went far beyond his theme, and he sketched in outline the whole course of late Hellenistic and Roman painting and reliefs. This introduction Mrs. Strong has translated, and added a number of illustrations besides those in the original work, to render it more intelligible to the English student. Thus the reader must not expect to find in this book, large as it looks, any systematic account of Roman art, but rather a genial and suggestive essay on some aspects of that art, accompanied by full illustrations.

Prof. Wickhoff is primarily an art-critic; and evidently far more at home in dealing with the art of modern Europe than in speaking of that of Greece and Italy. But the formal or artistic side of ancient painting and sculpture is apt to be overlooked by the classically trained archaeologist, and it is a great gain to him to have the views of art-critics of wide range. Prof. Brücke of Vienna, and Prof. Lange of Copenhagen, though not learned archaeologists, have published works of great value in the study of Greek sculpture in the round, and Prof. Wickhoff has rendered similar service to the study of ancient painting and relief-sculpture.

The section in books on ancient art dealing with Rome is usually as meagre as would be a chapter on snakes in a description, not perhaps of Iceland, but of England. 'The Romans had little taste for art, and borrowed everything from the Greeks,'—this is the ordinary verdict. But Prof. Wickhoff takes a very different line. He maintains Roman art to be a national creation; he considers that it was greatest in the Flavian and Antonine ages; and he even seems to prefer it to the great fifth century art of Greece, or at least to regard it as standing in more sympathetic relations to modern art. His theory, which is set forth both in the German and the English version of his essay with the greatest clearness and force, may be easily summarised. Before criticising it we will state it, as nearly as may be, in his own way.

The spirit of Roman was throughout in strong contrast to that of Greek art. While the Greek artist, not only in the great age, but even in late Hellenistic times, sought the type, the essential, the Italian artist sought the individual, the characteristic. His object was not to attain idealism, but to produce illusion by any



means in his power. This is especially seen in Italian provincial portraits. 'These portrait heads, home-made enough many of them, express clearly the Western spirit, and point the way to a new departure in Roman art, destined to differ noticeably from Hellenistic work.' In the greater works of the Augustan age, such as the Ara Pacis at Rome, some of the Pompeian paintings and the portraits of Augustus himself, we see something of Roman tendency: but art was then dominated by a spirit of somewhat dry and pedantic naturalism, the style formed by Greek artists in their reaction against the overblown and turgid tendencies of the schools of Pergamon and other Hellenistic centres. One of the earliest works in which the Italian spirit and the style of illusion appear is the monument of the Haterii in the Lateran, dating from the end of the first century A.D., the sculptures of which 'are far removed from every variety of stylistic Hellenized work, and have grown straight out of the spirit and the needs of the Roman people.' The same tendency at a more advanced stage, and in the hands of more skilful artists, is to be seen in the reliefs of the Arch of Titus. Here illusion, the impression of motion, is the one thing aimed at and attained. In the column of Trajan at Rome, and his arch at Beneventum we have further developments of the style of illusion. And on the column in particular we find an art-habit which goes with this, the way of continuous narration (*continui rende Erzählungsweise*). The Emperor appears in the winding frieze more than ninety times; the scenes are not divided, but successive events run one into the other as we follow the relief. This manner of continuous narration was unknown to the Greeks, but on characteristic Roman monuments such as the triumphal columns and sarcophagi it occurs constantly. And it was taken on from declining Roman art by rising Christian art, of which attempt at illusion and continuous narration are for centuries the main features, until the rise of modern art.

We clearly have here what is at all events a working theory of Roman art. It is impossible thoroughly to examine it; but I may glance at what I consider the strong and weak points of Prof. Wickhoff's views. With Greek art he scarcely deals. Though in one place he calls it a 'noble drama,' it is evident that on the whole he has little sympathy for it. To him illusionist art is far more attractive than the sober and balanced art of Hellas. Sometimes how-

ever he makes valuable suggestions even in this field, as when (p. 19) he insists that Greek art throughout, and by its very nature, strove through the individual to the type. Here he is right. Even the most naturalist portraits of later Greece, such as the bronze boxer of the Terme, are full of ideal elements, and never merely individual. Lysippus, though possessed of a profounder knowledge of nature, aims at the type as much as Polycleitus. Other good observations are that it is impossible to thoroughly understand Greek reliefs until we have carefully taken into account the colouring which they bore and the shadows cast by the prominent parts; and that it is usually a mistake to regard the portraits of Roman Emperors as favourable examples of the art of their age, since they were made in numbers for the Provinces.

Sometimes however, I think, Prof. Wickhoff is misled by imperfect acquaintance with antiquity. It may be a trifle that he should spell Apelles Apelles, and Hypsipyle Hypsipile,<sup>1</sup> but the slips are suggestive; and it shews imperfect comprehension of Greek art to say that in the Hellenistic age the whole effect of the narrative part of painting depends on the expression of passion in faces (p. 138).

These are small matters. Let us pass to broader issues, and consider the continuous method of representation, and the style of illusion, views about which form the key-stone of Prof. Wickhoff's system.

In regard to the continuous narrative style the writer falls into considerable inconsistency. In the early part of the book he says roundly that it appears 'for the first time upon Roman sculptures of the first century.' 'It had been unknown to the great period of classical antiquity.' 'It was not adopted by Hellenic art.' In the notes apparent exceptions to these dicta are disposed of. But later on in the book (p. 156) the author takes a more moderate, and a truer view. 'In its origin it is not exclusively Roman. We found it making its appearance' 'in old Asiatic art. We also saw how the juxtaposition of the exploits of a hero in various periods of Greek art led to similar *schemata*, and we can also trace it in individual instances in the painting of the age of the Diadochi, first on the vases, and then in the following period on the Pompeian pictures.'

Even thus however, our author does not go far enough. He does not seem to

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Strong corrects the former of these misspellings, but not the latter.

realize the anthropological aspect of this method of continuous narrative, in which a hero reappears several times in the same picture engaged in different actions. It is found all over the world, among red Indians and Esquimaux, as well as in Asia and Africa. Most of us have seen it flourishing in the first sketch books of clever children. Thus it is scarcely possible to speak of it as the invention of any age. It is essentially childish, and whenever art is in a childish stage, it will be found. The Greeks never at any time wholly gave it up; but of course it is very rare in the works of mature Greek art, as it is rare in the paintings of the later Renaissance. When Greek art fell into its second childhood it again became usual, as it is on the Sarcophagi, Greek as well as Roman. The Romans having less acute perception in art than the Greeks more easily admitted it. And Christian art, which came in, not as a child, but as a baby, took to it quite naturally. I see in this course of events no great credit due to Roman art. Nor can I understand that there is any organic connexion between this style of continuous narrative and the style of illusion, unless indeed it lie in the psychological fact that both are simple, naïve, aiming direct at the end to be attained.

According to Prof. Wickhoff's view, the great merit of the Roman artists is that they introduced, in place of a dry and pedantic naturalism, an art which he calls illusionist. It is very clear that illusionism in art comprises in the view of the writer the sum of all excellence, and if this quality be present, he is ready to forgive faults of drawing, of grouping, or of meaning. This is scarcely a place for setting forth in detail what Prof. Wickhoff means by illusionist art (pp. 117-121) or to criticise his view that it is the great light of modern painting. But what he says of illusionist Roman reliefs will not to all readers appear altogether a panegyric. He observes (p. 58) that to the critic who requires in art a *what* as well as a *how*, who is not content with mere expression, but wishes to know what is expressed, the art of the Roman Empire will appear 'nothing but a rubbish-heap of eternal repetitions.' He says of the reliefs on the Arch of Titus, 'a frame is simply thrown open, and through it we look at the march past of the triumphal procession.' 'Beauty of line, symmetry of parts, such as a conventional art demands, are no longer sought for.' 'Were the work still coloured, and in thorough preservation,

the gay brilliancy would distract attention from many a defect' 'the gay dresses and gilded ornaments, the Emperor with his jewels and the flashing wings of the Victory, all this must have resulted in an effect of festal magnificence which would blind the spectator to the indubitable faults.'

It is not wonderful that a critic who approaches art in this spirit should fail to appreciate the frieze of the Parthenon. But many readers of the *Classical Review* will feel unsympathetic towards an art which 'rises to the point of development where it rejects with disdain all sources of extraneous interest, such as religion or poetry, and sufficient to itself becomes in its last stage an art only for artists,' which despises drawing and perspective, grouping and arrangement, thought and purpose, and gloats over 'a congeries of patches and spots differing from each other in colour and degree of illumination.' And they will ask themselves whether it is possible that so serious and ethical—or shall we rather say in Mr. Wickhoff's phrases, so pedantic and philistine?—a people as the Romans really introduced this character into art as the expression of their national spirit. 'Illusionism was the immediate precursor of the fantastic.'<sup>1</sup> Now whatever the Roman spirit was, it was not fantastic. As an art-critic Prof. Wickhoff is most accomplished; and I at least should not venture to dispute his verdict, when he finds illusionist elements in Roman reliefs and paintings; but we may be allowed to regard this quality rather as a consequence of the Roman's simplicity and want of culture than of his love of art for art's sake. The monument of the Haterii, in particular, is little removed from barbarism. And the decorative paintings of the latest style at Pompeii, which shew, according to Prof. Wickhoff, most of Roman influence, will not meet with many admirers.

Prof. Wickhoff has the merit of directing our attention to the side of Roman art which is more independent of Greek influence, and of putting a limit to the overdone tendency to trace everything Roman to Hellenistic models: but he goes too far in the opposite direction. For instance, in denying to the Greeks any share in a work such as the column of Trajan he does not make account of historic reliefs such as that which is found on the so-called Nereid monument of Lycia. The main stream of Greek art is devoted to

<sup>1</sup> This, like all the previous phrases between inverted commas, is a phrase of Prof. Wickhoff's own.

mythologic scenes; but there were many eddies in which the more historic and realistic art of Assyria found a successor. One can scarcely doubt that in the paintings and reliefs of Ionia and in the triumphal representations of the Hellenistic kings there were prototypes of the sculptures of Trajan and Antoninus.

Prof. Wickhoff's style is quite unlike the ordinary manner of the German specialist: it is bright and clear, with short vigorous sentences. The translator has well preserved that clearness, as a general rule. We may find a few peccadilloes by careful search. On p. 6 we have tones for stones, on p. 96 statutes for statues, on p. 160 rococo for rocco. We regret such inelegancies as 'received a spurt from India' (p. 55) and 'one of the last which was' (p. 102). I could not understand the phrase 'unrestrained gaiety' which in the English text is applied to the Parthenon Frieze, until I found that the original German was *heitere Unbefangenheit*, which means a very different thing. Also since the translator has inserted several references, she might well have put in references at p. 154 to Prof. Woermann's reproductions of the Esquiline pictures, and at p. 162 to the coins of Corinth bearing the figure of Isthmus.

The illustrations inserted in the text of the German work appear as separate plates in the English version, and in addition Mrs. Strong has inserted some eighty process cuts in her text. These are carefully chosen, and enable the reader to understand the argument without constant reference to other books. We cannot, however, fail to note in passing that what the Vienna printer can put into the text, the English printer cannot so deal with: and further, that the cuts in the English work are painfully inferior to those in the Viennese work.

Though I have no sympathy with Mr. Wickhoff's theory of art, I fully allow the suggestive and stimulating character of his essay. Perhaps it is the only existing book on Roman art which can claim these qualities; it is therefore likely to promote the study of the subject. In translating and illustrating her author Mrs. Strong has spared no pains, and has been successful.

P. GARDNER.

## ON LOCAL CULTS IN BRITAIN AND SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

The two papers, whose titles are given below, furnish interesting contributions to our knowledge of certain cults in Britain and Spain. Britain was so far behind the other provinces in point of development that the field which the writer of the first article has chosen for his monograph would not at first sight seem a promising one; but the remoteness of the island lends a greater interest to any information which can be had upon its civilization, and makes the positive results which Professor Moore has reached the more surprising. Inscriptions are found in honour of Astarte, Dea Syria, Hercules Tyrius, Jupiter Optimus Maximus with the cognomina Dolichenus and Heliopolitanus, Serapis, Mithras and Sol. Of these deities Mithras and Sol were evidently the favourites. That the worship of these oriental divinities was rather widespread is attested by the fact that there were altars in their honour at almost every Roman camp, and proof is to be found of the existence of at least five temples erected for their worship, three of them being dedicated to Mithras. Most of the inscriptions bearing on the subject have been found at the stations along Hadrian's wall, and fall within the period extending from Hadrian's campaigns to the close of the third century of our era. The names of civilian traders appear very rarely in the dedicatory inscriptions, and it is evident that soldiers were the main adherents of these oriental faiths. Their efforts as missionaries, however, do not seem to have made much of an impression on the natives of Britain. It is interesting to notice that the war-god Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus is a favourite with the soldiers, and although it does not fall within the scope of Professor Moore's paper to note the fact, it seems to be true also that the British or Teutonic deities favoured by the soldiers are those of a warlike character. Incidentally the proof given on p. 50 that Africa was the home of the Hamii seems convincing.

Mr. Fiske's work is not in a strictly virgin field. As he notes on p. 104 of his monograph, some phases of his subject have been discussed by Ciccotti and Beurlier, but the new material which he has been able to

<sup>1</sup> *Oriental Cults in Britain*, CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE; *Notes on the Worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain*, GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. xi, pp. 47-60 and 101-139.



bring together (cf. p. 112 n. 5; 131 n. 1), and the certain, or probable, conclusions which he has reached on a number of controverted points are a satisfactory return for the labour which he has spent. The material has been treated under three heads: the municipal priesthoods, the conventual priesthoods, and the provincial priesthoods. Some of the conclusions which he reaches are that the municipal flamen was elected (p. 116), as was also the municipal flaminica, who, therefore, 'held no necessary relation to the flamen' (p. 115), that the flamen probably held office for a year (p. 117), and that the municipal pontiffs and sacerdotes and the provincial flamens were probably elected annually (pp. 122, 132), the latter being chosen by the concilium. On pp. 119-120 and 137 some interesting points of difference in the matter of priesthoods and the development of the imperial cult in the three Spanish provinces are noted. In general the worship of the emperor seems to have been more widespread in Tarraconensis than it was in Baetica or Lusitania. Tarraconensis in fact seems to have been the first province in the west to take the initiative in establishing the imperial cult (pp. 135-6). In that connexion (p. 135) the misprint Nipperday for Nipperdey occurs. It seems to the reviewer surprising that there are so few Spanish inscriptions connected with the imperial cult from the reigns of the Flavian emperors. These rulers assisted in the construction of public roads and public works in the provinces. They raised distinguished provincials to the senatorial order, and under them no less than 120 towns in Baetica received the *ius Latii*. Of Vespasian Pliny (*N. H.* 3. 30) remarks, *universae Hispaniae Vespasianus Augustus iactatum procellis reip. Latium tribuit*. It seems strange, therefore, that the gratitude, which the Spaniards would naturally feel for this generous treatment, does not find expression in the extension of the cult of the Flavian emperors.

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## MONTHLY RECORD.

### ITALY.

*Modena.* A sepulchral *cippus* of limestone has been found, with two female busts in relief, in which the wavy treatment of the hair is characteristic of the early empire; in the same tomb were found four bronze coins of Augustus, one of A.D. 11. The inscription on the *cippus* is: SALVIA • C • ITALIA | SIBI

ET SALVIAE • SEX • | L CYPRIDI • PATRON | AE • IN FRONTEM | P • XIV • IN AGRVM | P • XIV. The busts therefore represent Salvia Italica and her *patrona* Salvia Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

*Chiusi.* A series of Etruscan tombs has come to light containing various inscribed marble sarcophagi and urns. One of the former has a relief of a horseman and a warrior, each attended by Charun. Another is in the form of a temple with Doric pilasters at the angles, and palmettes at the angles of the roof; on the pediments are myrtle-wreaths, and in front is represented a closed panelled door, with a space above for an inscription, which was never used.<sup>2</sup>

*Pompeii.* Several new paintings were discovered in May, 1900, one representing the death of Neoptolemos at the altar of Apollo at Delphi (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, i. p. 321, and Eur. *Androm.* 1090 ff.). Another has the rare and interesting subject of Pero nourishing her father in prison with milk from her own breast (cf. Valer. Max. v. 4, and Helbig and Donner, *Wandgem. Campaniens*, No. 1376). The name of the father, which Valerius gives as Cimón, here appears as Micon. [In the Delphin edition of Valerius *Miconem* is given as an alternative reading for *Cimónem*, suggested by Muncker in *Hyginum*. H. B. W.J. On the painting is an epigram of six lines:

Quae parvis mater natis alimenta parabat  
fortuna in patrios vertit iniqua cibos  
..... est tenui cervice seniles  
ast liquidos venae lacte m .....  
..... simul voltu fricat ipsa Miconem  
Pero tristis inest cum pietate pudor.<sup>3</sup>

The discovery is also noted of an inscription in archaic letters: A • LIVIVS • A • F | L • ACILIVS • L • F • | AED | SL • DEDERVNT. That SL stands for s(t)l(ocvm) is clear from the parallel in *C. I. L.* i. 38, SL • IVDIK = s(t)l(itibus) iudic(antis).<sup>1</sup>

*Bosco reale.* A magnificent villa of twenty-four chambers has been excavated. It contained no objects of interest, but the walls are covered with splendid paintings, rivalling those of the house of Vettius, over seventy in all. The figures are mostly of colossal size, but the majority represent compositions of 'still life.' They date from the end of the Republic. The most important figures are: a lute-player, double life-size; a gladiator conversing with a woman; and a woman in the attitude of a listener.<sup>4</sup>

*Rome.* A detailed account has been published of the recent excavations in the temple of Vesta and adjacent precincts, including an account of the contents of the well (see *C. R.* 1899, pp. 185, 330). In the well a stamp of Theodoric, and a coin of Tiberius were found at a very low level. Among the fragments of pottery are Proto-Corinthian and Attic b. f. and r. f. wares, as well as Italian; they include b. f. vases with a Maenad on a bull and other Dionysiac scenes; two fragments of r. f. kylikes of the school of Euphronios with figures of warriors; part of an Italiote vase with a sacrificial scene; and a fragment of Faliscan ware with a large female head in profile. Other finds were: nine weights from a loom (*ἀγροῦθες* or *λαῖαι*), part of a terracotta sieve, numerous female figures in terracotta, and about 100 pieces of *ars rude*.<sup>3</sup>

Further details have now been given of the *fons Iuturnae*, the discovery of which was briefly mentioned in *C. R.* 1900, p. 378. It consists of a fine

<sup>1</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, Apr. 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* June, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, May, 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 17 Nov. 1900.

marble *puteal*, inscribed M'BARBATIVS POLLIO AED' CVR' IVTVRNAI SACRV M VESTITUIT (*sic*) PVTEAL. There is apparently an allusion to this official in Cicero's thirteenth Philippic (ch. 2). Adjoining the *puteal* is an *adnicula*, on the architrave of which are the words IVTVRNAI SA[CRVM] in gilt letters. At the base of this was found the lower part of a marble female statue, apparently a Minerva, altered in the third or fourth century after Christ into Juturna. In front of the *puteal* was a marble altar with relief of a girl taking leave of a warrior, presumably Juturna and Turnus. In the middle of a tank sixty or seventy feet to the north is a square pedestal, on which has now been placed a marble altar, which does not belong to it; the latter is of the second century after Christ and has reliefs of Jupiter and the Dioscuri, Leda and the swan, and Diana Lucifera. It was found at the bottom of the tank. Fragments have been found of figures of the Dioscuri leading their horses to the sacred spring after the battle of Regillus; one horse's head which is well preserved proclaims the group to be Greek work of the fourth century. It probably stood on the pedestal above mentioned.<sup>5</sup>

Sig. Boni has found a new *cloaca*, six or seven layers below the pavement of the portico of the Basilica Aemilia. It was made of blocks of tufa, axe-hewn, and vaulted, and appears to have been stopped up in the second century B.C. It certainly dates from the time of the Kings, and no doubt much interesting material is buried in the earth it contains.<sup>4</sup>

The same excavator's continued investigation of the Forum shows definitely that the level in the last years of the Republic was much lower than in Imperial times. The two chief epochs in the building of the Forum seem to have been the reign of Domitian and the year 418 A.D. In the latter year the Rostra were extended to insert the so-called *Rostra Vandalica* won in that year. The Rostra in the Forum hitherto thought to be those of Julius Caesar's time are undoubtedly of Imperial date; those of Caesar's time Sig. Boni finds in a vaulted colonnade by the Graecostasis (cf. coins of 45 B.C.). Above this colonnade was a balustraded platform for the speakers.<sup>6</sup>

## SICILY.

*Termine Imerese*.—A recent find of coins includes several interesting tetradrachms: one of Messana, with hare and biga; two of Corinth, with Pegasus; Syracusan tetradrachm with Kore-head of Euai etos' type and chariot after Kymon and Eukleidas; similar tetradrachm, but the head has flowing locks; four Punico-Sicilian tetradrachms, with Phoenician inscriptions, imitating the types of Euainetos and Eukleidas. Of the latter one with a chariot and altar on the rev. is almost unique, the only other examples being at Milan and in the Imhoof-Blumer collection.<sup>3</sup>

## GREECE.

*Athens*.—Tombs of the fifth-fourth centuries have been found on the δδδς Ψαρουηλίγγου. In one were four skeletons with two fifth-century lekythi lying by them, one with remains of fine drawing on a white ground; another contained a tablet of Hymettian marble with inscription in fifth-century letters, the red colour on them still remaining: ΦΑΙΔ.ΟΝ | ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤ|Ο ΑΧΑΡΝΕ|ΥΞ, Φαίδ(ρ)ων Λυσιστράτου Ἀχαρνεύς. Also several clay sarcophagi

containing skeletons of children, with playthings and small cups and jugs.<sup>7</sup>

Between Athens and Phaleron a cemetery of over 150 tombs has come to light. Among their contents are a marble fifth-century relief, representing a young married couple, the man greeting the woman, who holds a child, inscribed ΓΙΓΟΞΤΡΑΤΗΣ; white lekythi, and other vases, 24 in all, some being gilt; one represents a child playing with a hoop, another Dionysos on an ass; a leaden tablet with a ψήφισμα, a bronze dish, silver rings with reliefs, and two inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

*Keratea (Attica)*.—A large tomb-hydria has been found here with a finely-rendered relief of a seated man, another man, a woman, and a child. The figures are inscribed respectively: ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ, ΙΕΡΟΠΤΟΣ, ΝΑΥΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ, ΙΕΡΟΠΤΗ.<sup>9</sup>

*Eretria*.—During last summer the Greek Archaeological Society found on the west side of the Acropolis a hoard of terracottas of all periods. A Doric temple on the south side of the city has been partly cleared; it is about the same size as the old temple on the Acropolis of Athens, and below it are remains of an older building. Fragments of the pedimental groups were found representing Atalanta (?) and a runner; a horse with groom, and a pair of boxers, the technique being decidedly that of the Greek islands.<sup>7</sup>

At the west end of the town is an old necropolis, probably of a Boeotian settlement, which has yielded a large Dipylon vase of the eighth century B.C., painted with a funeral procession, also the base of a large sixth-century amphora with a frieze of birds [? Attico-Corinthian type]. Fourth-century tombs were also found containing white lekythi, one being inscribed ΔΡΟΜΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΡΟΜΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ, Δρόμipπος καλὸς Δρομικλέους. A well-preserved bath of the Roman period came to light here, containing two circular halls with low tiled seats and stone pavement.<sup>9</sup>

## ASIA MINOR.

*Pergamon*.—The Germans resumed excavations last September at the south gate of the upper city, and brought to light a courtyard 70 feet square with angle-towers enclosing a portion of the winding paved road up the hill, for which there are two gates on the west side. Opposite the gates is a colonnade with fountains. Higher up was the Hellenistic agora, 300 × 160 feet, with a two-storied colonnade and a row of shops.<sup>10</sup>

*Kos*.—Excavations on this island have brought to light a theatre of the Hellenic period, large buildings of Roman date, a beehive-tomb [*sic*], more probably a well-house, and a temple with cella and the base of the temple-statue, probably dedicated to Asklepios.<sup>8</sup>

## AFRICA.

*Carthage*.—The Odeum built by the proconsul Vigellius Saturninus and mentioned by Tertullian has been discovered; it was semicircular in form and very magnificent. Dr. Gunkler has discovered all the architectural ornamentation of the stage, with Corinthian columns and sundry inscriptions; also

<sup>7</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* xxv. pt. 3, p. 308.

<sup>8</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 22 Dec. 1900.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 10 Nov. 1900.

<sup>10</sup> *Athenaeum*, 1 Dec. 1900.

<sup>5</sup> *Athenaeum*, 29 Dec. 1900.

<sup>6</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1 Dec. 1900.

Graeco-Roman statues of Parian marble with remains of colouring, busts of various emperors and of Faustina (sic), and a statue of Hadrian in heroic costume.<sup>11</sup>

*Tunis.*—The French have excavated the Roman fort of Elf-Magneuf and laid it completely bare. Inscriptions show that the name of the place was Tissavar, and that the fort was built about 100 B.C. by a detachment of the third legion under Sextus Uquius (?) Paulinus and his lieutenants Vibianus and Myron. Among the objects discovered were a head of a laughing child, a bronze vase, and 222 spear-heads of stone.<sup>12</sup> H. B. WALTERS.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue numismatique.* Part 3, 1900.

D. Tacchiella. 'Monnaies inédites de Cabyle et de Mesembria sur la mer égée.' Two bronze coins (obv. Apollo, rev. Artemis) are attributed to Cabyle, a Thracian town to which no coins have been hitherto assigned. A bronze coin with Dionysiac types is attributed by Tacchiella to Mesembria on the Aegean sea, a town mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 108. But

<sup>11</sup> *Athenaeum*, 8 Dec. 1900.

<sup>12</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 8 Dec. 1900.

there seems to me no cogent reason why it should not be assigned to Mesembria on the Euxine, a much more important city of Thrace which is already known to have struck coins.—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Tarragone pendant la période Constantinienne.' Pp. 260–312.—M. Rostovtsew and M. Prou. 'Supplément au catalogue des plombs antiques de la bibliothèque nationale.'

*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Part 4, Vol. xxii. (1900).

H. Dressel. 'Altgriechischer Münzfund aus Ägypten.' An interesting hoard of early Greek silver coins discovered in 1897 in the Delta, probably at Sakha (Xois). Some specimens have already been described by Weber in *Num. Chron.* 1899, p. 269. Many Greek cities are represented, as is also the case in other Egyptian finds of Greek money, e.g. the find of Myt-Rahineh. Dressel makes the very probable suggestion that this varied Greek currency formed a medium of exchange in Egypt during the long period (before Ptolemy I.) when there was no native issue of money. The varying denominations and 'types' of the imported coins created no difficulty as the specimens were probably weighed in every transaction of any importance.—V. Gardthausen. 'Eine Goldmünze des Nero aus der Umgegend von Barenau.'

WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1900.

7 Nov. H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Ablaut vornehmlich in seinem Verhältnis zur Betonung* (Bartholomae). 'Too hastily done.' C. Harder, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee* (G. Vogrinz), favourable. G. Andresen, *In Taciti Historias studia critica et palaeographica*. II. (Th. Opitz). 'Very thorough.' P. Thomas, *Sénèque et J. J. Rousseau* (O. Weissenfels). 'Full of learning and sobriety.'

14 Nov. W. Lermann, *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen* (H. v. Frize), very favourable. Th. Thalheim, *Zu Lykurgos und Lysias* (G. Hüttner). 'Will find general acceptance.' M. Gloth und Fr. Kellogg, *Index in Xenophontis Memorabilia* (W. Vollbrecht), 'Very careful and accurate.' L. Friedländer, *Der Philosoph Seneca* (W. Gemoll), favourable. A. Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*. I. (W. Amelung).

21. Nov. R. Engelmann, *Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* (M. Maas), favourable. G. E. Underhill, *A commentary with introduction and appendix on the Hellenica of Xenophon* (W. Vollbrecht). 'May be recommended.' G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lycania, Isauria and Cilicia in the British Museum* (K. Regling). 'Of the greatest value.' *Le Liriche de Orazio*, commentate da V. Ussani. I. Gli Epodi, il I' libro delle Odi (O. Weissenfels), favourable. *P. Vergili Maronis Georgicon liber iii*, ed. by T. E. Page (H. Winther), favourable. A. W. Milden, *The limitations of the predicative position in Greek* (H. Kallenberg). 'Well arranged.' R. Thomas, *Bilder aus Sicilien und Griechenland*, favourable.

28. Nov. L. V. Rinonapoli, *Lamia e Lilith nelle legende greche e semitiche* (H. Steuding). C. Michel,

*Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* iv, 1–3 (O. Schulthess), very favourable. Omero, *L'Iliade commentata* da C. O. Zuretti, II. Libri V.–VII. (C. Rothe), favourable. Q. Ennio, *I frammenti degli Annali*, ed. da L. Valmaggia (J. Tolckehn). 'Indispensable.' P. H. Damsté, *Emendandi artis vindictio lectonibus Vergilianis illustrata* (H. Winther). 'To be recommended to all friends of Virgil.'

5 Dec. R. Helbing, *Der Instrumentalis bei Herodot* (H. Kallenberg), favourable. P. Martinon, *Sophocle, Œdipe Roi*, traduit en vers (H. Morsch). O. Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (O. Weissenfels). 'Shows thorough knowledge and sound method.' H. Schefczik, *Über den logischen Aufbau der dritten olympischen Rede des Demosthenes* (E. Rosenberg), favourable. *Sallustius Catilinae und Auswahl aus dem Jugurtha*, herausg. von P. Klimek. Kommentar (T. Opitz), favourable. F. Haider, *Bemerkungen zu den Tragödien des Seneca* (W. Gemoll), very favourable. C. Weichardt, *Das Schloss des Tiberius auf Capri*, very favourable.

12 Dec. L. Deubner, *De incubatione* (W. H. Roscher). 'An excellent piece of work.' A. Wiedemann, *Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Ägypter* (J. V. Prásek), favourable. Th. Plüss, *Aberglaube und Religion in Sophokles' Elektra* (H. Steuding), favourable on the whole. E. Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* (H. Steuding), favourable. O. Alberts, *Aristotelische Philosophie in der türkischen Literatur des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Neue Folge (A. Döring). A. Gudeman, *Latin literature of the empire*. I. Prose (T. Opitz), favourable. F. Lohr, *Ein Gang durch die Ruinen Roms* (A. Hock), very favourable.

19 Dec. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*. 2. Reihe, 2. Band (Jensen). A. Ludwig, *Der Karer Pigres und sein Tierepos Batrachomachia*.



*Die byzantinischen Odysseus-Legenden* (C. Haeblerlin). 'Contributes essentially to the solution of difficulties.' *Sallustius* erkl. von F. Hoffmann (T. Opitz), favourable on the whole. F. Beck, *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans* (R. Helm). 'A careful investigation.'

26 Dec. R. Caton, *The temples and ritual of Asklepios* (M. Maas), favourable. F. Garofalo, *Su 'gli Helvetii'*. 2. ed. (H. Meusel), favourable. *Statii Silvae*, Krohnii copii usus ed. A. Klotz (P. Kerckhoff), favourable on the whole.

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. 24. Part 3. July 1900.

*Specimen commentarii critici et exegetici ex fontibus hausti ad Oracula Chaldaica*, A. Jahnius. Cicero, *De Domo* § 76, L. Duvau. Proposes emendanda for the corrupt emendanda [see last no.]. *Sur Propertius* I. 8. 9-16, A. Cartault. The different moods of *auferet* and *patiatur* show there is something wrong in the traditional text, so 13-14 are to be put after 9-10. *Une correction au texte du Banquet de Platon* (209 B), L. Parmentier. Reads τούτων αὐ ἦσαν τις ἐκ νέου ἐγκύμων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ θεοῦ ὧν καὶ ἡκούσης, ἤτοι ἡλικίας τέκτειν τε καὶ γεννᾶν ἤδη ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἢ τοῦ δὴ κ.τ.λ. *Les lois métriques de la prose latine*, H. Bornecque. Certain metrical laws are here stated and exemplified from Pliny's *Panegyricus* where metrical laws are applied with almost monotonous regularity. *Un passage d'Euclide mal interprété*, L. Laloy. Gives the explanation of a passage in the introduction to the *κατατομή κανόνος* in K. von Jan's ed. of the *Musici Graeci*. Cicero, *De Domo* § 52, P. Graindor. Reads *Roma tede cecissit* and for *tede* suggests the abbreviation *ex dec.* *Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen*, B. Haussoullier. On the early history of the temple b.c. 334-189 and on that of Miletus (which bore the cost of building) during the same period. *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore* (ii), V. Mortet. Notes and corrections relating to the *De Geometria*.

Vol. 24. Part 4. Oct.

*Quelques passages de Phèdre*, L. Havet. Various emendations. *Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen* (II.), B. Haussoullier. The nineteen years of Antiochus Soter were a difficult period for the finances of Miletus and its temple. Of Didyma we only know that a statue was there erected to Philotera, the sister of Philadelphus, but we do not know the occasion of its erection. An appendix on the title Soter. *Chronologie des œuvres de Saint Cyprien et des conciles africains du temps*, P. Monceaux. Contains a chronological table of the Councils of Carthage in the time of St. Cyprian, and another of his works.

**Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc.** Vol. 5. Part 4, 1900.

*Die Vulgarisprache der attischen Fluchtafeln*, E. Schwyzer. About 240 of these have been discovered in grave-chambers which almost all belong to the third cent. B.C. An examination of the language shows that in spite of many variations from the classical standard it still remains essentially Attic. *Das historische Relief der römischen Kaiserzeit*, F. Koepp. While Wickhoff overpraises Roman art, Courbaud is mistaken in maintaining that Roman art derives its merit only from the union of the historical realism of Pergamus with the realistic painting of Alexandria, because no sharp distinction can be drawn between the art of Pergamus and that of Alexandria. The Roman influence upon art depended more on the taste of the patron than on the artist. It was only in architecture, not in painting or sculpture, that Rome could vie with Greece. *Ein locus*

*desperatissimus aus Ciceros Briefen*, L. Gurlitt. In *ad Att.* XV. 26. 4. reads *Octavam partem Tul- <lian> i luminar <i> um mediam, ad s <inis> tram, meminervis, cum Caecellia <n> videris, mancipio dare etc.* A reply by F. Knoke and a rejoinder by C. Schuchhardt upon the Roman marsh-bridges in Germany and the camp of Varus in the Habichtswald.

Part 5. *Die religiöse Architektur der Westgriechen*, A. Holm. Written with reference to the great work of Koldewey and Puchstein upon the temples of Lower Italy and Sicily. The temples here far exceed in number and originality those in all other Greek countries. Agragias alone shows the ruins of ten temples. Especially do they contribute to the history of the Doric style, the breadth of the triglyphs being of importance for deciding the age of a Doric temple. *L. Cincius Alimentus und die historische Kritik*, L. Cohn. Rejects the prevailing opinion that there were two men of this name, the elder an historian and the younger a grammarian, and attributes all the fragments that we possess to the historian of the Hannibalian war. Mommsen's assumption that the historian is a personality first discovered 200 years after his death or perhaps quite apocryphal is put aside. There are reviews of Usener's *Die Sintflut-sagen* (O. Immisch) and Schulten's *Das römische Afrika* (J. Ilberg).

Part 6/7. *Die Apologie des Xenophon*, I. M. Wetzel, against Wilamowitz, maintains the authorship of Xenophon and accounts for the present form. 2. O. Immisch maintains the genuineness from the linguistic point of view with special reference to the Ionisms of Xenophon. *Der Rhythmus bei den attischen Rednern*, F. Blass. Defends and develops his theory of rhythm in the Attic orators, comparing artistic prose to the dithyrambs of a Timotheus and Philoxenus, and shows under what conditions the rhythm can be an important help to the text-criticism. *Aus den Akten eines römischen Militärarchivs in Ägypten*, H. Blümner. Gives information about the pay of the soldiers and its application in the time of Domitian, and the duties of the soldiers in time of peace. *Strena Helbigiana*, W. Amelung. Contains 58 articles mostly archaeological.

**Hermathena.** No. 26. 1900.

*Blaydes' Choeophoroi*, R. Ellis. *Two Notes on Eusebius*, H. J. Lawlor. *Some Notes on Cicero's Epistles from 57 to 54 B.C.*, L. C. Purser. *On the Fixed Alexandrine Year*, J. G. Smyly. *Some Observations on the Peace of Aristophanes*, J. B. Bury. *Observations on Dr. Merry's Odyssey*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *The Quasi-Caesura in Virgil*, P. Sandford. *The Identity of Ajax*, J. B. Bury. *The Thorician Stone*, J. B. Bury. *A New Theory of the Ekkyktema*, and *Two Short Notes*, C. Exon. *Notes on Aristotle, Parva Naturalia*, J. I. Beare. *Dr. Blaydes' Edition of the Agamemnon*, W. J. M. Starkie. *Considerations on the Cause and Regulating Principle of Variable and Common Quantity in Latin*, C. Exon.

**American Journal of Philology.** Vol. xxi., 3. Whole No. 83. 1900.

*The Chthonic Gods of Greek Religion*, A. Fairbanks. *Notes on Cicero's Use of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in si-Clauses*, H. C. Nutting. *De Quoque Adverbio*, G. H. Kirk. *A Papyrus Fragment of Iliad E.*, E. J. Goodspeed. *The Etymology of Σθένος*, G. M. Bolling.

**REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.** Brugmann's *Gräcische Grammatik* (C. D. Buck), Smyth's *Greek Melic Poets* (E. H. Specker), Weil and Reinach's *Plutarque περί Μουσικής* (C. W. L. Johnson).

# The Classical Review

MARCH 1901.

## NOTES AND AN APOLOGY.

### 1. Hymn to Demeter 398.

εἰ δὲ πᾶσα πάλιν ἰοῦσ' ὑπ' . . .

So far the Mosquensis, which here is torn. The second hand completed the line by writing ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης. In the first edition of the hymn Ruhnken accepted Wyttenbach's conjecture ἐπάσω and added αὖτις after πάλιν to complete the metre, and εἰ δ' ἐπάσω πάλιν αὖτις ἰοῦσ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης the line has remained ever since, with only Alfred Goodwin's suggestion εἰ δέ τι πάσσαο πάμπαν as alternative. On looking at the facsimile I am struck with the violence that has been done to such an excellent word as πᾶσα, and I propose to read the line

εἰ δέ, πᾶσα πάλιν <σν γ'> ἰοῦσ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης

The idiom εἰ δέ is found at I 42 and frequently in prose. Πτῆναι is unhomeric, but ἐξέπτῃ occurs in Hesiod and the Batrachomachia. A syllable must be supplied after πάλιν. The line I venture to think gains in force: 'but if so, back you flit—'

2. Townley scholia on II 170. This note is peculiar to T and V; it is one of the scholia that have fallen out in A, and only the first part remains in B. The subject is the small number of Achilles' ships (50): πῶς says the schol. B ἐν ἅπασιν αὔξων Ἀχιλλέα τούτῳ μείω, ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον λέγων ἔχειν τὰς ναῦς; τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πληθείῃ ἢ ἀρετῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν σεμνύ-

νεται. Ἀρίσταρχος δέ φησιν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ κληῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ὡς μόνοι οἱ ἐρέται ἦσαν ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος τῶν πολεμιστῶν οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσεν, ὅπερ ἐπιφέρονται αἱ νῆες. The Townley version agrees as far as the first λύσις, the moral one, and then proceeds: Ἀρίσταρχος δέ φησιν ν' ἀρετὰς εἶναι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κληῖσιν ἢ, ἢ λιτὰς κ' πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν. Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν μέγιστον ἀριθμὸν ρκ' τίμιον, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τούτων ἄγεσθαι, ὡς φθάνειν πάσας ἀπὸ τέ ἀνδρῶν. The corruptions ἀρετὰς (for ἐρέτας), and ἐπὶ κληῖσιν (for ἐπὶ κληῖσιν) are easily emended out of B, but in what follows Maass and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf have obscured the meaning by writing ναῦτας for λιτὰς κ', μὲν ἐρετῶν for μέγιστον, τιμᾶ for τίμιον, τὸ λοιπὸν for τὸν λοιπόν, and declaring the numerals ρκ' and τε corrupt. λιτὰς must be the remains of ὀπλίτας, and κ' is καὶ mistaken for a numeral. 'Aristarchus said that the words ἐπὶ κληῖσιν showed that the fifty [in question] were rowers, or soldiers also for rowing': his contention was as we see from B that the πεντήκοντα did not comprise the whole complement of each ship: they were either mere rowers who did not fight, or they were fighting men who could also row.

Dionysius (also quoted on 159—he of Sidon is apparently meant) gave a reference to Thucydides' well-known system (I. 10) of computing the total of the Greek armament by striking an average between the largest and the smallest crew and multiplying by the number of ships. 'Dionysius says the

highest number 120 was honourable, the other numbers were reckoned between these two [*i.e.* between 120 and 50], so that the ships generally start from 85.' ρκ' therefore is correct, it is the number of Agamemnon's crews, τε needs the slight correction into πε = 85 the Thucydidean average (which is correctly given by schol. L on B 488). I am unable to justify the sense I have given to φθάνειν but it is what is evidently required: the total of ships × 85 gives the sum required. I do not know if there is any special use of φθάνειν in mathematics; in late and modern Greek it seems to mean to arrive and to suffice.

3. This is not the only place where the editor and Wilamowitz together have de-ranked these scholia. E 500 the Victorian apograph and the Leipzig MS. read Πτολεμαῖος τοὺς δωδεκασυλλάβους στίχους ἐκτιθείς φησι καὶ τοῦτον οὕτω γράφεσθαι, εὐτ' ἂν ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ. This is perfect as it stands: 'Ptolemy, exhibiting the twelve-syllabled lines, says that this one is also written εὐτ' ἂν ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ,' in which case it would have twelve syllables, and not, as with the usual reading, ὅτε τε ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ, thirteen.

The Townley MS. has made the clerical error δώδεκα συλλαμβάνων for δωδεκασυλλάβους; Wilamowitz improves this into δύο συλλαμβάνων 'Ptolemy running two lines together,' a performance of which there can be no question here; and the editor, accepting the conjecture, keeps the rest of the original and prints the singular sentence;

Πτολεμαῖος τοὺς δύο συλλαμβάνων στίχους ἐκτιθείς φησι καὶ τοῦτον οὕτω γράφεσθαι, εὐτ' ἂν ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ.

4. I take the opportunity to repeat my conjecture (*C.R.* 1900, p. 17 n. 2) that in these scholia O 10 εἰ δὲ ἐψιλοῦτο, ἦν ἂν, φησὶ κοώμενος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦσαν ἔασαν, instead of κοώμενος we should read ὁ Κωμανός. This scholar appears in many places, *e.g.* A 314, N 137, 529. Wilamowitz's πλανώμενος has not much to recommend it.

These remarks are not intended to disparage the edition of these scholia published by Dr. E. Maass in 1887, an edition which may be said to be as excellent as the scholia which it contains. I have in fact a reparation to make to Dr. Maass, which has long been upon my conscience.

The date of the manuscript Burney 86 is, it is well known, uncertain; the subscription is mutilated. Dr. Maass in his preface and elsewhere endeavoured to prove that the missing date was 1059 A.D. In a paper which I wrote in the *Journal of Philology*, 1891, I combated this view. I have now come round to Dr. Maass' opinion, and I have to apologise to him, not for differing from him, which is venial, but for the terms in which I expressed my dissent. The language I adopted appears to me absolutely unjustifiable, and I hereby express to Professor Maass my sincere regret for it.

T. W. ALLEN.

## NOTES ON EURIPIDES.—II.

(Continued from p. 25.)

IPH. AUL. (with Wecklein 1899)

228 τὰν γυναικείων ὄψιν ὁμμάτων  
ὥς πλήσαιμι, μέλινον ἄδονάν

In such a case, where there is a slight pause after πλήσαιμι, it would be according to the common practice to leave it unelided though a vowel followed. After more than one attempt, I suspect the original was

ΩΣΠΛΗΧΑΙΜΙΑΔΕΙΜΟΝΑΔΟΝΑΝ

ἄδειμον ἄδονάν *a pleasure without danger*. The word has disappeared from literature, but it is recorded by the lexicons, Hesychius having ἄδειμον: ἄφοβον, and it seems that φάσματ' ἄδειμα should be read in *El.* 709.

328 ἐκκεκόμενυσαι πονηρὸν γλῶσσ' ἐπίφθονον  
σοφῇ.

Without prejudice to other notions I may suggest that a good sentence would be made by reading the infinitive, εὖ κεκομψεῖσθαι πονηρόν.

334-40 δυσπρόσιτος 'unaccessible,'

ἀπρόσιτος, οὐκ εὐπρόσιτος, δυσέντευκτος, δυσπροσήγορος, the characteristic of the tyrant as opposed to the *civilis* who is εὐπροσήγορος *Hipp.* 94, for mankind hate τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν φίλον *ib.* 92. It will be seen that in *Alexis* 116 (*Ath.* 237 b) we should read



γένος σεμνοπαράσιτον...  
σατράπας ἀπροσίτους καὶ στρατηγούς  
ἐπιφανείς  
ὑποκρινόμενον εὐ τοῖς βίοις, ὀφρῦς ἔχον,

'the haughty-parasite species, imitating in its manner of life unaccessible satraps and great generals.' The MS. reading *σατράπας παρασίτους* was a facile error here.

351 τί δράσω; τίνα πόρον εἶρω ποθὲν  
ὥστε μὴ...;

The second hands insert *δε* after *τίνα*, and Matthiae would transpose it after *πόρον*: but it sounds merely like a metrical makeshift. On the other hand, I consider it unlikely that *πόθεν* (L. Dindorf), 'from what source', 'by what means'<sup>1</sup> should not be genuine. Kirchhoff appears to be right in thinking *εἶρω* an explanation of some other verb; and that would naturally, as he suggests, be *τέμω*. It would be excellent good Greek (Liban. II 340 πάντα μὲν πόρον ἔτεμον 'tried every shift'), and would be explained by *εἶρω*: for instance Aesch. *Supp.* 814 τίς ἐτι πόρον τέμ(ν)ω is explained in the schol. by *εἶρω*. *Andr.* 120 εἴ τί σοι δυνάμην ἄκος τῶν δυσλύτων πόνων τεμῆν, the MSS. have *εἰρεῖν* adscribed (and erased) as the schol. has, who derives the metaphor from *ρίζοτομῆν* and says *τεμῆν* οὖν ἀντὶ τοῦ *εἰρέσθαι*. The same derivation is given by the schol. *Alc.* 971 on *φάρμακα ἀντιτεμῶν* where *εὐρών* is given as the equivalent. The Homeric *τέτμον* is explained by the same word, as *τέτμης*: *εὔρης* Hesych. (o 15), but there does not appear to be reason enough for introducing it into tragedy.

534 ἐν μοι φύλαξον, ... ὅπως ἂν μὴ

I imagined once the middle to be necessary, *φύλαξαι*. But with the addition of *ἐν* the active is correct; they say *ἐν*, ἐκεῖνο *φύλαξον* or *τήρησον*, μὴ...

578 ἔλεφαντοδέτων πάροιθεν  
δόμων ὅς τῆς Ἑλένας  
ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισ[α] so Hermann  
ἔρωτα δέδωκας  
ἔρωτι δ' αὐτὸς ἐπτοάθης.

Mr Coleridge renders this 'kindling love in

<sup>1</sup> Soph. *fr.* 85. 8 may be restored by reading  
δεινὸς γὰρ ἔρπει πλοῦτις ἐς τε τὰ βᾶτα  
καὶ πρὸς βέβηλα, χῶπόθεν πένης ἀνὴρ  
μηδ' εὐτυχῶν δύναται ἂν, ὡν ἐρᾷ τυχεῖν  
(for ἐντυχῶν) 'and to compass its desires by means which poverty, even when favoured by fortune, is unable to command,' a short way of saying οὐδ' ἂν εἰ τὰ μάλιστα εὐτυχῆσειεν.

Helen's transcéd eyes.' If that is the meaning of *δέδωκας* ἔρωτα ἐν βλεφάροις, I should like to know some parallel for the expression. Meantime I suggest that *δέδωκας* is corrupt—perhaps for *δέδορκας* or *δεδορκεῖς* 'where you beheld love for you in Helen's gaze.'

1061 Using previous conjectures I propose

'παῖδα μέγα φῶς (οὐ σε οὐ σὺ φάος) Θεσσαλίᾳ'

Cf. *I.A.* 1498, *El.* 450.

1305 Κύπρις ἃ δὲ δόρατι Παλλᾶς for *δορί* on account of metre; not, as Burges, *δουρί*.

1330 ἦ πολύμοχθον ἄρ' ἦν γένος ἦ πολύμοχθον  
ἀμερίων, <τὸ> χρεῶν δέ τι δύσποτμον  
ἀνδράσιν ἀνευρεῖν.

The view of editors has been that *ἀνευρεῖν* is corrupt: 'le sens de ces mots doit être: "la nécessité est pour les hommes une chose cruelle à endurer"' Weil. I think rather that the error lies in *δύσποτμον*, and that the sense should be 'it is *hard* for mankind to *discover* what is right': cf.<sup>2</sup> Menander 355 οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον ἡ τύχη ποιεῖ τὸ συμφέρον τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων βίω. καθ' οὓς κρινεῖ τὰ πράγματα οὐ χρήται νόμοις, οὐδ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ζῶντα 'ταῦτ' οὐ πείσομαι': 'so incalculable Fortune makes it what expediency is: she has no law for a man to judge things by.' Hence I require τὸ *χρεῶν* δέ τι *δύσποτον* ἀνδράσιν *ἀνευρεῖν* or *δύσπορον* or some such word.—1332 is excellent metre, as *Phoen.* 1583.

ELECTRA (with Wecklein 1898).

433-485 Paley considers that 'this is one of the choral odes of Euripides which seem merely ἐμβόλημα, inserted to mark the intervals in the action without any reference to the plot of the play. Here we have simply a description of the shield of Achilles'—yes, but what was figured on the shield? *Perseus* first with the Gorgon's head shorn off (λαμύτομον), in the company of *Hermes*, Διὸς ἀγγέλω σὺν Ἑρμῇ, τῷ Μαίας ἀγροτῇρι κοῖρφῳ. Now remember that in the *Choephorae* the Chorus exhort Orestes to steel his heart like *Perseus*, 829 Περσεὺς τ' ἐν φρεσὶν καρδίαν ἔχων and that Euripides himself uses the same comparison, 853 ἐρχεται δέ σοι κᾶρα πιδείξω οὐχὶ Γοργόνας φέρων ἀλλ' ὃν στυγεῖς Αἴγισθον, and that Orestes, like *Perseus*, hid his eyes before he slew his mother, v. 1217: and that *Hermes*, who in

<sup>2</sup> Compare also Theognis 381.

his various capacities is the presiding power in the *Choephoroe*, is invoked by the Chorus to lend his aid to Orestes in his daring and deceitful enterprise, *v.* 809,<sup>1</sup> as he is conceived to do in *Soph. El.* 1395 ὁ Μαῖας τε παῖς σφ' ἄγει δόλον σκότῳ κρύψας πρὸς αὐτὸ τέρμα κοῖκέτ' ἀμμένει (*cf. Rhcs.* 216). And in what follows we may see an allusion to Apollo, ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων κύκλος Ἀέλιου. Then come two more illustrations of an ἄγρα, which may or may not allude to the ἄγρα of Orestes.

449 εἴθα πατὴρ ἵππότης τρέφει Ἑλλάδι φῶς, though elsewhere it is Chiron and not Peleus that brings up Achilles. It is the established epithet of Peleus, *Hom. II* 33, *Ψ* 89 ἱππηλάτα *H* 125, *I* 438, *Λ* 772, *Σ* 331, so there is hardly room to doubt that Bacchylides in *xii.* 97 wrote ἄ < τὸν ἵππεν-τὰν > ἔτι < κτεν Πηλέα >

581 σύμμαχος γε σοι μόνος,  
ἦν δὴ σπᾶσμαι γ' ὃν μετέρχομαι  
βόλον

So Keene already for ἦν δ' ἀσπᾶσμαι γ' : '—that is if . . . ' which is the proper meaning of εἰ γε or ἦν γε, as 262 εἰ δὴ ποθ' ἦξει γ', *Hel.* 1175 θανέεται δ' ἦν γε δὴ ληθθῆι μόνον. They used the simple verb σπᾶσαι or σπᾶσασθαι in this sense.

622 'I saw Aegisthus as I was coming here' 'Good; whereabouts?' ἀγρῶν πέλας τῶνδ' ἵπποφορβίων ἔπι. 'What doing?' 'Preparing a feast to the Nymphs, I thought; but all I know is, he was preparing to sacrifice oxen,' βουσφαγεῖν. ἵπποφορβια the Dictionaries take to mean here 'the horse-pasture,' and so Paley thinks—'the genitive seems to mean *on* the horse-pasture'; but he suggests that the original reading was ἵπποφορβίους, which Wecklein places in his margin. We might consider the genitive to be used on the analogy of ἐπ' ἀγροῦ and ἐπ' ἀγρῶν, and compare *Soph. Aj.* 143 Jebb τὸν ἵππομανῆ λειμῶν ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι Δαναῶν βοτὰ καὶ λείαν : but it was a different notion that struck me in reading the passage,—that ἵπποφορβίων ἔπι simply

<sup>1</sup> I suggest that the passage originally ran as follows:

ἐλλάβοι δ' ἐνδίκως  
παῖς ὁ Μαῖας, ἐπεὶ τορῶτάτος  
πολλὰ δ' (οἱ τ') ἀμφανεῖ θέλων  
ἄσκοπον δ' ἔπος λέγων  
νύκτ' ἂντ' ὀμμάτων σκότον φέρει  
καθ' ἡμέραν τ' οὐδὲν ἐμφανέστερος

'since he is most "piercing," penetrating, perspicuous (properly the epithet of an ἐρμηνεύς), and will, if he chooses, bring many things to light; whereas if he utters a dark word, there is no one so impenetrable and obscure.'

means ἐφ' ἵππων, Aegisthus is abroad with an equipage of horse, a troop of his own body-guard, 628. Compare the use of βο-φόρβια in *I.A.* 293 and *Alc.* 1033, of συ(ο)-φόρβιον, συ(ο)βάσιον, βο-βάσιον *Schneider Callim.* ii. p. 173.

640 Ἀργεῖ· πάρεσται δ' ἐν πόσει  
θοινὴν ἔπι:

πόσει may be supported by 1138 where Clytemnestra says δεῖ γὰρ καὶ πόσει δοῦναι χάριν: in that case Musgrave's αὐ is the likeliest for ἐν (αὐ, εὐ, ἐν are frequently confused). I had thought of ἐν ποσὶ(ν).

\*708 The herald cried,  
στείχετε μακαρίων ὑψόμενοι τυράννων  
φάσματα δείματα, χόροι δ' Ἀτρειδᾶν  
ἐγέραιρον οἴκους

= 721 δώματα· νεόμενος δ' εἰς ἀγόρους αὐτεῖ  
τὰν κερέσσαν ἔχειν χρυσεομαλλόν  
κατὰ δῶμα ποίμαναν

φάσματα, δείματα cannot be correct. It was easy for a copyist to write it like 457 τοιάδε σήματα, δείματα Φρύγια τετύχθαι, *Hec.* 70 δείμασι, φάσμασι, *P.V.* 717 δυσθέατα δύσοιστα πῆματα, λῦματα, δείματα as the Chorus exclaim when they behold the transformed Io, a τέρας which later caused the inhabitants of Egypt to quake with sickly terror (*Aesch. Supp.* 574). That was usually the emotion excited by a τέρας, but it would be no encouragement to the population to be assured that the sight was as terrifying as they might expect. What the herald said was 'You need not be afraid to come, because this τέρας is neither δυσθέατον nor φοβερόν: it is only a little golden lamb.' It is an adjective therefore, either φάσματ' ἀδείματα as Musgrave thought, or, as metre suggested to me, φάσματ' ἀδεῖμα. So far as rhythm itself goes, φάσματ' ἀδείματα would be good, only one would expect to have the same in the antistrophe: and ἀδείματα: ἄφοβα is a frail support, since other lexicons, *Suidas*, *Bekk. An.* 341. 1 have ἀδείματα: ἄφοβα.

813 sqq. See *Jacobs Anth. Pal.* IX. p. 191.

980 οὐ τὰν πιθοίμην εὖ βεβουλευσθαι τάδε Hermann for οὐδ' ἂν, 'I will never be persuaded that,' 'I cannot believe that.' οὐδ' ἂν could only mean 'I should not even be persuaded,' as *Eum.* 228 οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην ὥστ' ἔχειν τιμὰς σέθεν means 'I wouldn't have them at a gift!'

997 καιρὸς <καλεῖ>, ὦ βασιλεῖα? *Philoct.*

446, in the herald's formula quoted by Lucian ii. 395, *Hec.* 1020 ἀκμή καλεῖ... Possibly it may be this which is written above by the corrector's hand in L, described as looking like κιοιον by Wecklein.

1109 ΚΑ. οἶμοι τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευ-  
μάτων  
ὥς μᾶλλον ἢ χρῆν ἤλασ' εἰς ὄργην  
πίσει.

So Gomperz for πόσιν. The use of language is enough to commend the alteration, and it is evident from Electra's comment that Clytemnestra is thinking here of Agamemnon.

1145 τοσὴνδ' ἐγὼ  
δώσω χάριν σοι, σὺ δέ <γ> ἐμοὶ δίκην  
πατρός

(Barnes) is the natural correction, and so in 1220,

OP. ἐγὼ μὲν . . . φασγάνῳ κατηρ-  
ξάμαν

1220 ΗΑ. ἐγὼ δέ <γ> ἀπεκέλευσά σοι  
(so L corrected)

as in the very similar passage, *Or.* 1236

OP. ἔκτενα μητέρ' ΠΥ. ἡψάμην δ' ἐγὼ  
ξίφους

ΗΑ. ἐγὼ δέ <γ> ἐπεβούλευσα κάπελυσ' ὄκνου

where γ' was inserted by Porson. Often as γε is omitted in MSS., there is no case where it is omitted oftener than in the combination δέ γε, which means 'yes and' or 'yes but,' and habitually in ἐγὼ δέ γε and σὺ δέ γε expresses rivalry or retort: for instance Aesch. *Supp.* 1067, *O.C.* 840, *Bacch.* 479, *Ar. Eq.* 356, 363, 365, 1154, 1156, 1171, 1178, 1204, in several of which places it is not only omitted but the omission ruins metre. In prose the particles are always joined together; in verse the γε may follow anywhere that metre will accommodate it, e.g. Aesch. *Theb.* 1017, *Ar. Ach.* 623, *Eq.* 1226; Porson on *Or.* 1234 'Ubi persona secunda prioris sententiam auget aut corrigi, post δέ, modo interposito modo non interposito alio verbo, sequitur particula γε': Cobet *N.L.* p. 435 'Notissimum est δέ γε usurpari solere quum duae res ita inter se componuntur ut altera plus habeat ponderis, quapropter in iurgiis frequentissimum est, ubi δέ γε responsantis est et maledicto maledictum, convicio convicium gravius reponentis, cuius rei sexcenta passim exempla occurrunt.' I do not think the MSS. can be right in omitting it at *Soph. Phil.* 1245

NE. σοφὸς πεφυκὼς οὐδὲν ἐξανδᾶς σοφόν.  
ΟΔ. σὺ δ' οὔτε φωνεῖς γ' οὔτε δρασεῖεις σοφά.

ORESTES (with Wecklein 1900)

178 στόματος ἀνακέλαδον ἀπο<πρὸ> λέχεος  
ἦσ—  
υχον ὕπνου χάραν παρέξεις φίλα

*dochmiacs*; therefore read ἀποπρὸ exactly as in 142. So Musgrave.

450 γέροντι ποδί, 522 γέροντ' ὀφθαλμόν: on the use of γέρον with impersonal objects see Valckenaer *Phoen.* 103. In *O.T.* 971

τὰ δ' οὖν γέροντα συλλαβὼν θεσπίσματα  
κέεται παρ' Αἰδῇ Πόλυβος ἄξι' οὐδενός

γέροντα seems to me, as to Mekler and Prof. Tyrrell, a true correction by F. W. Schmidt of παρόντα: cf. 907, 290. It is a confusion that occurs elsewhere, to which I can add one evident example: in Ael. *Epist.* 11 read ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν δέδοικα καίπερ γέροντα ὄντα (the father) for παρόντα.—In *O.C.* 1702 γέρων is itself corrupt, where I would read

ὦ πάτερ, ὦ φίλος ὦ τὸν αἰὶ κατὰ  
γὰς σκότον εἰμένος,  
οὐδέ περ ὥς ἀφίλητος ἐμοὶ ποτε  
καὶ τὰδε μὴ κυρήσης.

'even so'. Linwood had conjectured οὐδὲ γὰρ ὥς. οὐδέ περ is used by Aesch. *Supp.* 404, *Cho.* 502, and Eur. *Phoen.* 1626, μηδὲ περ γέροντας ὄντας *Ach.* 222, where Blaydes illustrates that common assonance—The first step would be οὐδέ περ ὦν ἀφίλητος.

785 τὸ δ' οὖν for τόδ', as Paley suggests. *Soph. O.T.* 669 ὁ δ' οὖν ἴτω.

816 Metre suggests

κακόφρων ἀνδρῶν  
παράνοια· θανάτου ἀμφὶ φόβῳ  
Ἰνδαρίς ἰαχρηε

though one would expect rather the nominative κακόφρων as an exclamation; *o quanta est dementia hominum!* But the γὰρ after θανάτου should certainly be removed.

896 Ἀργεῖος οὐκ Ἀργεῖος ἀλλ' ἡκασμένος for ἡναγκασμένος (which could only mean 'compelled') I published in the *Journal of Philology* xxvi. p. 233, unaware that ἡκασμένος had been proposed before. But I find from Wecklein ἡκασμένος conjectured by van Herwerden and ἦν, ἡκασμένος by Prof. Goodwin. ἡκασμένος, as my note illustrated, is a most appropriate word, and it was this which had appealed to my predecessors.



Now the road by which I arrived at it was different,—from requiring οὐκ Ἀργείος to be followed by ἀλλὰ, the use of language in such cases, which are commonest in Euripides; this led naturally to ἡκασμένος which the sense alone had commended already to two critics.—Sophocles has a characteristic variation in *O.T.* 1255 ἔγχος ἐξαιτῶν πορεῖν γυναικά τ' οὐ γυναικα μητρῶαν δ' ὅπου κίχοι διπλὴν ἄρουραν . . .

## PHOENISSAE

168 ἐφοῖς ὅμοια φλεγέθων βολαῖς [ἀλίου]

176 of Amphiaras, his σωφροσύνη shown in his driving:

ὧς ἀτρεμαῖα κέντρα καὶ σῶφρονά  
πῶλοις μεταφέρων ἰθύνει

Eustath. 557. 35 (quoted by Kirchhoff) has 'νότῳ ἐπέβαλλεν ἱμάσθλην'. τὸ δὲ τραγικὸν περιφραστικὸν ἐν τῷ 'κέντρα μετάφρενον'. Combining these mutilated readings we can get near the original at any rate:

ὧς ἀτρεμαῖα κέντρα καὶ σῶφρον' ἐς  
μετάφρενον φέρων πῶλοις ἰθύνει

489 μῆτ' ἔτι προσφέρειν ladders to the walls. Like Paley I had suggested μῆτ' ἐπισπένδρειν, but μήτε προσφέρειν gives the proper word; e.g. Pollux iv. 90, sch. Ar. *Lys.* 309.

817 οὐ γὰρ ὁ μὴ καλὸν οὐποτ' ἔφν καλὸν  
οἶδ' οἱ μὴ νόμιμοι <νόμιμόν ποτέ>  
ματρὶ λόχενμα

1525 τίν' ἐπὶ πρῶτων ἀπὸ χαιτάς  
σπαραγμοῖσιν ἀπαρχὰς βάλλω;

1527 ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἐν διδύμοισι γάλακτος παρὰ  
μαστοῖς,  
ἣ πρὸς ἀδελφῶν  
οὐλόμεν' αἰκίσματα νεκρῶν;

Metre here requires ἐν διδύμοισι — — — — —  
μαστοῖς. One thing is clear, that παρὰ con-  
ceals ἄρα: then γάλακτος I suppose is a  
corruption of some compound adjective  
ending in -γαλάκτοις: and since Iocasta was  
not νεοτόκος (*Bacch.* 691), the inference is

ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἐν διδύμοισιν ἀγαλάκτοις ἄρα μασ-  
τοῖς

'—shall it be upon . . . ?'

ION (with Wecklein 1898)

1065 εἰ δ' ἀτελὴς θάνατος σπονδαί τε δεσποίν-  
ας ὁ τε καὶ ῥὸς ἄπεισι τόλμας

1067 ὦ νῦν ἐλπίς φέρετ', ἣ θηκτὸν ξίφος ἦ  
λαίμων ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειρήν.

1067 so L and P: L having a correction ἄ  
τε νῦν φέρετ' ἐλπίς which makes metre: the  
corresponding line is quite correct and sound  
— — — — — The sense is, If her  
murderous plot fails and disappoints her  
hopes, she will commit suicide. I cannot  
see my way to restoring 1067 absolutely,  
but I think there is a clue—φέρεται is not  
the word. φέρεσθαι and ἐκφέρεσθαι mean to  
be carried away by passion, rage or madness,  
θυμῷ, ὄργῃ, μανίᾳ,—never ἐλπίδι that I re-  
member. With ἐλπίδι the usual word is  
τρέφεσθαι and its synonyms: τρέφεσθαι *fr.*  
826 δι' ἐλπίδος τρέφον, Zenob. ii. 43 ἐπὶ τῶν  
ἐλπίδι μὲν αἰὲν τρεφομένων: βόσκεσθαι *Phoen.*  
397, *Bacch.* 607, *Soph. fr.* 862, *Antig.* 1246,  
Hesych. παμβῶτις τύχη: ἐλπίς παντοτρόφος.  
σιτεῖσθαι (with a sneer) *Agam.* 1668, *Eubul.*  
10: φέρβεσθαι Hippocr. *Ejrist.* p. 1283. 4  
ἀλλ' ἀγαθαῖσιν ἕκαστος τούτων ἐλπίσι φέρβεται,  
which is the word I think should be restored  
here. The objection to reading ἐλπίσι φέρβετ'  
is the elision; it is a common error of MSS.,  
but I believe Prof. Jebb is right in deciding  
that 'there is no other example of it in  
Tragedy' besides *Trach.* 216 ἀείρομ' οὐδ'  
ἀπώσομαι. Otherwise ὦν νῦν might be  
offered. In case others may find something  
likely, it is worth suggesting that νῦν may  
be for νιν, or may be a mere insertion, for  
when metre fails, they are very ready to  
add νῦν<sup>1</sup>. ἣ τε φέρβεται ἐλπίς 'and the hope  
she feeds upon' would certainly serve well  
enough.

## RHESUS.

200 τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀνδράσιν τέλεα φαίνεται for  
τέλειά σοι φαίνεται?

543 θέλγει δ' ὄμματός ἔδραν  
ἔπνος· ἀδιστος γὰρ ἔβα  
βλεφύροις πρὸς αὐτοῖς.

Prof. Blass quotes this and Pind. *P.* ix. 25  
ἔπνον ἐπὶ γλεφάροις παῖρ' ἀναλίσκοισα ῥέποντα  
πρὸς αὐτὸν to confirm his emendation of ἀῶς  
ὡς θάλλει κέαρ for ἄμος in the fragment of  
Bacchylides p. 154. Besides *A.P.* vii. 726,  
Lucian i. 680 may be added in illustration,  
ἔωθέν τε ἐπὶ κώδωνος ἐξαναστὰς ἀποσεΐσμενος  
τοῦ ἔπνον τὸ ἡδιστον.—πρὸς αὐτοῖς, if sound,  
means that sleep is regarded as a gift from  
the hand of Morning; but the Pindaric  
passage suggests that πρὸς αὐτὸν may be right.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Ar. *Ach.* 291, Aesch. *Pers.* 332,  
and (as I think) *Soph. O.T.* 815.

549 ἀλλ' ἡ κρυπτὸν λόχον εἰσπαίσας  
διόλωλε; τάχ' ἂν εἴη φοβερόν μοι.

Here what seems clear is that εἴη is an interpolation. The corresponding lines are

530 Κίλικας Παῖων στρατὸς ἤγειρεν,  
Μυσοὶ δ' ἡμᾶς

raising the question whether φοβερόν μοι also is inserted. τάχ' ἂν may either be an answer by a second speaker 'Possibly,' or it may belong to the sentence ἀλλ' ἡ διόλωλε, 'Can he have perished, perhaps?' for τάχ' ἂν could be jotted in after the verb without affecting the construction, e.g. Soph. *O.C.* 965, *O.T.* 523 Jebb.

823 εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ παρὰ καιρὸν ἔργον ἢ λόγον  
πίθη, κατὰ με γὰρ  
ζῶντα πόρευσον· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.  
= 453 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδ' ἡμᾶρ εἰσίδοιμ', ἀναξ,  
ὅτῳ . . .

To make the metre equal, Hermann reads τόδε γ', Paley τόδ' ἔτ' as Kirchhoff also recommends; but any such addition is unnatural (*Cycl.* 434 εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἴδοιμεν ἡμέραν, Soph. *O.T.* 830 μὴ ἴδοιμι ταύτην ἡμέραν, Arr. *Epict.* iii. 17 μὴ γένοιτο ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα), and rhythm determined me to seek the error in the antistrophic line, in παρὰ καιρὸν. Now καιρός is the explanatory word of prose; it is used to explain ἀκμήν, but ὥρα<sup>1</sup> is the word it is found explaining oftenest—why should there not be an adjective πάρωρος 'unseasonable,' like ἄωρος, ἔξωρος, ἔνωρος besides ἄκαιρος, ἔκκαιρος, ἔγκαιρος? Perhaps Hesychius may have it,—and he has, πάρωρον· παρὰ καιρόν (i.e. παράκαιρον). Since Hesychius (as Kirchhoff's *Adnotatio Critica* will show) has many glosses from the *Rhesus* (vv. 8, 33, 134, 487, 504, 512, 701, 736), I think it unlikely that the *Rhesus* was not the source of this as well. Elsewhere the word is cited only from Theophrastus (*C.P.* v. 1 πάρωρον βλάστησιν).

HIPPOLYTUS (with Wecklein 1900).

104 εἰδαιμονοίης νοῖν ἔχων οἶόν σε δεῖ  
Wakefield for ὅσον: cf. *Bacch.* 941.

550 δρομάδα Ναῖδ' ὅπως τε Βάκχαν  
= 559 τοκάδα Διογένειο Βάκχον

ejecting τὰν in 559: so Barthold. Musgrave's Ἀῖδα in 550 cannot stand, for δρομάδα must be followed by a consonant; the

<sup>1</sup> I take this occasion of restoring to Mr Housman the credit for the view that in *Ag.* 1658 καιρὸν is an explanation of ὥραν.

tribrach is a link between two metrical phrases: see my note on *Andr.* 137. δρομάδες is among the epithets of the Nymphs in *Orph. h.* li. 6, and the Naiads are associated with the Bacchanals as companions of the Satyrs in liv. 6 to Silenus, Ναῖσι καὶ Βάκχαις ἡγούμενε κισσοφόροισιν: cf. Pausan. iii. 25. 2, *Cycl.* 68–72, 426, and in this context *Hel.* 187 νυμφά τις οἶα Ναῖς ὄρεσι φυνγάδα, . . . ὑπὸ δὲ πέτρινα γάλα . . . Πανὸς<sup>2</sup> ἀναβοᾷ γάμον.

552 σὺν αἵματι σὺν κᾶπνῳ  
φονίοις θ' — — —  
= 561 λοχευσαμέναν πύτμῳ  
φονίῳ κατεύνασεν

This is the right metre; nor is there any objection to κατεύνασεν except that the MS. reading φονίοις θ' ἱμεναίοις will not correspond to it. Sappho used the form ἐμὴνᾶος, and it was used also by a late writer in an elegiac epitaph, Kaibel *Ep.* 418; to be metrical here we should have to suppose another form ἐμὴναιος: but that is not to be thought of, for the next line but one in the same strophe is ὦ τλάμων ἱμεναίων. What will give the sense required and plainly could very easily have been mistaken is φονίοις θ' ὁμεινναίοις. Opp. *Hal.* i. 509 has ὁμεινναίαις ἀλόχοισι: might not ὁμεινναῖα have been used for συγκοιμήματα? For the substantive ἐνείναια see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*

1120 ὅθι κυνῶν  
ὠκυπόδων ἐπέβα μέτα θήρας ἐναίρων  
= 1129 ἀνὰ χλόαν  
νυμφιδία δ' <ἀπόλωλ'> ἀπόλωλε  
φίγῃ σᾶ

may be considered. So in *Trach.* 972 it is easy to write

οἶμοι ἐγὼ σοῦ,  
972 πάτερ, οἶμοι ἐγὼ σου <μελέου>,  
μέλεος

removing either ἐγὼ or σοῦ.

HERACLEIDAE (with Wecklein 1899).

766 Ζεὺς μοι σύμμαχος, οὐ φοβοῖμαι  
Ζεὺς μοι χάριν ἐνδίκως  
ἔχει· οὔποτε θνατῶν  
ἥσσοις οὐράνιοι 'π' ἐμοῦ φανοῦνται

<sup>2</sup> Hence the verb πανεύειν (see *Thesaur.*). In Dion. Hal. V. 356 (Nauck *Trag. Fr.* 510) ἡ δὲ Μελανίππη ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος γέγονε δὲ ταύτη παῖδιά should surely be ἐπανεύθη. It may seem too strong a word to use of Poseidon, but ἐπαιδεύθη is undoubtedly too mild, and compare the story of Zeus and Antiope.

(I.A. 592 θεοί γ' οἱ κρείσσοις, *fr.* 301. 4 ἥσσους γεγῶτες) gives at any rate the right metre and rhythm and good sense: 'the powers of Heaven will never be found inferior to mortal men *in my time*!'. The MSS. have ἥσσους εἴτ' ἐμοῦ φανοῦνται, and ἐπ' ἐμοῦ I think must be the truth.

592 ἐμοὶ χορὸς μὲν ἦδ' εἰ λίγεια λωτοῦ

χάρις ἐνὶ δαί,

804 εἴη δ' εὐχαρις Ἀφροδίτα

Metre tells that in the antistrophe we should read

901 ἔχεις ὁδὸν τιν' ὃ πόλις δίκαιον· οὐ χρί  
ποτε τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι,

with Herwerden instead of ἀφελίσθαι: and ἐνὶ δαί should scan \_ \_ \_ . It seems therefore as if it might be something like εὐὶ ἄδειν or εὐάειν: cf. *Bacch.* 125–8, 155 εὐά τὸν εὖιον ἀγαλλόμεναι θεὸν . . . λωτὸς ὅταν . . . *Cycl.* 491. Nonn. *D.* xv. 131 εὖιον αἰεῖσειε Διονύσω, *xx.* 248 ἐμῆς παρὰ δαῖτα τραπέζης εὖιον αἰεῖσωσι. Philostr. *Imag.* p. 785 ἀποσκιρτῶν εἵτοι.

969 χρὴ τόνδε μὴ ζῆν μηδ' ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος seems to me, as to Erfurd, the best correction of μηδ' ὄρᾶν φάος ἔτι: suppose εἰσ to be omitted, and an attempt then at making metre. *Ant.* 880 I suspect should be ὄμμα θέμις εἰσορᾶν ταλαίνα instead of ὄρᾶν.

HERACLES (with Wecklein 1899).

685 It would be good metre (and good Greek) to read

685 παιᾶνας μὲν Δηλιάδες  
Μουσᾶν ἀμφίπολοι τὸν  
Λατοῦς εὐπαιδα γόνον  
εἰλίσσουσι καλλίχοροι·

689 παιᾶνας δ' ἐπὶ σοῖς μελάβροις

= 671 μὴ πανσαίμαν τὰς χάριτας  
Μούσαις συγκαταμιγνύς,  
ἀδίσταν συζυγίαν.  
μὴ ζῶην μετ' ἀμονσίας  
αἰεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνουσιν εἶην.

accepting μὴ πανσαίμαν from Dio Chrysostom's quotation (instead of οὐ παύσομαι), and writing παιᾶνας for παιᾶνα in 685. In 689 both L and G have παιᾶνα, but L is corrected to παιᾶνας. But in either case Δηλιάδες must be followed by a consonant, which is afforded by Fritzsche's admirable Μουσᾶν where the MSS. have ἑμνοῦς'

777 σύν τ' Ἀσωπι[α]δης <ᾧ> κόραι Fix.

Their tendency is to write the form -ιαδ- as Νυμφᾶν Ἑλικωνι[α]δων in *O.T.* 1109. In 783 below both L and G had Ἑλικωνιάδων at first.

781 καλλίνικον ἀγῶν' ὃ  
Πιθίου δειδρόντι πέτρα  
Μουσῶν θ' Ἑλικωνίδων δώματα

784 κ λ ῖ ῥ ζ ε τ' εὐγαθεὶ κελάδω  
ἐμὰν πόλιν ἐμά τε τείχη

786 Σπαρτῶν ἵνα γένος ἐφάινθη,  
χαλκασπιδῶν λόχος, ὃς γὰν  
τέκνων τέκνοις μεταμείβει  
Θήβαις ἱερὸν φῶς.

= 798 τὰν Ἑρακλῆος ἀλκᾶν  
γᾶς ὃς ἐξέβα θαλάμῳ  
Πλουτωνῶν δῶμα λιπὼν ἰέρτερον  
κρείσσω μοι τύραννος ἔφυσ  
ἢ δυσγένει' ἀνάκτων.

803 ἂ νῦν ἐσορῶντι φαίνει  
ἔμφηφόρων ἐς ἀγῶνων  
ἄμιλλαν εἰ τὸ δίκαιον  
θεοῖς ἔτ' ἀρέσει.

All the corrections in this passage I had made from Kirchhoff's text; but they belong as follows: 784 κ λ ῖ ῥ ζ ε τ' for ῥ ζ ε τ' Hartung; δώματα should at least be followed by a consonant, and preferably the last syllable should be lengthened, as it is before κ λ<sup>1</sup> in lyric. For κ λ ῖ ῥ ζ ε τ' cf. *Ar. Av.* 921, 950, 1747, and ἰδὼ κ λ ῖ ῥ ζ ε τ' ματέρα Γαίαν' in Pausan. x. 12. 10.—799 γᾶς ὃς for ὃς γᾶς Musgrave; this I have remarked on in another paper.—The corrections in 786=803 are required by metre, ἐφάνθη Pflugk for ἔφανε (unless Euripides meant that the χαλκασπιδῶν λόχος ἐφάνεν brought to light, originated, the Σπαρτῶν γένος), and ἐσορῶντι for ἔσορᾶν Wecklein 'olim'—I wish it were 'etiam nunc,' for it not only restores the metre but enables you to translate the sentence 'which now makes it manifest, to any that regards the issue of the armed contest, whether justice is still pleasing in the sight of Heaven.'

No one, I think, will be able to read this fine chorus without feeling that Euripides must have had in mind the lyrics of the *Agamemnon*, particularly 381 sqq., beginning οὐκ ἔφα τις θεοῦς βροτῶν ἀξιούσθαι μέλειν ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις πατοῖθ'. ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής· πέφανται δ' . . . I would ask any one to read it through from 749, τίς θεοῦς θνητὸς ὦν ἀνομία χραίων ἄφρονα λόγον οὐρανίων μακάρων κατέβαλ' ὥς ἄρ' οὐ σθένουσιν θεοί;—γέροντες, οὐκέτ' ἔστι δυσσεβὴς ἀνὴρ, to the

<sup>1</sup> In *O.C.* 1241 therefore you could read βόρειος ὡς τις ἀκτὰ κυματοπλῆξ χειμέρια κλονεῖται for χειμερία as οὐράνια (Erfurd) for οὐράνια in 1466.



triumphant close translated above, ἀ νῦν ἔσορῶντι φαίνει κτέ., and then judge whether the solution of that difficult Aeschylean passage is not this :

οὐκ ἔφα τις  
θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν  
ᾧσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
πατοῖθ'· ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής·  
πέφανται δ' ἐκ τίνου σ'  
ἀτολμήτων ἀρῇ  
πνεόντων μῆζον ἢ δικαίως

'It hath been said that the Gods deign not to take note of such on earth as trample on sweet sanctities; but irreligious was the man that said it! Manifested here as penalty for wickedness hath been havoc, done on arrogant spirits overteemed with wealth...' The destruction of Troy is manifestly the punishment of God; it is a plain proof therefore that the Gods do care. Here the MSS. have ἐγόνουσ (or ἐγγόνουσ as usual) and ἀρη, and ἐκτίνοσα was Hartung's most valuable contribution. Weil, with the clear perception characteristic of him, which has so often moved my admiration, pointed out in his note of 1861 that both ἐγόνουσ and Ἀρη πνεόντων were untenable: 'There is no place here either for the descendants of the wicked, or for their war-fever. Neither applies to Paris, who had no desire for war at all, and who has paid the penalty for his sin in his own person. If you enter into the poet's mind, you will see that the subject dealt with here throughout the strophe is the wickedness and license of men puffed up with riches; which are unable, however, to protect them from their righteous punishment'. He is equally right in insisting upon the rhythmical division of the verses, which is violated by Hartung's ἐκτίνοσα τόλμη... No accusative is now required with ἐκτίνοσα, because the ἀρή is itself the penalty. ἀρή was used by Aeschylus in *Supp.* 86; perhaps in *Cho.* 161, or even in *Ag.* 1234.

1138 ἡ σάρκα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐμπρήσας πυρί  
δύσκληαν ἢ μένει μ' ἀπόσομαι βίου;

The correction of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, which Wecklein quotes in brackets as untenable, seems to me now not only a beautiful reading but most probably the truth: ἡ σάρκα τὴν νεανίαν ἐμπρήσας πυρί. According to one tradition Heracles was translated before he was thirty years of age; and in v. 1082 Euripides makes him speak of his νεανίαν θώρακα καὶ βραχίονα. The form of the accusative he has in *Cycl.* 177 τὴν νεάνιν εἴλετε.

1214 ὅστις εὐγενὴς βροτῶν,  
φέρει τὰ τῶν θεῶν γε πτόματ' οὐδ'  
ἀναίνεται.

τὰ τῶν θεῶν πτόματα could only mean, I think, 'the falls which the Gods themselves experience', not those which they cause. It would be correct to write φέρει τὰ γ' ἐκ θεῶν πτόματ' as *Phoen.* 1764 τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας<sup>1</sup> θνητὸν ὄντα δεῖ φέρειν, *Hom. Ω* 617 θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει, *Pind. P.* x. 20 μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μετατροπῆαις ἐπικύρσαιεν *Moschus* iv. 68 τοιῆσδ' ἐκυρήσαμεν ἐκ θεοῦ αἴσης. The γε would be quite natural, for the implied antithesis was most familiar, ἀνθρώποισι τὰς μὲν ἐκ θεῶν τύχας δοθείσας ἔστ' ἀναγκαῖον φέρειν, ὅσοι δ' ἑκουσίοισιν ἐγκεινται βλάβαις... But it is also possible that Vitelli's theory is right, τὰ θεῖα πτόματα glossed by τὰ τῶν θεῶν: so in *El.* 194

οὔτοι στοναχαῖς  
ἀλλ' εὐχαῖσ(ι) θεοὺς σεβίζουσ'

altered in L to τοὺς θεοὺς γε, Weil has conjectured ἀλλ' εὐχαῖς τὰ θεῖα σεβίζουσ'

The *club* of Heracles is often mentioned in this play, but it is worth observing that it is never called σκύταλον or ῥόπαλον, nor does Euripides ever use those words. The terms he describes it by are 932 ὄπλον χερός, 569 τῷ καλλινίκῳ τῷδ' ὄπλῳ, 982 μυδροκτύπον μίμημ' ὑπὲρ κἀρα βαλὼν ξύλον καθήκε παιδὸς εἰς ξανθὸν κἀρα, 468 εἰς δεξιᾶν δὲ σὴν ἀλεξήτῃριον ξύλον καθίει Δαιδάλον: and in *fr.* 688. 4 Heracles is ξύλῳ δραστήριος. The Dorian lyric of Pindar calls it σκύταλον *O.* ix. 30, the Dorian idyll of Theocritus ῥόπαλον xiii. 56, σκύταλον xvii. 31, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1196 χαλκοβαρεῖ ῥοπάλῳ and Sophocles ῥόπαλον in *Trach.* 512; but poetry seldom uses those plain words, feeling I suppose that they do not sound heroic and that a vaguer allusion is more dignified: and so the Latin poets call it *robur*, Verg. *A.* viii. 220, *Stat. Silv.* iii. 1. 35, *Theb.* iv. 163, *Mart.* ix. 44. The weapon is described by Theocr. xxv. 207 as we see it in the Farnese statue, βάκτρον εἰπαγὲς, αἰτόφλοιοι, ἐπηρεφέος κοτίνιοιο ἔμμητρον, τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ Ἑλικῶνι εἰρῶν σὺν πυκνήσιν ὀλοσχερὲς ἔσπασα ῥίζαις. Hence in *Anthol.* xvi. 103 we have Ἡρακλῆς, ποῦ σοι πτόρθε σ μέγας; and 104 βαρύπους ὁξος ὁ θηρολέτης. It will appear now what is meant in *Orph. h.* xii

<sup>1</sup> In *Bacchyl.* xviii. 29 since Blass now gives the MS. as εἴτ' οὖν γένετ' ἐ... it would seem to have been ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκη as ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα in xvi. 24. It is a pity Prof. Jebb's αἶσα μοιρόκραντος should not be confirmed.

ἔλθε μάκαρ νόσων θελκτῆρια πάντα κομίζων  
ἔξέλασον δὲ κακὰς ἄτας, κλάδον ἐν χερσὶ  
παλλων,  
πτηνοῖς τ' ἰοβόλοις κῆρας χαλεπὰς ἀπόπεμπε.

Gesner remarks on κλάδον 'quasi muscae abigendae essent', and Miss Harrison, quoting this passage in her most interesting paper on 'Pandora's Box' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xx p. 104 says 'Here clearly the harsh Keres are bringing disease, and they are to be brushed aside like flies, winged pests as they are, by the branch that Herakles waves in his hand. What manner of pest a Ker was, is clearly seen in the design from a vase published in the *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* x 1895, p. 37, Fig. 11, where Herakles uses a more formidable weapon, his club, against a noisome-looking winged Ker. The design is a lively commentary on the Orphic Hymn'. It does not in the least impair her argument, but it will be clear (as the authoress agrees) that here too the κλάδος used by Heracles κηραμύντης (Lycophr. 663) means his *club*. That, as I lately pointed out, is the meaning of the periphrasis σχῆδια αὐτόκωπα βέλη in *Cho.* 162 'self-hilted weapons for close combat'. Swords are κοπήεντα, that is λαβὴν ἔχοντα, provided with a hilt or handle in addition (Hom. *θ* 403, Quint. Smyrn. v. 116); the distinguishing epithet αὐτόκωπον or αὐτόλαβον is enough to indicate the Heracleian club.

MEDEA (with Wecklein 1899).

1238 καὶ γὰρ εἰ κτενεῖς ὅμως  
φίλοι γ' ἔφυσαν δυστυχῆς τ' ἐγὼ γυνή

Though the best MSS. give φίλοι τ' the γ' no doubt is right. γε is the weakest particle to emphasise the antithesis to εἰ καὶ (μὴ) or καὶ εἰ (μὴ), e.g. εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες, οἳ γε πολλοὶ . . . The strongest way of expressing it is by the combination ἀλλ' οὖν . . . γε, and you could use γε alone or ἀλλὰ alone or almost any combination or permutation of the two or three—only not οὖν alone, which is enough to show that οὖν adds merely emphasis to particles it is combined with. As in Eur. *El.* 362

καὶ γὰρ εἰ πένης ἔφην,  
οὔτοι τό γ' ἦθος δυσγενὲς παρέξομαι

so I think we ought to read in Soph. *O.C.* 726

καὶ γὰρ εἰ γέρων ἐγώ,  
τὸ τῆσδε χώρας γ' οὐ γεγῆρακε σθένος

where γ' is omitted (as it is habitually

omitted) by the MSS.—It is an extraordinary consecution that occurs twice in Sophocles,

*O.T.* 302 πόλιν μὲν εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις φρονεῖς  
δ' ὅμως  
οἷα νόσω σύνεστιν  
*Ant.* 234 σοί· κεῖ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερω φράσω δ'  
ὅμως.

For the proper particle in both cases was not δέ but γε as Sophocles himself has elsewhere, *O.T.* 628 KP. εἰ δὲ ξυνίης μηδὲν; *OI.* ἀρκτέον γ' ὅμως, 1326 καίπερ σκοτεινός, τὴν γε σὴν αἰδὴν ὅμως, *Ant.* 519 ὅμως ὃ γ' "Αἰδης, *Creus.*, fr. 328. 2 καὶ γὰρ οὐ μακρὸν βίον θνητῶν ἔχουσι τοῦ γε κερδαίνειν ὅμως ἀπρίξ ἔχοντα. The passages Sir Richard Jebb quotes in illustration of *O.T.* 302 are *Hdt.* viii. 22 εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ἡμέες δὲ (then) ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε: *Xen. Cyr.* v. 5. 21 ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲ τοῦτο . . . βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοῖντεῦθεν λέγε. But these for two reasons do not set my mind at rest. They are of a type very common in Herodotus, but with a pronoun, ἐγὼ δὲ, σὺ δὲ, ὁ δέ, and the meaning is 'well then,' 'in that case,' and so in *Aesch. Ag.* 1045 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς . . . and more emphatic in *Eum.* 888 σὺ δ' οὖν μένοισ ἄν, as in *Hdt.* ix. 48 καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἳ δ' ὄν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστερον· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκοίαι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνοισ ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα. But these do not appear to me to resemble εἰ καὶ μὴ followed by ὅμως, where the meaning is 'even if' . . ., 'yet still,' and I do not know any case with ὅμως. Was it Sophocles who deliberately wrote this δὲ or a careless copyist influenced by the preceding μέν? It would be an easy error anyhow, and has been made I suspect in *O.C.* 1443 where I look for

ANT. δυστάλαινα τάρ' ἐγὼ  
εἰ σοῦ στερηθῶ. ΠΟΛΥΝ. ταῦτά γ' ἐν τῷ  
δαίμονι  
καὶ τῆδε φῦναι θάτερα· σφῶν δ' οὖν ἐγώ

the equivalent of ταῦτα μὲν, as *I.T.* 489 τοῦτο μὲν δὸς τῇ τύχῃ, but the MSS. have ταῦτα δ' as in *Eum.* 591 they have τοῦτου δ' for τοῦτου γ' (Nauck). In *Ant.* 234 the error, if it is one, might readily be made by a scribe who had mistaken κεῖ for καὶ (L had *kei* without a breathing), an example of which will be a fitting close to this digression: Eur. fr. 331

φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, κεῖ μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτέ,  
οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδέ μ' εἰς κύπριν τρέπων

where the change restores an interesting sense, 'for he was my friend; and if ever (now appears the meaning of the ποτέ) love took hold of me, it never turned my steps to foolish conduct,' καὶ μ' ἔρως ἔλοι ποτέ would not only be pointless but would require μήτ' εἰς τὸ μῶρον μήτε . . . Here too there may have been a γε omitted after μῶρον. For the use of the optative in such a case see Liddell and Scott s.v. εἰ iii. 2, *Philoct.* 289, Lucian i. 217 καὶ εἴ ποτε πιοῦσα παραδοίην τῷ Γανυμήδει τὸ ἔκπωμα, ὃ δὲ ἤτει ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ πτεῖν, Plat. Com. 168. 3 ὁπότε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι | 'ὀλίγον,' <ὃ δ'> 'ὀλίον' ἔλεγον as I would complete it: 'when he had to say ὀλίγον, instead of that he would go and say ὀλίον' is the effect of that colloquial use of ὃ δέ, which is very common after δέον.

*Fragm.* 282, 16 on athletes; battles not won in the playing-field:

τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εὔ, τίς ὠ κύ π ο υ ς ἀνήρ,  
ἡ δίσκον ἄρας ἡ γνάθον παίσας καλῶς  
πόλει πατροφᾶ στέφανον ἤρκεσεν λαβῶν;  
πότ' ἔρα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χερσὶν  
20 δίσκους ἔχοντες, ἡ δὲ ἀσπίδων π ο σ ῖ  
θείοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίων πάτρας;

'Will they fight against the enemy with a *discus* in their hands, or drive him from the country by smiting through his shield with their feet?' That requires δρώσης χερός *Heracl.* 682; it is little use for the purpose to be swift of foot. This is evidently the point, but it is only obtained by combining the readings of the two quotations; *Ath.* 413 e gives δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ θείοντες, which here is merely tautological, *Galen* I. p. 24 gives δι' ἀσπίδων ποσὶ θέοντες, easy misapprehensions both of them for an inattentive reader. The phrase is used by Eur. in *Heracl.* 683 οὐ θένομι κἂν ἐγὼ δι' ἀσπίδος; and 737 δι' ἀσπίδος θείοντα πολεμίων τίνα.—In v. 18 it seems as if λαβῶν should be λαβεῖν 'availed to win a glory for his country': if it meant 'won a crown for defending his country' it should be στέφανον ἔλαβεν ἀρκέσας. Possibly θείοντες should be θενόντες.

*Fragm.* 304 may be approximately restored

θαῖσι μὲν ναυσὶ πόρον πνοαὶ κατὰ βένθος  
ἄλιον ἄλλαι  
ἄλλον ἰθύνουσι, τύχας δὲ θνατῶν  
τὸ μὲν μέγ' εἰς οὐδὲν <ἄγων> ὃ πολὺς  
χρόνος μεθίστησι <ν> τὸ δὲ μείον αὖξων

I feel sure of the last two lines, which are in fact the same in metre as the last two of

*fr.* 303. In the first two it is clear from the comparison that what I have written gives the sense, and the expression is just like *Pind.* O. ii. 33, vii. 95, *P.* iii. 104, *I.* iii. 23, all with a similar application, and *I.A.* 1325. It is easy to see that ἄλιον ἄλλαι ἄλλον could hardly fail to be corrupted, and the MSS. give only κατὰ βένθος ἄλιον ἰθύνουσι or κατὰ βένθος ἄλλαι ἰθύνουσι.—The metre is a variety of a rhythm favourite in Tragedy, in which I will only refer to *Aesch.* *Supp.* 533–5, *Soph. Trach.* 94 sqq. because they are very similar to a corrupted example:

*Aj.* 221 οἶαν ἐδήλωσας ἀνδρὸς αἰθονος ἀγγελίαν  
ἀτλατον οὐδὲ φευκτάν  
= 245 ὦρα τιν' ἦδη τοι κῆρα καλύμμασι  
κρυψάμενον  
ποδοῖν κλοπᾶν ἀρέσθαι

Here ἦδη τοι is unmetrical, but all you have to do to make it metrical is to write ἦδη 'στι as in *Philoct.* 964, *El.* 1259 οὐ μὴ 'στι καιρός, and write ἀνέρος with Hermann or ἀνδρὸς ἄρ'...It does not seem likely that κῆρα should be a mistake for κάρα (*Turnebus*), otherwise I should certainly have expected

ὦρα τιν' ἦδη 'στι κάρα καλύμμασι κρυψάμενον  
οἶαν ἐδήλωσας <ἄρ'> ἀνδρὸς αἰθονος ἀγγελ-  
ίαν

οἶαν ἄρα as 367, 909, *Trach.* 997, 871, *Ant.* 1178, *fr.* 519, *O.T.* 1395, *O.C.* 1400.

With regard to the phrase εἰς οὐδὲν ἄγων it may be observed that they used τὸ μηδὲν commonly in the same sense; but not μηδὲν simply except under the influence of construction. The only exception known to me is *Soph. fr.* 787. 8 which is three times quoted by *Plutarch*, twice as πάλιν διαρρεῖ κατὰ μηδὲν ἔρχεται: but in another place he has it κείς τὸ μηδὲν, and this (or κᾶς) I think with *Nauck* is right. For ὁ γὰρ θανὼν τὸ μηδὲν ἐστὶ *Trag. fr. adesp.* 95 you could substitute οὐδὲν ἐσθ' ὁ κατθανὼν as *Alc.* 392, but not μηδὲν ἐστὶ: you would say, however, ἵν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν *Eur. fr.* 439 after the final ἵνα, or ἦν δ' εὐτυχῆτε, μηδὲν ὄντες, *Sosiphanes Trag. fr.* 3. Thus *Eur. fr.* 532 says of a man when he dies that τὸ μηδὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ῥέπει, but when in *Trach.* 1107 the dying *Heracles* threatens 'though I am as nought, and on the way to nothingness,' he says κἂν τὸ μηδὲν ᾧ κᾶς (or κείς) μηδὲν ἔρπω. At least that is how I think the passage should be read: if the meaning were 'though I am as nought and cannot move a step' we should surely have καὶ μηδὲν ἔρπω and not κἂν, for κἂν—κἂν, like



ἐάν τε—ἐάν τε, κεί—κεί, εἴτε—εἴτε means 'whether—or' as κὰν θέλω κὰν μὴ θέλω *I.A.* 1273, *Cycl.* 330; κὰν εἶ κὰν καλῶς δόξω λέγειν *Trø.* 907: in *O.C.* 874 ἄξω βία κεί μοῦνός ἐμι τόνδε καὶ χρόνῳ βραδύς, you could not write κεί χρόνῳ βραδύς, nor here, I think, κὰν μηδὲν ἔρπω.

*fr.* 773. 49 ἐπὶ χάρμασιν (for χάρματ') as ἐπὶ πένθεσιν *A.P.* x. 47.

*fr.* 1048. 3 τὰμφινῇ for τὰμφανῇ will require I suppose the usual correction τὰμφιᾷ.

*fr.* 1063 It is wiser not to keep a wife shut up, but to let her satisfy her curiosity

harmlessly abroad; for the female sex is ever as greedy for what is secret as the male:

<τὸ θῆλυ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐξ ἴσου γένος>  
τό τ' ἄρσεν αἰετοῦ κεκρυμμένου λίχρον.

Such a line (or πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τ' or τὸ θῆλυ γὰρ πᾶν ἐξ ἴσου πέφυκε πως) it seems clear to me has been omitted. τό τ' ἄρσεν then means 'one just as much as the other,' but unless it is preceded by τὸ θῆλυ the τε in τό τ' ἄρσεν has no meaning, and the statement, if made about the male sex only, quite irrelevant in this connexion.

W. HEADLAM.

### HYPOPHORA IN ISAEUS.

The Rehdantz-Blass Rhetorical Index to Demosthenes has an excellent article on *hypophora*, but does not refer to the five extant instances of the use by Isaeus of what became in Demosthenes the stereotyped form with νῇ Δία or μὰ Δία. The passages follow.

Isaeus, iii. 24 ἴσως γὰρ ἦν νῇ Δία πάρεργον καὶ φαῦλον, περὶ οὗ τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πυρετίδου φασὶ ποιήσασθαι οὗτοι, ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὀλιγορηθῆναι ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ πῶς;

Is. iii. 73 ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἄλλον τινὰ ποιησάμενος τῶν συγγενῶν ἔδωκεν ἂν ἔχειν τὸν κληρὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ; καὶ τί αὐτὸν ἔδει... ἀπέχθασθαι κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 20 ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία, ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Νικοστράτου διεχείρισεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν.

Is. iv. 24 μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ Ἀγνόθεος τοῦ Νικοστράτου συγγενής, ὡς οἱ ἀντιδικοὶ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτεροι. ἔπειτα τῷ... λαχόντι μαρτυροῦσιν;

Is. vii. 33 τί βέλτιον ἂν ἔπραξεν...; εἰ νῇ Δία παιδίον ἐποίησατο λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν φίλων ὄντων, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔδωκεν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀδελφὸν κ.τ.λ.

These five passages fall in three orations, of which one is held to be the latest extant work of the orator, another is one of his later works, while for the third no criterion of date has been found.

The careful reader will observe that the interrogative punctuation of the early editions which has been retained in the second, third, and fifth passages, is wrong. Recognized as instances of *hypophora*, these

were put into the ordinary interrogative class; but these are not questions. The interrogative interpretation is barred out by the use of the hortatory subjunctive in the similar passage, Dem. xx. 75: ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία τὸν παῖδα τὸν Χαβρίον περιδωμεν ἀφαιρέθENTA τὴν ἀτέλειαν κ.τ.λ., if not by νῇ Δία itself, which is an expletive here indicating impatience, and very nearly equivalent (except in its associations) to the improper "D— it!" This impatience is shown very clearly in Dem. xxi. 148: τίνας γὰρ εἵνεκα; 'τῶν στρατηγῶν.' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτης κ.τ.λ. 'ἀλλὰ τῶν λόγων.' ἐν οἷς κοινῇ μὲν οὐδὲν πάποτ' εἶπ' ἀγαθὸν κ.τ.λ. 'γένους εἵνεκα, νῇ Δία.'

Quotation marks will make the true interpretation more distinct, and will show just what is to be considered as a quoted objection.

Is. iii. 24 ἴσως γὰρ 'ἦν νῇ Δία πάρεργον καὶ φαῦλον,' περὶ οὗ τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν φασὶ ποιήσασθαι οὗτοι, 'ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὀλιγορηθῆναι ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα.' καὶ πῶς;

Is. iii. 73. 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἄλλον τινὰ ποιησάμενος τῶν συγγενῶν ἔδωκεν ἂν ἔχειν τὸν κληρὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.' καὶ τί αὐτὸν ἔδει κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 20. 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία,' ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, 'τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Νικοστράτου διεχείρισεν.' ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 24. 'μα Δί', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ Ἀγνόθεος τοῦ Νικοστράτου συγγενής,' ὡς οἱ ἀντιδικοὶ φασιν, 'ἀλλ' ἕτεροι.' ἔπειτα... μαρτυροῦσιν;

Is. vii. 33. τί βέλτιον ἂν ἔπραξεν...; 'εἰ νῇ Δία παιδίον ἐποίησατο λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν

φίλων ὄντων, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔδωκεν.' ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀδελφον κ.τ.λ.

To three of these passages, Dareste in his translation of 1898, has given the idiomatic interrogative form, neglecting the expletive. In iv. 20, he seems to have been misled as to the meaning of *διεχέρισεν*, and translates: 'Eh bien, par Zeus! Chariadès n'a rien fait de tout cela et n'en a pas moins mis la main sur la fortune de Nicistrate.'

Demosthenes makes a more dramatic use of this figure than Isaeus, e.g. Dem. viii. 17. τί ποιήσομεν ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον τῇ; 'κρινοῦμεν Διοπίθῃ, νῇ Δία.' καὶ τί τὰ πράγματα ἔσται βελτίω; 'ἀλλ' ἐνθένδ' ἂν βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί.' ἂν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; 'ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἤξει.' And viii. 50. πότ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐβελήσομεν; 'ὅταν νῇ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ.' ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.

In Demosthenes, we may observe, too, this figure becomes so fixed that the νῇ Δία is used with a verb in the first person referring to the speaker, as xviii. 117. νῇ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα. εἴτα παρὼν ὅτε μ' εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγορεῖς; Most editors put a mark of interrogation after ἦρξα, but this can hardly be separated from the passages which have just been considered.

My attention has been called to the fact that Gebauer in the Appendix to his edition of Froberger's Lysias, expresses his dissatisfaction with the interrogative form of Isaeus iii. 73 and of Demosthenes xxiv. 99 and 126; but Gebauer does not mention the other instances in Isaeus, and the question-mark in Dem. xxiv. 126 was abandoned by Dindorf half a century ago, while in Dem. xviii. 117, quoted in the preceding paragraph, the tradition has a question-mark after ἦρξα. At times, as in Dem. xxiii. 166, Bekker introduced the use of quotation-marks for *hypophora*, but these have not been used consistently by any editor of Demosthenes. Gebauer's calling the sentence of Lysias on which he is commenting, *eine spottische Behauptung*, would remove that passage clearly from Isaeus iv. 20, where we have not a mocking allusion to the adversary's statement, but a quotation of the adversary's impatient explanation of the reason for the will in question. Ott, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des griechischen Eides*, apparently would consider Is. iv. 20 an instance of *hypophora*, but sets Is. iii. 24 among the *erklärende Sätze*, and iii. 73, iv. 20, and vii. 33, in the category of Question (*Frage*), accepting the current punctuation. The assumption of an interrogative force for νῇ Δία is only slightly more unreasonable

than the 'ironical force' which has often been assigned to it.

I have not noticed *hypophora* with νῇ Δία before Isaeus, except in Andocides iii. 15, 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἔως ἂν Λακεδαιμονίους καταπολεμήσωμεν...μέχρι τούτου δεῖ πολεμεῖν' (where Blass seems to have been the first to restore the force of asseveration, by removing the mark of a question), and Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 2. 9 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία,' ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, 'ὑπερὸν ἔποιε τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας' (cf. *ib.* ii. 7. 3 and 6).

One of the earliest instances of *hypophora* in prose, is in Herodotus vi. 124, where the historian rejects the report that at the battle of Marathon the Alcmaeonids were in communication with the Persians: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενος Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδουσιν τῇ πατρίδι, which is properly to be printed as a statement of the enemies of the Alcmaeonids. I have not noticed *hypophora* with νῇ Δία in Plato. The most striking example of the figure in that author is *Republic* 365 c-366 a: 'ἀλλὰ γάρ' φησί τις, 'οὐ ῥῶδιον αἰεὶ λανθάνειν κακὸν ὄντα.' οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εὐπετές, φήσομεν, τῶν μεγάλων... 'ἀλλὰ δὴ θεοὺς οὐτε λανθάνειν οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυνατόν.'... 'ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν Αἰδου δίκην δώσομεν ὧν ἂν ἐνθάδε ἀδικήσωμεν, ἣ αὐτοὶ ἢ παῖδες παιδῶν.' ἀλλ' ὠφελήσουσιν κ.τ.λ.

Aristotle uses *hypophora* with the simple ἴσως, as *Nicomachean Ethics* 1114a 3, 'ἀλλ' ἴσως τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὥστε μὴ ἐπιμεληθῆναι,' where again quotation marks are convenient.

When the usage of different authors is compared, the employment of *hypophora* with νῇ Δία seems a distinct link between Demosthenes and Isaeus, whose relations have been known to be intimate.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

#### ISAEUS AS AN IMITATOR OF LYSIAS.

Attention does not seem to have been called in print to the fact that Isaeus v. 10, καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οἰκειότητος ἐλέου παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι καὶ πένητες γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδείων ἦσαν ἐνδεεῖς, is formed exactly upon Lysias xii. 20, καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον κ.τ.λ.

This is curious, since the passage in Isaeus is hardly intelligible without comparison with the other, and interesting since it is the most distinct detail of the influence of Lysias upon his follower (χαρακτῆρα δὲ τὸν Λυσίου πᾶν ἀκριβῶς ἐζήλωσεν).

T. D. S.

## PLATONICA.—II.

(Continued from p. 27.)

## SYMPOSIUM.

The serious difficulties of the *Symposium* require fuller treatment. A few small points are taken here.

184 E δεόμενος εἰς παιδευσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σοφίαν κτᾶσθαι.

Schanz ἵστασθαι. Perhaps οἰνάσθαι, a favourite word with Plato.

185 B πᾶν ἂν παντὶ προθυμηθείη.

Can the dative stand alone? Probably some word like ὑπουργεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι has dropped out. The *Symposium* seems to have suffered from such omissions.

191 A ποθοῖν ἕκαστον τὸ ἡμῖν τῷ αὐτοῦ ξυνεῖναι.

This seems another instance. 192 B and 205 E (cf. 191 D) show pretty clearly that something like τῷ αὐτοῦ <ἡμίσει> should be read. τῷ αὐτοῦ alone is hardly possible.

195 B μετὰ δὲ νέων ἀεὶ ξύνεστί τε καὶ ἔστιν.

Sauppe's ἔστιν <νέος> is not to me very satisfactory. I have thought of ξύνεστί τε καὶ <ἡδέως> ἔστιν. Cf. *Rep.* 372 B ἡδέως ξυνόντες ἀλλήλοις and on the simple ἔστιν Schanz *Novae Comm.* p. 103. But it might be anything.

199 B I do not see how ἀνομολογησάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ can be right. Perhaps πρὸς αὐτόν.

The following explain themselves :

184 A ἀπὸ (for ὑπὸ) ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας.

194 B ἀναβάντος for ἀναβαίνοντος.

195 C τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ πράγματα <τὰ> περὶ θεούς.

200 A <τὸ> ὅτου, explaining τοῦτο.

201 E ὡς εἶη <μὲν> ὁ ἔρως μέγας θεός, εἶη δὲ τῶν θεῶν.

212 E ἵνα...τὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ καλλίστου <ποιητοῦ> κεφαλὴν ἀναδίσσω.

215 E πολὺ μου (for μοι) μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κορυβαντιώντων ἢ καρδία πηδᾶ. Cf. *Ion*, 535 C.

217 D ἐν ἧπερ ἐδεδειπνήκει?

## PARMENIDES.

128 C Perhaps ἐπικρυπτόμενον is due to διαπραπτόμενον following and should be ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

131 D should, I think, be printed with more notes of interrogation. Besides that after ἴσον τῷ ἔσται, I would put others after ἔξει, μείζον ἔσται, and πρίν. On the other hand in 134 C the sentence beginning οὐκοῦν εἴπερ is not a question.

133 D Read ἐκείνου δοῦλος <ὁ δοῦλος> like δεσπότης ὁ δεσπότης in the next line.

134 E Read ἀποστερήσει for ἀποστερήσειε.

135 B διευκρινησάμενον ought to be διευκρινησαμένον. Mr. Waddell seems half to suggest this in his edition.

ιβ. C τοῦ τοιούτου μὲν οὖν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ἡσθῆσθαι.

μᾶλλον is meaningless by itself. Perhaps μᾶλλον <ἐτέρων>.

ιβ. E οὐκ εἷας ἐν τοῖς ὀρωμένοις οὐδὲ περὶ ταῦτα τὴν πλάνην ἐπισκοπεῖν.

I think τὴν πλάνην <ποιοῦμενον> or something similar is needed.

137 C ἔτοιμός σοι...τοῦτο needs a <ποιῆσαι> added.

140 E τί δε, πρεσβύτερον ἢ νεώτερον ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχειν τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ τῷ δυνατόν εἶναι;

As πρεσβύτερον and νεώτερον are predicates with εἶναι, which is itself governed by δυνατόν, it is clear that ἔχειν should be ἔχον to correspond. So in 141 A οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν εἶη νεώτερον οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχον τὸ ἐν. There is nothing uncommon in a participle with εἶναι, especially if the participle is coordinate with adjectives.

141 B τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἄρα ἑαυτοῦ γιγνόμενον καὶ νεώτερον ἑαυτοῦ ἅμα γίγνεται, εἴπερ μέλλει ἔχειν ὅτον πρεσβύτερον γίγνεται.

The last γίγνεται should probably be γίγνηται, the common construction after ἔχειν.

143 A ἴθι δὴ καὶ τῇδε ἔτι <σκόπει>?

156 D 'ἄρ' οὖν ἔστι τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ



τότ' ἂν εἴη ὅτε μεταβάλλει; ' τὸ ποῖον δὴ; ' ' τὸ ἐξαίφνης; '

The first sentence seems devoid of meaning. Heindorf, followed by Stallbaum, thought Parmenides was going to put τὸ ἐξαίφνης at the end of his sentence, when he was interrupted by the question τὸ ποῖον δὴ. I should be inclined to read μεταβάλλει <τὸ τοιόνδε>; and to suppose that the loss was due to the great similarity between τὸ τοιόνδε and τὸ ποῖον δὴ. Just below should not ἡ ἐξαίφνης αὕτη φύσις be ἡ <τοῦ> ἐξαίφνης αὕτη φύσις?

163 c Read ὁ (for ὦ) ἂν φῶμεν with one Paris MS. (Bekker): and for πῶς οὐκ εἶναι read πῶς <μὲν> οὐκ εἶναι.

## EUTHYPHRO.

5 C σὲ μὲν οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὕτως ὀξέως ἀτεχνῶς καὶ ῥαδίως κατείδεν ὥστε κ.τ.λ.

'Ατεχνῶς is absent from the Bodleian MS. and bracketed or omitted by recent editors. Prof. Burnet suggests that it may represent ἀτενῶς. It is not clear whether he means that in that case Plato wrote ἀτενῶς and that ὀξέως is a gloss on it. That seems unlikely. 'Ατενῶς is probably not a word that would be used to qualify καθορᾶν, when καθορᾶν is used transitively. It expresses fixity and intensity of gaze (βλέπειν εἰς, θεᾶσθαι), whereas καθορᾶν is only to see, *descrie*, etc. Matthew Arnold could write of Sophocles that 'he saw life steadily,' but no one would say 'he saw me steadily.' ὀξέως on the other hand, which is not the same thing, is often coupled with καθορᾶν in Plato and elsewhere.

Is it possible that ἀτεχνῶς would really be in place before or after οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν? Cf. *Polit.* 288 A εἶδος...τῇ ζητουμένη...προσηκόν οὐδὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἐπιστήμη: *Ar. N.* 425 οὐδ' ἂν διαλεχθεῖν ἀτεχνῶς.

7 C περὶ τίνος δὲ δὴ διενεχθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα κρίσιν οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀφικέσθαι ἐχθροὶ γε ἂν ἀλλήλοις εἶμει;

Schanz *τινα* for *τίνα*. Perhaps it should be *τίνος*. Cf. B ἡ περὶ τίνων διαφορά; 13 D ἡ ἱατροῖς ὑπηρετικῇ εἰς τίνος ἔργου ὑπηρεσίαν τυγχάνει οὕσα ὑπηρετικῇ, etc.

*ibid.* ἴσως οὐ πρόχειρον σοὶ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος σκόπει.

Does not a λέγειν or something like it seem needed in the first clause?

11 B The old ὑποθώμεθα, though it seems to have no MS. authority, is surely more suitable to the context than προθώμεθα. It is however not mentioned by either Schanz or Burnet.

## CRITO.

45 E αἰσχύνομαι μὴ δόξῃ ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ περὶ σὲ ἀνδρῖά τινι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πεπραῆχθαι, καὶ ἡ εἴσοδος τῆς δίκης..., καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀγών..., καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τουτί, ὥσπερ κατάγελως τῆς πράξεως, κακία τινι καὶ ἀνδρῖά τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διαπεφυνγῆναι ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν.

In spite of the length of the sentence it is difficult to believe that Plato wrote what comes to μὴ δόξῃ τουτί δοκεῖν διαπεφυνγῆναι ἡμᾶς. Δοκεῖν being intolerable, I am inclined to think that Plato wrote δόξει. Each step in the change (δόξει to δοκεῖ, δοκεῖ to δοκεῖν) is quite frequent. The future is slightly irregular but very much in Plato's manner.

## APOLOGY.

18 B οἱ ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς...ἐπειθὸν τε καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ [μᾶλλον] οὐδὲν ἀληθές, ὡς ἔστιν τις Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἰά τε μετέωρα φροντιστὴς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς πάντα ἀνεζητηκὼς κ.τ.λ.

23 C λέγουσιν ὡς Σωκράτης τίς ἐστι μιᾶς τῆς καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους.

If in 23 C ἐστὶ were only the copula, could *τις* stand first? should it not then be *μιᾶς τῆς καὶ διαφθείρει*? This reflection and the comparison of 18 B seem to show that it is *ἐστι*, not *ἐστὶ*; 'there is a very objectionable person named Socrates.' But then Plato can not have gone on *καὶ διαφθείρει*. The fact seems to be that the last letters of the adjective have absorbed a relative pronoun, and that we should read Σ. *τις ἐστι μιᾶς τῆς καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους*.

For τὰ μετέωρα φροντιστής, which there is no sufficient reason to suspect, the best parallel is *Ar. Poet.* 4, 1448 b 34 ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος (*Vahlen ad loc.*). Another good prose parallel is *Xen. R. L.* 13, 11 ἱερὴ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Perhaps we might add Plato *Symp.* 196 E ποιητῆς ὁ Ἔρως ἀγαθὸς πᾶσαν ποίησιν, but there ἀγαθός may determine the construction.

I do not think Mr. Adam makes out any case for retaining *μᾶλλον* but putting it after οὐδέν. He fails to see that οὐδέν *μᾶλλον* can only be used in its idiomatic way when there are two sentences or parts of a sentence, which it brings into a sort of antithesis. You can say e.g. *κατηγοροῦντες οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἐπειθὸν* because the participle and verb stand more or less apart, but in *κατηγοροῦν οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἀληθές* the elements of an antithesis are insufficient. It is curious that 36 D presents another im-

possible μάλλον, of which Adam's defence is still more unsatisfactory. There however the probable source of the error is more obvious than it is here.

19 C καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀτιμάζων λέγω τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστήμην, εἴ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφός ἐστιν—μή πως ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Μελήττου τοσαύτας δίκας φεύγοιμι (not φύγοιμι)—ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδέν μέτεστιν.

I have not found anywhere, though it has probably been given, what seems to me the right explanation of *μή πως* κ.τ.λ. Setting aside the view that *μή* is here final, we take the words as expressing a wish. But what is the exact meaning of *τοσαύτας δίκας*? 'So grave a charge' (Jowett) it cannot mean, even if that made satisfactory sense under the circumstances, because *δίκη*, not *δίκαι*, is invariably used, at any rate in prose, for a single suit or action. It must then be 'so many actions.' This is sometimes explained to mean (1) an action for contempt of *ἐπιστήμη* as well as one on the charge on which Socrates is now actually arraigned. But 'so many actions as that would amount to' seems to me very feeble, when only two are meant: and there is also the objection to be stated in a moment. Then we have the view (2) indicated by Heindorf and developed by Schanz that *τοσαύτας* refers to the number of separate branches of knowledge, in this case of natural science, which he might be arraigned for slighting or insulting. Schanz adopts this explanation in his commentary (1893), but feels bound to alter *Μελήττου* to *Μελήτων*, a number of Meletuses or persons like Meletus. But at least three objections present themselves to this theory. First Socrates does not distinguish the various branches, so as to lead up to the plural *τοσαύτας*: he says *τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστήμην*. The sciences were not at that time so differentiated. Then why in such a connection should Socrates put it all upon Meletus, when he takes pains to assert that, as it was, there were other accusers representing in a way (23 E) separate professions or sets of people? (This, I suppose, is the sort of reason for which Schanz would read the plural *Μελήτων*). Finally what sort of verisimilitude or propriety is there in suggesting that he could ever be indicted by Meletus or anyone like him for contemning science? Need it be pointed out [that no action would lie for anything of the kind, and still further that the Meletuses would according to Socrates be the last people to bring such an action, if it did lie? The

prejudice against Socrates, on which he dwells, was that he knew too much and that he busied himself too much with these scientific speculations. That is the very source (he says) of the feeling against him. And yet he is supposed to think of Meletus as actually arraigning him for not treating such speculations with due respect. This last objection seems quite fatal to any interpretation of the passage that makes contumelious treatment of science a possible charge.

What explanation then remains? I think simply this. 'I don't speak thus by way of casting any reflection upon such knowledge, if anyone really has it. I hope Meletus may never bring actions against me enough to make me do that.' If accused of science, a man might in self-defence not only disclaim it, but court the goodwill of his judges by speaking of it with a cowardly affectation of contempt.

22 A δὲ δὴ ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν πλάνην ἐπιδείξαι ὥσπερ πόνους τιὰς ποιοῦντος, ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἢ μαντεία γένοιτο.

I think those critics are right who from Stephanus downwards have wished to insert a *μή* in the final clause, reading *ἵνα μή μοι* κ.τ.λ. and whose proposal now gains support from the old Armenian version. Without this insertion the words mean 'that the oracle might be made irrefutable.' It is perhaps questionable whether you can properly be said to make a thing irrefutable by unsuccessful attempts to refute it. *Γένοιτο* is not quite the same thing as *φανείη οὖσα*. Moreover this hardly represents Socrates' real state of mind, as he describes it. He was perplexed by the oracle and set to work, not to prove its truth—that was not his direct object—but to test its truth and ascertain its exact meaning. He thought it must be true (21 B), but he wanted to make sure. His object was to verify (in the proper sense of that word) and to understand, not to demonstrate. He therefore began with an instance which was likely, if any, to upset the proposition that the god had laid down: 21 B ἦλθον ἐπὶ τινα τῶν δοκούντων σοφῶν εἶναι, ὡς ἐνταῦθα εἶπερ που ἐλέγξων τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἀποφανὼν τῷ χρησμῷ ὅτι οὐτοσί ἐμοῦ σοφώτερός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἐφθσα. In other words his object was, not directly ἐλέγχειν τὸ μαντεῖον in the sense of refuting or exposing it, but to test it and thus possibly refute it. Though ἐλέγχειν means both *test* and *refute*, εἶπερ που shows clearly that *refute* is the meaning here. Having then started according to his own statement

with the idea of possibly refuting the oracle, not indeed expecting to do so but contemplating it as a thing that might happen, how can he describe himself as labouring to make or prove the oracle irrefutable? It is true that presently he speaks of himself as *βοηθῶν τῷ θεῷ* (23 B) in exposing the pretence of knowledge. But this is at a much later time, when he has long found out the meaning of the oracle and is perfectly satisfied as to its truth. *Ἐλέγχειν* refers to his first immediate perplexity, *βοηθεῖν* to the settled conviction of his after-life.

We are then to read *ἵνα μή* for *ἵνα* and understand that he set out on his labours in order that he might not leave the truth of the oracle untested, that he might not too readily take it for granted as true in its first and most obvious sense. His labours were rewarded by the discovery that it was true but not in this sense, and he had therefore good ground for rejoicing that he had not left it unexamined and untested.

This view seems fully confirmed by a passage in the *Philebus*, which as far as I know has not been quoted in this connection and which is really my justification for this long note. In 41 B we read *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δόγμα, ἕως ἂν κέηται παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀδύνατον ἀνέλεγκτον δὴπου γίνεσθαι*, and I will add Badham's words; 'the sense of the passage thus becomes plain: *But until this judgment (of mine) is approved and established in us both, it is impossible for it to escape (or become exempt from) examination.* I have endeavoured to give the force of the word *γίνεσθαι*, which, as will be seen, signifies a great deal more than *εἶναι*.'

23 A *ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι σοφὸς εἶναι* is condemned both by the bad grammar of the nominative *σοφός* and by the bad sense of making a name for wisdom the consequence of unpopularity. Schanz is therefore probably right in reading (1893) *λέγομαι*. The infinitive will be due to the mistake of a scribe who connected the clause with *ὥστε* ... *γεγονέναι* preceding.

What follows contains perhaps the hardest thing in the *Apology*: *τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ τοῦτο λέγειν, ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγον τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδενός, καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτον λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη, προσκεχρησθαι δὲ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν <εἰ> εἴποι κ.τ.λ.*

*Τοῦτον* is admittedly wrong, and either *τοῦτο* or *τοῦτ' οὐ* is usually read for it. But neither is at all satisfactory. (1) *τοῦτο*, if read, means that human knowledge is a

mere pretence. But it is quite untrue to say that the oracle *appears* to say this of Socrates, and, if *φαίνεται* means *is found in reality*, it is also untrue that the oracle really said this of Socrates. The oracle did not even *mean* it (*λέγειν* in another sense) of Socrates: it meant it of all mankind, Socrates of course included. (2) *τοῦτ' οὐ* is equally unsatisfactory. *Τοῦτο* is now explained to mean and must mean the being wise or possessed of genuine knowledge (*τὸ σοφὸν εἶναι*). But it is most unlikely that *τοῦτο* in *τοῦτ' οὐ λέγειν* should be something quite different from the *τοῦτο* in *τοῦτο λέγειν* just before: the *σοφὸν εἶναι* is not in reality quite obvious to supply; and the very repetition of the phrase *τοῦτο λέγειν* is inartistic. *τοῦτο* in this case cannot be the unreality of knowledge, because *φαίνεται οὐ λέγειν*, meaning *turns out not to say*, would imply that at first sight it seemed to say, which it did not. It would certainly seem that the sense required is 'the oracle does not really mean that Socrates has knowledge,' and I do not see how to get this without rather larger change. Two possible lines of emendation occur to me, but I do not mention them with any confidence. One would be *καὶ φαίνεται τοιοῦτον λέγειν τὸν Σ., προσκεχρηται δὲ κ.τ.λ.* 'The god seems to call Socrates wise, but really he has just made use of my name.' The corruption of *προσκεχρηται* to *προσκεχρησθαι* would be like that of *λέγομαι* (?) to *λέγεσθαι* above, and due to the same cause, an infinitive preceding. Or we might read something like *τοιοῦτον οὐ λέγειν...προσκεχρησθαι δὲ...i.e.* 'it appears that he does not really call Socrates wise, but has only made use,' etc. Another possible form of sentence would be *κινδυνεύει...σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ...τοῦτο λέγειν ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγον τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδενός, καὶ φαίνεται τοιοῦτον λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη, προσκεχρησθαι δὲ κ.τ.λ.* In this latter form *προσκεχρησθαι* would depend on *κινδυνεύει*. It may be noticed that an *εἰ* has obviously fallen out two lines lower before *εἴποι*.

26 D 'Ἀναξαγόρου οἷε κατηγορεῖν κ.τ.λ.

I cannot see any sufficient reason for doubting, with Schanz and others, the correctness of 'Ἀναξαγόρου, though it must be admitted that Socrates' meaning is not expressed as clearly as it might have been. Possibly the want of clearness is intentional, for, beautiful as the *Apology* is, any logical reader must detect in it certain defects of reasoning which, if Gorgias or Protagoras



were the speaker, might be called sophistry. But the meaning appears to be this. Meletus taxes Socrates with irreligious ideas about the sun and the moon. Socrates rejoins that in the *first* place he does not hold any such views and Meletus must be confounding him with Anaxagoras who did, and that in the *second* it would be absurd to tax him with having propounded such ideas as original views of his own, when everybody knew that they had been put forward fifty years ago by Anaxagoras. (It will be observed that Meletus is not made to charge Socrates with propounding them as original. Socrates is ridiculing an accusation that Meletus had not brought). The want of clearness consists in the fact that the two points are not put markedly enough as distinct. 'I don't hold any such opinions, and, if I did, I certainly should not claim originality for them.' But it is the first point which is really important, though more space is given for the moment to the second. The main thing is that he does not hold the opinions in question. Now the omission of 'Ἀναξαγόρου' (Schanz) or the substitution of Σωκράτους (Baiter) would drop the first and important point altogether. Meletus would say 'he thinks the sun is only stone,' and Socrates would answer 'well, there is nothing new in that.' But, if he does not deny the charge here, he does not deny it at all, for the argument beginning in 26 Ε ἀλλ', ὃ πρὸς Διὸς κ.τ.λ. has no reference to this charge specifically. He may believe even in gods and yet hold this offensive theory about the sun. (It might be thought that 'Ἀναξαγόρου' is likely to be wrong because of the addition of τοῦ Κλαζομενίου to 'Ἀναξαγόρου' immediately afterwards. Cf. however the *Clouds*, where Chaerephon is mentioned just by his name in 144 and then in 156, as though not already mentioned, referred to as X. ὁ Σφήττιος.) This argument, if sound, will show that καί is right as well as 'Ἀναξαγόρου' and not to be altered to ἤ. All three main clauses are to be made interrogative, and not with Schanz affirmative.

I should like to add a remark on the much disputed words ἀ ξέεστιν ἐνίστε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένοισι Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν. The use of εἰίστε has been turned against the bookselling theory of the passage. The use is indeed somewhat odd, at any rate at first sight, but as far as I can see it is equally a difficulty on either interpretation; or rather perhaps, when examined, it is more of a difficulty on the old view. If we take the words as uttered, so to speak, in a breath, *sometimes*

is certainly hard to understand; *doctrines which you can sometimes buy for a drachma at most*. We should rather say *which you can buy any day, always*. But ἐνίστε... δραχμῆς is a sort of little parenthesis or semi-detached group of words: *which it is open to you—sometimes, if unusually dear, they may cost you a drachma—to buy in the orchestra*. Leaving out of sight the fact, which we may really regard as established, that there were no drachma seats in the theatre of Dionysus, I hardly see what would be the point of saying that a man might possibly have to give as much as a drachma for a seat. There were undoubtedly plenty of two-obol seats, even if there were also dearer ones. But for a book on a stall, if he wanted it, a man might very well have to give a drachma.

27 Ε ὅπως δὲ σύ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα ἄνθρωπον, ὡς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ δαίμονια καὶ θεῖα ἡγέσθαι, καὶ αὖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μῆτε δαίμονας μῆτε θεοὺς μῆτε ἥρωας, οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανῇ ἐστίν.

Schanz in his commentary completely alters this sentence by insertions and omissions. In his text of 1877 he had inserted nothing but omitted the second τοῦ αὐτοῦ and μῆτε ἥρωας. Even Mr. Adam would make insertions here, though not the same, and Burnet follows Rieckher in omitting οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Μῆτε ἥρωας is unimportant, and for the rest it is clear that any change is necessary? 'You will never persuade anybody that the same man will not believe in both δαίμονια and θεῖα,' (that is, a man must believe in θεῖα, if he believes in δαίμονια): 'or again that the same man will not disbelieve in both δαίμονες and θεοί,' (that is, he must disbelieve in δαίμονες, if he disbelieves in θεοί). There is a slight objection to the *form* of the latter clause, as μῆτε θεοὺς μῆτε δαίμονας would seem the more logical order. It is possible that Plato really wrote the words so, and μῆτε ἥρωας would then come in better, in immediate sequence on δαίμονας. But, even if he did not, the meaning may fairly be got from the words, when we know from the context what it is. There is also a slight objection to the *substance* of the former clause, for, though Socrates seems here to be recapitulating, he has not previously argued directly from δαίμονια to θεῖα, only from δαίμονια to δαίμονες and from δαίμονες to θεοί. But the slipping in of the θεῖα is very easy and the point is virtually implied in the parallel inference of θεοί from δαίμονες.

In the sentence almost immediately pre-

ceding 'this those scholars are, I think, equally wrong who would omit τοὺς ἡμιόνους, necessary as it is not exactly to the logical justice of the illustration but to its artistic finish. Just as the offspring of gods are not gods but δαίμονες, so the offspring of horses are not horses but mules. On the other hand the contention that in this case Plato ought to have mentioned a possible denial of nymphs, to balance exactly the supposed denial of donkeys, seems to ask for too much. This is a small point that the reader can easily supply, and after all it is the gods who are in question. The nymphs do not matter.

I am not even sure that in εἰ τις ἵππων μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο ἢ καὶ ὄνων, τοὺς ἡμιόνους, we need omit ἢ. A man may be thinking or speaking of mules as offspring of horses or as offspring of donkeys. We may call them offspring of horses, as Simonides did when it was made worth his while. We may also call them offspring of donkeys. It is only when we want to be exact that we need specify both parents. But ἢ and καὶ are often confused, and one may very well have grown out of the other.

28 A ἃ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἤρηκεν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αἰρήσει· οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ στῇ.

After οὐδέν I should prefer γάρ to δέ. The two words are apt to get interchanged.

29 C ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰ με νῦν ἀφίετε..., εἰ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἵποιτε..., εἰ οὖν με, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀφίετε, εἵποιμ' ἂν ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.

Was not Stephanus right in wishing to change ἀφίετε to the optative? Be it remembered that, though εἰν ἀφῆτε can refer and usually does refer to future time, εἰ ἀφίετε cannot. It is not like our *if you acquit*, i.e. *if you shall acquit*, but it would ordinarily mean *if you are now acquitting*. It can only stand here, if at all, in the sense *if you are feeling inclined to acquit*, which is not really very suitable. What is really wanted is *if you were to feel inclined, were to propose, to acquit*, and that is εἰ ἀφίετε.

31 D φωνή τις γιγνομένη ἢ ὅταν γένηται αἰεὶ ἀποτρέπει με.

Read γίγνηται for γένηται, which would mean 'after its occurrence.' Cf. the note on *Phaedr.* 256 E. In *Phil.* 26 E τὰ γινόμενα διὰ τιν' αἰτίαν γίγνεσθαι and *Laws* 687 C τὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπίταξιν τὰ γινόμενα γίγνεσθαι we might just as well read γεγόμενα as keep γένηται here. Cf. *Meno* 100 A and B (παραγιγνομένη... παραγίγνηται). In

the parallel passage *Theages* 128 D the same change should be made twice, as the present tense ἀνακονῶται helps to show.

34 A νῦν παρασχέσθω—ἐγὼ παραχωρῶ—καὶ λεγέτω.

Perhaps ἐγὼ <γὰρ> παραχωρῶ. γάρ and παρ are almost undistinguishable.

36 B ἀμελήσας ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοί.

It is certain that the sense required is *disregarding what most men regard*. I should call it equally certain that by Greek usage the idea to be supplied with ὥνπερ is the idea which precedes it. For instance in ἐπιθυμῶ ὥνπερ οἱ ἄλλοι we can only understand ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. I should therefore feel quite certain that some such word as φροντίζουσι (not οὐ, as Schanz thinks) had been omitted here by accident, if it did not seem just possible that ἀμελήσας might be resolved into οὐδὲν ἐπιμεληθείς. οὐδὲν μέλει μοι ὥνπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις would be unimpeachable, and possibly ἀμελήσας might be regarded only as an equivalent. Is there any example of a positive word, verb, substantive, or adjective, being thus as it were supplied out of the privative compound? I do not think the common cases where πᾶς is supplied to a new clause from οὐδέις, φησί from οὐ φησί, etc., help us much, especially as the clauses are always antithetic in form.

37 B ἀντὶ τούτου δὴ ἔλωμαι ὦν εἴ οἱδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων, τούτου τιμησάμενος; πότερον δεσμού;... ἀλλὰ χρημάτων καὶ δεδέσθαι;

Schanz and Burnet seem right in following Baumann and reading τι for ὅτι with one inferior MS. Adam reads ἔχωμαι but (1) this would be a misuse of ἔχειν, which is not to *take hold*, but to *keep hold*; (2) ὦν εἴ οἱδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων is impossible Greek. The parenthetic use of οἱδ' ὅτι is nothing to the point, for it is parenthetic and can be removed without affecting the construction, e.g. πάντων [οἱδ' ὅτι] φησάντων ἂν (Mr. Adam's instance), whereas here κακῶν ὄντων would be governed by it. The Greek expression would be ὦν εἴ οἱδ' ὅτι κακὰ ἐστὶ. Cf. *Rep.* 465 D διὰ μικρὸν μέρος ὦν τοῖσι ὑπάρχει: *Herod.* 1, 78 οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἡν περὶ Σάρδεις: *Thuc.* 7, 67 ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν παρεσκεύασται: *Ar. Rhet.* 1, 5, 1361 B 14 τὸ μὴδὲν ἔχειν ὦν τὸ γῆρας λωβᾶται: *C.I.A.* ii. 281. 12 περὶ πάντων ὧν γέγονε. In *Hipp. Min.* 363 D ὅτι ἂν τις βούληται ὦν ἂν μοι εἰς ἐπιδείξιν παρεσκευασμένον ἢ I do not see how anything but παρεσκευασμένα ἢ could be right, like παρεσκευασται in Thucydides; Stallbaum's παρεσκευασμένων would be as bad as ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων here.

Possibly Meiser's τοῦ for τούτου, whereby τοῦ τιμησάμενος becomes a distinct question, like τί δέισας above, is to be preferred. It accounts better for the genitives δεσμοῦ and χρημάτων, which might be expected otherwise rather to follow the construction of τι, if τι is right, after ἔλωμαι.

The omission of the article before δεδέσθαι is very unusual, nor do I know anything in prose quite like it. It may be due, if right, to there being no article with χρημάτων. Cf. however Ar. *Ach.* 196-7, where μὴ ᾽πιτηρεῖν represents a genitive, unless 197 and 198 are to change places.

38 D ἀπορία μὲν ἐάλωκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμης καὶ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν λέγειν κ.τ.λ.

‘μὴ T Arm.: om. B’ Burnet, who retains it. It can hardly be right. No

doubt Thucydides 2, 49 has ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν, where μὴ is superfluous, but the interposition of τόλμης καὶ ἀναισχυντίας here entirely alters the case. Anything added further must be as positive as they are. I do not however feel sure that τῷ ἐθέλειν, parallel to ἀπορία, may not be what Plato wrote.

39 B καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι...καὶ ἐγὼ τε τῷ τιμήματι ἐμμένω καὶ οὔτοι.

Ἐμμένω will be better both in sense and in conformity to ἄπειμι. He does not mean that he and they are now abiding or disposed to abide by the judgment, but that in the future they will have to accept it and acquiesce. In *Crito* 50 c ἐμμενεῖν is now read for ἐμμένειν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

## TRAVERSARIUS AND CODEx V OF CATULLUS.

GEORG VOIGT says in his *Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums* (3d. ed., Vol. I., p. 439), ‘Als Traversari die alte Dombibliothek und die von S. Zenone durchstöberte, fand er nichts darin, was seine Aufmerksamkeit gefesselt hätte. Aus jener Sammlung waren klassische Schätze wie die Briefe Cicero’s an Giangaleazzo von Mailand geschenkt worden; der berühmte Catullus war verschollen.’ This statement by Voigt seems also to have been copied by others.

Failing to find a copy of the *Hodoeпоericon* of Traversarius in any one of the larger libraries of the United States that I consulted, I rested for several years under the impression drawn from the words of Voigt that Traversarius distinctly stated that no MS. of Catullus existed in the chapter-library at Verona at the time he inspected it. A few months ago the matter recurred to my mind in Venice, and examination showed that neither Traversarius himself nor his biographer, Laurentius Mehus, makes any distinct mention of Catullus at all, nor is there any evidence that I can find to show clearly that *codex V* was not still among the treasures of the chapter-library in 1433 A.D. The facts appear to be as follows: Ambrosius Traversarius had recently been appointed general of the monastic order of the Camaldulenses, and being a good disciplinarian as well as a pious man, he determined to make a general visitation of the houses of

the order in northern Italy, with a view to the correction of certain abuses and scandals that had been reported as existing among them. In the course of this journey, the journal of which constitutes his *Hodoeпоericon*, he managed to combine with his official duties the pleasure of an inspection of as many libraries as fell in his way. His main question in these libraries was after MSS. of works previously unknown, at least to him. Discoveries of this sort he chronicles carefully, while of other libraries he records briefly that he found there nothing except works already known to him. He began his journey from Florence on the first day of May 1433, and arrived in Verona ‘quarto ac decimo kalendas Augusti.’ From this point I quote his own words (*Hodoeпо.* p. 34); ‘Postridie a Praefecto urbis data opera (nam ita inter nos conuenerat) Ecclesiae maioris Bibliothecam (erat autem celeberrima) uidimus. Plurima ibi erant uolumina mirae uetustatis quae singulatim discussimus omnia; nihil tamen fere praeter quam consueueramus inuenimus.’ Nor does his biographer know anything more than Traversarius himself recorded; cf. *Ambrosii Traversarii gen. Camald. . . Latinae Epistolae . . . Accedit eiusdem Ambrosii uita . . . a Laurentio Mehus* (Florentiae . . . MDCCCLIX), Vol. II., p. ccccx. ‘Evoluit deinde Bibliothecam Monasterii S. Zenonis sacris abundantem codicibus, tum alteram illam cele-



berrimam Ecclesiae maioris in qua plurima reperit mirae vetustatis, quae singulatim discussit omnia. Nihil tamen fere, praeter ea, quae usu uenerant, inuenit.<sup>1</sup> The manner of other entries in his diary makes it perfectly certain that the writer would not have mentioned a MS. of Catullus, even if he had noticed one in the library, unless he had not previously become acquainted with the works of that author. But that he must have known Catullus before this time appears almost certain from general considerations, though a lack of time in Venice precluded any attempt to establish this fact on an indubitable basis, if indeed it can be so established. Traversarius was a resident of Florence, the city to which Coluccio Salutati had long before introduced Catullus; he was the friend of the most active Florentine humanists; he was keenly interested

in classical as well as in ecclesiastical writings; and although Catullus had in some mysterious way escaped general attention during the first part of the fifteenth century, Traversarius made his journey several years after that revival of Catullus, which was due, perhaps, rather to Poggio than to Guarinus. The only fair conclusion, therefore, seems to be that there is no evidence at all to be derived from the journal of Traversarius in favour of the theory that the Veronese codex of Catullus was not in the capitular library of the poet's birthplace when the abbot-general visited it in 1433. I am, however, personally of the opinion, for quite other reasons, that it had disappeared from Verona before that time.

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#### THE FROG OF HORACE, SATIRES I. 5.

It is well known that editors differ in regard to the date of Horace's journey to Brundisium, some (as Schütz and Palmer) assigning it to the autumn of B.C. 38, others (as Orelli) to the spring of B.C. 37. Both sides claim the croaking of the frogs (l. 14) as evidence, the one regarding this as an autumnal, the other as a vernal phenomenon. In this difficulty, I applied to Mr. A. E. Shipley, of Christ's College, a zoologist who has worked in Naples. He writes to me as follows:

'The frog that croaks in Central and S. Italy is *Rana esculenta*. It begins early in the year and croaks in concert from February

to April or so. The earlier croakings are probably connected with the pairing, which takes place quite early in the year. After it is over, the concerts still continue, due, like a lark's song, to a kind of "Lebenslust." After the concerts cease, in the spring or early summer, croaks may still be heard as late as August or even a trifle later, but they are isolated and not in chorus, and naturally not so easily heard. I have consulted Dr. Gadow, who is our authority here (in Cambridge) on frogs and I think the above is pretty accurate.'

J. Gow.

#### THE SECOND FLORENTINE MS. OF SILIUS ITALICUS.<sup>1</sup>

In Blass' masterly monograph *Die Textesquellen des Silius Italicus*, he shews that all the MSS. of that author now known to exist come from the MS., or more probably a copy of the MS., which Poggio discovered about the year 1417. He shews that of these MSS. those denoted in Bauer's edition by the letters LFOV are the only reliable ones, and that LF's tradition is superior to

that of OV. He believed indeed that LF<sup>2</sup> came from a copy of the archetype different from that whence OV and all the others descended (see Blass p. 226).

In deciding to make L, rather than F, the basis of his text Blass was led by certain practical considerations. F is in many respects a puzzling MS. Along with many peculiar readings which are right or at all

<sup>1</sup> Codex bibliothecae Aedilium ecclesiae Florentinae CXCVI.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly, LF and another comparatively unimportant MS. which he calls L<sup>4</sup>.

events give us the best means of divining what is right, it has the most outrageous corruptions of common words and frequently leaves spaces for syllables, words or half lines which the scribe could not decipher. Still, F might be most valuable as an ignorant, but honest MS.; L might be a mere 'edition.' To this Blass replies (p. 230) that L cannot have invented *all* its peculiar good readings and that (apart from the fact that he thinks F shews signs of interpolation<sup>1</sup>) the existence of so many corruptions and lacunae, and the difficulty of distinguishing the various hands make it impossible to use F as a basis (p. 234).

Thilo suggested (*Jahrb. für kl. Philol.* 1891 p. 601) that F's peculiarities might be explained by supposing it to be a direct copy of the MS. which was brought to Italy (generally denoted by S). That F might be this MS. itself had occurred to Blass, who rejected the idea 'on internal grounds' (p. 239 note). Bauer, in a paper dealing with Thilo's (*Handschriftl. und kritisch-exeget. Erörterungen zu den Punctis Sil. Ital.* 1893) says that Thilo's idea also had occurred to Blass, among whose papers he found some notes on the subject (*l.c.* p. 6), in which he objected that F often left spaces for words which were at once filled up, by the first hand—presumably from another MS. which was at the copyist's disposal. As Bauer notes, this objection tells only against anyone who maintains that F was the *first* direct copy of S.<sup>2</sup>

Thilo indeed propounded a theory that L was based on OV. This obviously untenable position he himself in course of correspondence with Bauer, abandoned for a new one, according to which L, F and OV represented three distinct copies of S. Bauer refuted this by shewing (*l.c.* pp. 9 sqq.) how closely L and F agreed, against OV, on such details as *tum, tunc; ac, at; pro-, pre-, prae-* for *pre, pro, pro-; c, t;* etc, etc., and concluded with a shrewd guess that

Poggio, as well as Bartolomeo, had a copy of the MS. they discovered and that LF came from this copy, F being earlier than L.

In *Class. Rev.* 1899, pp. 119 sqq. Mr. Clark handles afresh this question of F's origin. The letter of Poggio's which he there gives proves that Bauer was right in guessing that Poggio had a copy of his own. I quote the portions of it which immediately concern us.

Mitto ad te...Silium Italicum (and other works). Is qui libros transcriptis ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium fuit: diuinare oportet, non legere,<sup>3</sup> ideoque opus est ut transcribantur per hominem doctum. ego legi usque ad xiii librum Sili, multa emendandi ita ut...facile sit similes errores deprehendere eosque corrigere in reliquis libris.

Mr. Clark draws attention to (1) F's peculiar character as described by Blass (2) the fact that its writer begins with Gothic minuscule to which he occasionally recurs from the cursive in which the bulk of the MS. is written (3) the fact that Blass thought F<sup>2</sup> (which often gives very good readings) might be due to fresh consultation of the archetype. He then goes on to say: 'it is impossible not to suspect that F is the copy made for him (Poggio) by his local scribe, the *ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium*. If this is so, all difficulties disappear. The two families FL<sup>3</sup> and QVG<sup>4</sup> represent two apographs, one made for Poggio, the other for Bartolomeo—both written *Germani librarii manu*. This explains the Gothic hand employed by the writer of F<sup>5</sup>...The readings in the margin of F are at once intelligible if we suppose this second hand to have been Poggio' (*l.c.* pp. 127, 128).

The object of this paper is to point out that the difficulties do *not* all disappear. In Blass' monograph itself will be found several points that require clearing up.

(1) We have seen that Blass believes F guilty of interpolation.

(2) On the very page whence Mr. Clark gets his information as to F's Gothic script, p. 231, Blass says that F<sup>2</sup>, though *later* than F<sup>1</sup>, may very possibly represent the same hand—i.e. not Poggio, but the *ignorantissimus* of the letter.

(3) At the end of F is a life of Silius, the

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the inscription on F: *hacc legens apes imitare*.

<sup>4</sup> L<sup>3</sup> = Bauer's L, Q = Blass' (and Bauer's) O. With G we are not here concerned.

<sup>5</sup> But it hardly explains why he wrote mainly not in Gothic?

<sup>1</sup> Thilo, in the paper referred to later on, rejects the exx. given by Blass (p. 233)—only four in all. Certainly, to charge F with interpolation in i. 166 (*quem postquam—uidit Deformem leti famulus clam corripit censem*) is most unjust. For *leti* F has *lateri*. *Leti* was written *laeti* in its archetype (cp. iv. 633, where LFOV have *laeto* for *letio*), and F made *lacteri* or *lateri* of it: cp. v. 138, *illacerabile* OV *illetabile* L, F at first as OV, then corrects to L; ix. 504, MSS. *laetatur, laceratur*; xi. 45, MSS. *laeto, latea, lacera*. F's interpolations hardly affect F itself—if, as is implied by Blass (p. 231), they are distinguishable as *later* additions.

<sup>2</sup> Is it certain that Blass was not rebutting the theory he referred to in *Textesquellen*, that F was S itself?

same as is found in Pomponius Laetus' ed. Rom. 1471. That it comes direct from this ed. is pretty clear, as the MS. borrows even the final words *opus iam neglectum Pomponius recognovit*—words well in place in the ed. Rom. but hardly so here. Now Blass twice admits the possibility that this life was written in by the hand which wrote the MS. itself (see pp. 175, 231), and if it was, the *ignorantissimus* of 1417 is out of the question.

(4) Where are Poggio's corrections *usque ad XIII. librum*? The corrections in F are fairly evenly distributed, so that someone must have carried on the work in the other books. However, Poggio may have done this himself later on. The main point is, are the corrections in F as numerous as one would imagine Poggio's must have been? I think not.

(5) All F<sup>2</sup> cannot be due to Poggio. For instance at i. 624,<sup>1</sup> xv. 648 F gave the right and obvious reading; there was no reason for Poggio to consult the archetype, and perhaps still less why, if he did, he should record such inferior readings as F<sup>2</sup> gives.

These difficulties are not insuperable. A fresh examination of F, by Mr. Clark's experienced eyes, would be very valuable. It might lead to the differences of the hands being definitely settled, so that we could suppose that the original F really was Poggio's MS., and that Poggio's was *one* of the correcting hands. But it is obvious that Mr. Clark's hypothesis does not, at once, simplify matters.

But on Mr. Clark's theory L must be a copy from F. I do not think this possible. Certain words and lines appear in L which are wanting in F, and F's eccentricities vanish in L. Correction then (by conjecture, or use of other MSS., or both) has been brought to bear on L, or, more possibly, an ancestor of L's. The latter theory seems more plausible, as L's obvious blunders are rather in the way of its being itself corrected.

But there are difficulties in the way of the other alternative. This putative ancestor of L's must have been based on F, as the two MSS. are so closely alike; help would be called in when F failed. The following difficulties present themselves.

(1) When F left a space for a word (so at i. 146) other MSS. might well be resorted to. But at xiii. 333 *stant aures imoque cadit barba hispida mento* F omits *imoque* and L has *sumoque*. Would the 'editor'

have inserted a meaningless reading from another MS.? I think not: OV's *summo*, F<sup>2</sup>'s *ima* or *simo* would surely have been more likely to have been inserted.

(2) In iv. 503 a line is missing in F, but L has it. In some other cases where F drops a line, and L has it, the line was inserted by F<sup>2</sup> and of course the 'editor' might get it thence. He did not, however, do so at xvii. 336 where both L and F omit a line and F<sup>2</sup> supplies it.

(3) In viii. 502 F writes *sed posuit nomen populis*. LOV agree in transposing *posuit* and *populis*, so that this is doubtless the reading of the archetype. But if the theory at present discussed were correct, L must have agreed with F on such a point.

(4) Similar to the last example are cases where F gives a reading in itself unobjectionable (or at least not likely to be so to an 'editor') yet LOV agree in another. I select iii. 328 *cum pigra* (prima F according to Blass, p. 229) *incanuit aetas*, 522 *uiventi* (for *umentis*; *ingenti* F) *ruina*; iv. 179 *anhela* (*nuda* F); x. 202 *erinis* F, *euro* (for *enyo*) LOV.

(5) Blass' remark that all L's good readings could not be due to emendation was quoted above. This of course applies to the imaginary ancestor of L. And some of L's readings are clearly vestiges of the right reading which would hardly have survived the ordeal of an 'editor.' In ix. 631 for *afflixit* FOV have *ac flexit*, L *ac flixit*. It is impossible to imagine that L fluked here, and on the other hand an editor who desired *flixit* would have finished the correction. vi. 665 is another interesting passage. F has *donumque*, L *domum: que*. Whence the colon? On turning to OV we find, after *donum* (or the like), in O *coma q*, in V *coinaque*. I do not profess to understand this, but I feel sure that L's colon and OV's *coma*, *coina* are attempts to represent something in their respective originals. L's imaginary ancestor then had something of the same kind: but whence?

(6) What became of F's good readings—peculiar to itself, or shared only with the vanished Cologne MS.? A glance at Bauer's apparatus will supply a list: i. 4, 540: ii. 20, 483; v. 45; vi. 14 are typical. It is strange they should get corrupted by the time they reach L, stranger still that the corruptions practically always agree with OV. Two passages should be carefully noted. The first is vii. 154 where *medio* stands in the Cologne MS., *medio acci* in F, but *mediam* (with OV) in L. The other is ix.

<sup>1</sup> In i. l.c. LF<sup>2</sup> have *sonorum* for FOV's *senonum* (Blass, p. 232).



488 where the Cologne MS. has *fusosque per aequor ipse manu magna nebulam circumdatus acri Restituit pugnae*. FLOV agree in reading *nebula*; the only other variations are that F has *atra* at the end of the line, whilst LOV for *pugnae* have *pugnam*. F has, very unjustly, been suspected of interpolation here, though *atras* and *acris* have been confused elsewhere by LFOV. But that is by the way: the main point is how did the editor of L's ancestor come back to *acri*, which made nonsense with his interpolation *pugnam*.

(7) Lastly, the theory plays havoc with

the usual explanation for the variety of readings at i. 159, ii. 70, iii. 124, 264, etc.—variety of reading in the archetype. Thus at i. *l.c. Hermi flavescit harenis* F is right, OV reading *mi* as *in*, join it to the verb and write *her* (O indeed, characteristically, *hec*) *inflavescit*. But L has *hermus inflavescit*. Blass supposed that the archetype had *heri*, with *mj* written above, and that L misread the *j* as the abbreviation for *-us*. But if L came from F this explanation cannot stand—and it is difficult to find another.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

## REVIEWS.

### MANITIUS' TEXT OF GEMINUS.

Γεμίνου Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ Φαινόμενα. Gemini Elementa Astronomica ad Codicum fidem recensuit Germanica Interpretatione et Commentariis instruxit CAROLUS MANITIUS. (Lipsiae in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri.)

So many eminent critics have bestowed warm praise on the little Introduction to Astronomy which bears the name of Geminus, that there is something rather chilling in its latest editor's want of enthusiasm. But that Geminus has faults must be admitted, the more readily by those who are not quite so willing as Professor Manitius to make a convenient scapegoat of his more or less imaginary 'Excerptor.' His merits however are conspicuous enough to divert attention from a much greater number of faults; and make him fully worthy of the care and skill which Professor Manitius has devoted to him.

The most interesting points brought out in the Preface seem to be: first that the MSS. of Geminus are few and closely related, which is hardly what would be expected if the book were, as has been supposed, a compilation widely used for educational purposes; secondly that there exists a Latin version of the whole work which, though obviously made from an Arabic translation, must descend through the Arabic from a Greek manuscript older and fuller than any which has come down to us. By the aid of this Latin version Professor Manitius has been able, not only to make

several important restorations of the Greek text, but to obtain what he thinks conclusive evidence that the well-known *Sphaera Procli*, which, as has long been known, is no more than an arrangement of certain chapters from Geminus, cannot possibly have been compiled by Proclus. For *lacunae* common to all extant MSS. of Geminus and to the *Sphaera* apparently did not exist in the MS. which was used, several centuries later than Proclus, by the Arab translator.

Turning now to the German notes and commentary at the end of the book, the reader will find a full discussion of the questions which have been raised—often without the faintest hope of an answer—as to the date, nationality, and literary performances of Geminus. On these problems Professor Manitius brings to bear a learning and sagacity which are truly admirable, even to those who may doubt the possibility of drawing valuable inferences from the titles of books cited casually by ancient authors. Who shall decide, when the books themselves have long perished, whether Freeman's 'Normans in Sicily' was the same as his 'Norman Conquest,' whether 'Robinson Crusoe' was or was not a mere epitome of 'The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe'? The principal achievement of Professor Manitius himself in this discussion is to discredit the reading *ἐν τῷ θάλασσῃ* in the chapter on the celestial globe (p. 50 of this edition), by which Geminus is made to say that *here* the northern tropic

is divided in the ratio of five to three, and which has been supposed to afford ground for thinking that he wrote at Rome. It is certainly clear that this was not the reading which the Arab translator found, and whether Professor Manitius can be considered quite successful in his proposed emendation or not, there can be little doubt that he has removed practically all reason for connecting Geminus with Rome; and we are therefore probably safe in considering the name as Greek, and pronouncing it *Geminus*. We may also, I think, agree that the observations about the shifting date of the Isis festival (p. 108) justify the natural, and usual, conclusion that the author wrote about 75 B.C. The whole theory of Professor Manitius, which he does not pretend to regard with full confidence, is as follows: Geminus was a Stoic, who composed a long commentary on the meteorological text-book of his master, Posidonius. This commentary he afterwards compressed into an epitome, which was current even as late as the time of Priscianus Lydus. And finally this epitome itself, in the fourth or fifth century, was made by some nameless and ignorant compiler into the abbreviated and interpolated work which has come down to us. If Professor Manitius is not right on all these points, it is at any rate very difficult to be sure that he is wrong on any. I confess to regarding with scepticism his view that Geminus himself wrote at Rhodes, while the excerptor lived at Constantinople, or at any rate somewhere in latitude 41°. Geminus may have written at Rhodes; but that he did, there seems to me no evidence other than such as might be taken to prove that any English geographer lived at Greenwich. The reasons why most globes were constructed for the latitude of Rhodes—as he practically tells us they were—are plain enough, and that he should have used such a globe needs no explanation. Nor can I understand either why what seems to me a very intelligible passage on p. 90 should be ascribed to the excerptor, or why, if it is, it should be held to convey any information about him. After it has been shown that the signs of the zodiac do not all take the same time to rise, the writer proceeds to say that this explains why, as Aratus in some lines which he quotes has pointed out, the same number of signs, namely six, rise and set in the longest as in the shortest night, although the longest night is six hours longer than the shortest. Now this proportion is correct only for the forty-first parallel, but as it is the pro-

portion given by Aratus himself, who is actually being quoted, there can surely be no reason whatever for detecting in it a reference to the situation of the person quoting him.

I can only notice a few of the questions bearing on the history of astronomy which are suggested by the researches of Professor Manitius.

The famous Calendar at the end of the book, which gives the time taken by the sun in passing through each sign of the zodiac, was supposed by Ideler to be based—as the remarks in Chapter I certainly are—on the solar theory of Hipparchus, the days being given in round numbers instead of fractions for the sake of convenience. But later research has shown that there was an earlier theory—that of Callippus—to which the calendar more nearly conforms, and Professor Manitius is doubtless right in referring the whole document, which mentions no observations nearly so recent as those of Hipparchus, to an earlier age than that of Geminus. His argument that Geminus, who expresses a poor opinion of weather-predictions, would never have inserted such a compilation in his book does not strike me as forcible: it might be replied that the admirable chapter on star-risings and the weather was written expressly to prepare his readers to discriminate between the value of the astronomical and meteorological predictions in the calendar. But whether Geminus inserted it or not, the calendar is not, as Ideler supposed, Hipparchian; and to me the question seems to arise whether there is not really much less of Hipparchus in the whole book than Ideler thought, or than Professor Manitius thinks, or than might, from the date of the author, have been expected. It has long been remarked that Geminus takes no notice of the important correction which Hipparchus had made in the accepted estimate of the length of the year. Is it as certain as Professor Manitius holds that he was better informed as to the length of the month?

Geminus in several places tells us that the exact length of the synodic month is 29 days  $+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{3}$ . This estimate, if worked out, will be found to differ by about 25 seconds from the true value as obtained by Hipparchus. Now in one passage of the *Εισαγωγή* (p. 116) this Hipparchian value is actually given; and Ideler therefore supposed that the other estimate, though Geminus certainly seems to offer it as absolutely correct, is in fact only offered as an earlier

and less close approximation to the truth. Professor Manitius proposes a solution of this difficulty. For critical reasons of some weight he strikes out altogether the passage containing the estimate of Hipparchus, but maintains at the same time that the other estimate, though different in appearance, is in fact the same, being merely the Hipparchian value reduced for shortness to the nearest convenient fraction of a day. This is certainly plausible, but it seems to me that there is something to be said on the other side. Geminus tells us (p. 114) that the error in the eight-year cycle (which gave 51 months of 30 days to 48 of 29 days) was corrected by comparing the average month deduced from this cycle with the true value  $29\text{ days} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{33}$ . Now if he is here telling us how mistakes really were found out, and not merely how they may be found out, it seems impossible that the Hipparchian estimate can have been thus employed at a time which was certainly long before Hipparchus. Moreover, Geminus says that the 99 months of the eight-year period were shown, on the application of this test, to be one day and a half short; and this is exactly true if we take the fractional estimate as it stands, but only approximately true if we translate it into the Hipparchian value. It may be urged that what Geminus says is not history, and that in fact the early reformers detected the error of the eight-year cycle by its discordance, not with a theoretical estimate, but with the phases of the moon. Still it seems to me far from certain that the month of Geminus is intended to be the month of Hipparchus.

There is another passage (p. 134) showing a remarkable divergence from Hipparchus, upon which Professor Manitius comments with less than his usual accuracy. Geminus there says that the breadth of the earth's shadow at the distance of the moon is two degrees. Now we know that Hipparchus estimated the breadth, at the moon's mean distance, to be not twice, as his predecessors had held, but two and a half times the diameter of the moon; but even so the shadow, according to him, would only have a width of about one degree and a third. Professor Manitius explains the statement of Geminus by supposing that he held to the pre-Hipparchian estimate of the shadow as twice the moon's breadth, while imagining the moon to have an apparent diameter of a whole degree. Plausible as this is, I cannot believe that any instructed person in the time of Geminus can have been ignorant

of what was well established by the time of Archimedes, that the apparent breadth of the sun and moon is only about half a degree. Certainly Professor Manitius has fallen into a strange mistake when he says that Cleomedes also estimates the diameter at a whole degree. It is of course true that he divides the diameter into 12 digits, and that the digit may have originally been the twelfth part of a degree—more or less, but Prof. Manitius must surely know that this measure, whatever its origin may have been, has been used by astronomers down to the nineteenth century. Now in at least two places (pp. 150, 170 of Ziegler's edition) Cleomedes says plainly that the apparent breadth of the sun, which he takes (pp. 148 and 178) to be equal to that of the moon, is not quite half a degree. Indeed his exact estimate of the diameter, several times repeated, is the seven hundred and fiftieth part of the whole circle, that is to say  $\frac{12}{5}$  of a degree. This estimate, which in reality is rather too *small*, is not that of Hipparchus. If it be that of Posidonius, the chief authority, as we know, of Cleomedes, is it likely that Geminus, who, according to Professor Manitius, was a pupil of Posidonius, can have been ignorant of it?

In another place (p. 273) Professor Manitius does equal injustice to Cleomedes in attributing to him the antique doctrine refuted by Geminus, that the planets do not really move from west to east, but from east to west as the fixed stars do, only more slowly. It is true that he uses words which, if detached from their context, might have this meaning; but the context, as Professor Manitius himself seems to admit, is incompatible with it. Elsewhere, too, Cleomedes assigns to each planet its own proper motion—*προαιρετική πορεία*—in the most orthodox way.

It appears to me here and there that Professor Manitius, with all his skill in dissecting the remains of Geminus, and pointing out what must have been lost by careless custodians, or supplied by an over-careful 'excerptor,' does not sufficiently take into consideration the mental characteristics of the man, which may, I think, be inferred from what survives to us of his work. Geminus seems to have been a rationalist of the most uncompromising kind, impatient alike of those who traced the changes of the weather to stellar influences, and of those who found the doctrines of scientific geography in Homer. When, therefore, at the end of the chapter which so lucidly explains that the risings of stars in



general and of the dog-star in particular are merely reminders, and not causes, of the meteorological phenomena that accompany them, he winds up with an ill-judged and feeble argument that the influence of Sirius, if it existed, should be exerted rather in winter than summer, it seems to be quite unnecessary to assign this paragraph to the excerptor. Even were the argument so wholly imbecile as Professor Manitius thinks, it would only show that Geminus, like many a later controversialist, lacked the self-restraint to leave off arguing at the moment when his good arguments were exhausted. On the other hand, even if the excerptor knew enough astronomy to invent even a bad argument, there seems no reason to suppose that he would have felt any strong temptation to employ it. Again, when Professor Manitius accuses Geminus (pp. 255, 262) of ignorance, or rather wilful perversity, in refusing to understand that the ancients placed the equinoctial and solstitial points not, with Hipparchus, at the beginnings of the signs, but, with Eudoxus, in the middles, he fails, I think, to perceive that, as the context plainly suggests, the attack of Geminus is really directed not at the ancients, but the astrologers, who must in his time have been coming into prominence, and whose wisdom must have been even less to his taste than that of weather-prophets or Homeric interpreters. In Manilius we have all the confusion of which Geminus complains—even calculations based upon the primitive assumption that all the signs rise in equal times—and this mass of contradictions is all represented as the wisdom of the ancients, Egyptians and Babylonians.

I am a little disappointed that Professor Manitius has not given us more notes on

the last chapter—that concerning the moon-period called *ἐξελιγμός*—which, as he truly says, impresses us as being a mere fragment. By a series of emendations he has made Geminus speak throughout this chapter in the first person singular, which I do not think is ever employed elsewhere in the book. Nor is the result here entirely satisfactory, for the calculations which the author is thus made to attribute to himself certainly can hardly have been claimed by Geminus as his own.

There is another point—a small one—on which one may differ with more confidence than usual from Professor Manitius, namely as to the length of the passage (p. 70) to be placed within inverted commas as a quotation from Pytheas of Massilia. Surely it should comprise no more than the words *ἐδείκνυν ἡμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι ὅπον ὁ ἥλιος κοιμᾶται*. The following sentence, which gives the explanation of the phenomenon, is entirely in the manner of Geminus; it begins with one of his favourite expressions, *συνέβαινε γὰρ*, and the words which follow, *περὶ τοὺτους τοὺς τόπους*, are a characteristic repetition of a phrase in the sentence preceding the quotation.

At the end of the work Professor Manitius prints some extracts from the Latin version which has done him such good service, and also the long passage cited by Simplicius from a Geminus, whom it certainly seems simpler to suppose to be the same as the author of the *Ἑισαγωγή*: what relation, if any, the two works bore to one another, seems to me so obviously unanswerable as to be hardly worth asking. The passage is a very remarkable one, as will be remembered by all readers of Schiaparelli's work on the ancient precursors of Copernicus.

E. J. WEBB.

### PESKETT'S BOOK III. OF CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

*Caesar's Civil War, Book III.* Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Maps, by A. G. PESKETT, M. A., President and Tutor of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pp. xxiv, 184. Pitt Press, 1900. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS is a careful and scholarly piece of work—a little dull perhaps, as compared with Moberly's, but if a commentator may not be dull, who may?

The introduction, which, like Appian's

Civil War, starts from Tiberius Gracchus, sets the events antecedent to the campaign in Epirus clearly before the reader, except with regard to the constitutional question over which Caesar and Pompey fell out. On this point what the writer says at the bottom of p. xviii may have a meaning, but it is hard to discover it. The historical aspects of the work have been carefully studied, while for the military geography the editor relies on Colonel Stoffel. He has

given us a text of his own, though apparently without a personal study of the MSS.

As it is ten years since the first book was published, and the second has not seen the light at all, the editor cannot be accused of undue haste in his work. But the question of time is irrelevant. In a work of literature as in a work of art, one has only to do with the finished result, which in this case is satisfactory.

Having thus made clear at the outset the general verdict of respect with which Mr. Peskett's work inspires me, I shall now proceed with the less scruple to criticise it somewhat closely in detail.

The writing is nowhere slipshod except in the note on Chap. civ. 3, *ibi*, from which it would appear that the Duke of Monmouth was defeated by a ditch on the anniversary of his triumph over Mithridates. Misprints and slips of various kinds are unavoidable in the most careful work, and to point them out is to do a service to the writer.

The following are the few that I have detected:—

- Chap. viii, 3, nactus. For § 3 read § 4.
- „ xi, 1, nocte ac die. For § 1 read § 8.
- „ xxxi, 3, quibus coactis. For 38 § 3 read B.C. I. 38 § 3.
- „ li, 2, primisque. For 74 § 3 read?
- „ lxii, 1, quibus ille etc. For vii, 13 § 3 read B.G. vii, 13, § 3.
- „ civ, 2, praefectum regium. For Achilles read Pothinus.

Let us turn now from this mint, anise, and cummin of literature to some weightier matters touching the history and subject matter.

In his note on iii. § 2 *provinciarum* Mr. Peskett interprets the provinces in question to be the two Spains, assigning as a reason that Pompeius 'was virtually governor' of them till the end of 49. Now 'virtually' means 'potentially,' and from provinces only potentially his Pompeius could only have extracted the potentiality of tribute. It seems plain from the context that the provinces referred to were the Trans-Adriatic provinces, of which Pompey was in actual possession.

Chap. vi. § 2 *legiones vii*. Caesar tells us in chap. ii. § 2 that it was with difficulty that he got 15,000 legionaries and 500 cavalry on board his transports; afterwards in vi. § 2 he refers to this number as 7 legions. In his note Mr. Peskett seems to regard any explanation, however forced, as more satisfactory than Kraner-Hoffmann's 'view that 7 legions *does* represent 15,000 men.' But this view is the plain

sense of the matter. We need not indeed infer that 'the average strength of a legion was less than 2200 men,' but we have Caesar's authority for saying that the average strength of *these* legions was; such was the wasting effect of the Gallic wars, of the long march from Spain, and the unwholesomeness of the autumn in Apulia (ii. § 3). In lxxix. § 2 we have an average of 275 men to a cohort, which makes the legion itself 2,750.

Chap. viii. § 4 *posset*. Among the disasters to Caesar's lieutenants were those which happened to C. Antonius and P. Dolabella in Illyricum. These are mentioned by Suetonius (J. C. 36) and described by Florus (Epit. ii. 13, §§ 30–33) and by Dio Cassius (xli. 40), the last of whom only is cited by Mr. Peskett. The narratives of the latter two writers are hardly recognisable as accounts of the same events. Florus is so careless, or his text so corrupt, that he has lumped into one, under the name of Octavius Libo, Pompey's two admirals, M. Octavius and L. Scribonius Libo. Caesar himself must have described these events in some part of his book, as there are references to them in iv. § 2; x. § 5; lxvii. § 5. Mr. Peskett suggests that the lost passage came in at the end of chap. viii., a most unlikely place for the record of events which took place before Caesar's arrival at Brundisium. We may indeed confidently assume that the naval operations in the Adriatic, which took place while Caesar was in Spain and Rome, were recorded at the end of the second book, from which something has evidently been lost. Otherwise the reference to *Antoniani milites* in iv. § 2 is rendered unintelligible.

Chap. lxvii. § 5 *eo loco propugnante*. In connection with the same events it is strange that Mr. Peskett should have failed to lay to heart Caesar's own words as to Pulio having turned traitor to him; and should consequently suppose that the brave fighting which is recorded of Pulio in lxvii § 5, was done on Caesar's side. This mistake has even affected the text.

Chap. xix. § 2 *praedonibus*. Perhaps not the Cilician pirates, as Mr. Peskett supposes, but the banditti who followed Sertorius.

§ 6 *Cornelius Balbus*. Mr. Peskett has called attention to a passage of Velleius Paterculus (ii. 51 § 3), from which it appears that Balbus, the consul of B.C. 40, must have paid a visit to the seat of war in 48, and endeavoured by a secret colloquy to bring Lentulus to terms with Caesar: but it surely is not necessary on this account to identify

him with a centurion in Caesar's army. He had before this twice held the post of *praefectus fabrum*, and moreover was at this very time in charge of Caesar's property and a kind of agent-general for him in state affairs also.

With regard to translation Mr. Peskett is generally a safe guide, though we miss the spirit which Moberly sometimes puts into his renderings. There is one point however of some little importance on which he has, I venture to think, manifestly missed the sense of his author. And that is with respect to *aqua terraque* in chap. xvii. 3. Mr. Peskett takes these words to mean the same thing as *terra marique*. But it is plain from the sense that *aqua* here is equivalent to *aquando* or *aquatione* (cp. chap. xv, § 3; xxiv. § 4; c. § 2).

There are a few more points of translation, grammar, or construction which I shall mention seriatim.

Chap. xi. § 1 *nocte ac die*. Here it is remarked that 'the accusative could of course be used,' but, if it were, we should be led to suppose that Vibullius Rufus did not rest at all on his journey.

Chap. xiii. § 5 *praeoccupato itinere*. The reference to B. G. vii. 26, § 5 seems hardly apposite, since here *praeoccupato itinere* means that Pompey won the race, not that he blocked the roads.

Chap. xx. § 3 *etiam mediocris est animi*. Anywhere but in its present context Mr. Peskett's rendering 'is possible for a man of merely ordinary spirit' would be correct enough. But in this passage Moberly seems to hit the sense by translating 'requires only an ordinary amount of tenacity.' The meaning of *animi* here is made plain by the words that follow: *cuius animi aut cuius impudentiae est?* For *animi* here one might almost substitute *oris*.

Chap. xxix. § 1 *oppido*. There is no appropriateness in quoting the well-known construction of names of towns without the preposition as a parallel for *oppido fugerant*.

Chap. xxx. § 1 *ipsi direxerant*. This note is an instance of hypercriticism. It is true that 'to see a ship' cannot be regarded as a definite action of a different nature that can be logically contrasted with 'marching by land,' but the sailing of the ships past Apollonia is undoubtedly an action of the kind required.

Chap. xxxii. § 2 *vecturae*. Perhaps 'transport' suits the context better here than Mr. Peskett's rendering 'freightage.' In the next note why not render *cuius modi rei* simply 'anything for which'?

§ 4 *qui*. Here the editor might with advantage have declared definitely in favour of taking *qui* with *equitatus*.

Chap. xxxvii. § 2 *Domitius tum quoque sibi dubitandum non putavit*. Here Mr. Peskett wishes to take *quoque* with *sibi* rather than with *tum*. The passage of Livy to which he appeals for support (iv. 41, § 3) has, rightly or wrongly, been emended by Madvig. But in any case *tum quoque* gives a quite satisfactory sense.

§ 4 *ne conclamatis quidem vasis*. It seems too much to infer from these words that 'on this occasion they retired in disorder leaving everything behind them.' A stealthy withdrawal is all that is necessarily implied.

Chap. li. § 2 *primisque*. Here the editor points out that *que* following the negative *neque* has a slightly adversative force. To the single instance which he quotes from the Gallic War may be added B. G. v. 18, § 5 *impetum...sustinere non possent, ripasque dimitterent*. 21, § 5 *impetum non tulerunt seseque alia ex parte oppidi eiecerunt*. But this adversative use of the copulative is not confined to *que*: *et*, *ac*, and *atque* are employed in the same way.

§ 5 *a Caesare castris relictus*. These words, says Mr. Peskett, 'are not necessary for the sense.' That is true as a matter of mere narrative: but they are very appropriate as part of Caesar's excuse for Sulla.

Chap. lxx. § 2 *ita parvae res magnum in utramque partem momentum habuerunt*. Mr. Peskett takes this as a general reflexion—'so have small events often turned the scale of fortune for good or evil,' adding that a more literal translation is scarcely possible. But in its context the remark is particular: 'in this way did small things exert a great influence on either side,' i.e. if it had not been for the lines which had been constructed from the camp to the river (lxviii. § 2: lxx. § 2) Caesar's victory would have been complete; if it had not been for the same lines, Pompey's pursuit would have been crushing.

Chap. xci. § 1 *et vestro imperatori, quam constituistis, operam date*. Mr. Peskett renders *quam constituistis* 'which you have made it your habit to give.' Is not the meaning rather 'bargained' or 'arranged'? Crastinus is reminding the soldiers of the promises they had made to Caesar.

Chap. cix. § 6 *ut...videretur*. This clause, we are told, is dependent on *efficit*. It certainly may be so, but the most natural construction seems to be to take it as coordinate with *existimans*.

There are certain other points on which



the editor is entitled to his opinion, but cannot expect everyone to agree with him. Thus in chap. xviii. § 4 Mr. Peskett takes *bello perfecto* as the end of the sentence, not as the beginning of a new one. His reason for doing so is that otherwise the *tamen nihilominus* following is rendered meaningless. But this objection is obviated by regarding *Bello perfecto...interfuerunt* as parenthetical. In chap. lxxi. § 3 *hoc nomen obtinuit*, the verb is taken as transitive, 'he retained,' whereas it is perhaps intransitive, like *fama obtinuit*. In lxviii. § 3 *quod cum esset animadversum*, the *quod* at the beginning is explained as anticipating the following accusative and infinitive. May we not boldly say that *quod* here means 'but,' as in *quodsi*, *quod nisi*, *quod ni*, *quod ubi* (B.G. iii. 23, § 7), *quod ut* (Cic. Mil. § 51)? It seems to be a vulgarism like certain uses among ourselves of 'which.'

On the subject of *in praesentia* Mr. Peskett is not in accord with common opinion. In his note on chap. lxxxv. § 4 he tells us that the noun is in the ablative and refers us to his note on B.C. i. 6 § 4. I took some trouble to consult that note, and found no better reason assigned than that some people believed it to be so, which is very much like the old game of 'Send the fool further.' I was quite ready to believe that the opinion could be held by sensible men and good scholars from the fact that Mr. Peskett himself held it. The question, however, is not one of authority but of evidence. Where is the evidence for the existence of a noun *praesentia*, of the first declension, meaning 'the present state of things'? On the other hand the analogy of *in praesens* is irresistibly in favour of taking *praesentia* as neuter plural.

With regard to the text Mr. Peskett is not free from the besetting sin of editors, that of correcting their author as if he were a school-boy. Thus in chap. vi. § 3 he reads *quos...arbitrabatur* 'in preference to the *quod...arbitrabantur* of the MSS, thinking it impossible that Caesar could have used *arbitrari* as a passive.' But where is the impossibility? Many other deponent verbs are used passively, and Mr. Peskett adduces three instances from Cicero of the passive use of *arbitrari* itself, namely, Mur. § 34, Att. I. 2, § 2, and a third from the

Verrines, which is a misreference. In chap. xxi. § 4, where Caesar has a loose use of the ablative absolute, of a kind so common that it may be reckoned a mark of his style, Mr. Peskett has happily confined his conjectural emendation to the note. In § 5 of the same chapter, *atque eo itinere sese avertit*, Mr. Peskett remarks that 'the preposition though not in the MSS seems necessary,' and accordingly inserts it in italics. Is *avertere* then never used with the simple ablative? And even if that were the case, why should it not be so used here? In chap. lix. § 1, where Caesar used the ablative of duration of time, of which there are many instances in Latin writers, Mr. Peskett must needs alter it into the accusative. In Chap. lxii. § 1 after the words *Quibus ille cognitis* Mr. Peskett inserts *rebus*, 'feeling sure that Caesar could not write *quibus cognitis*.' In lxiv. § 3 *et a viribus deficeretur* he corrects into *et iam viribus*, on the ground that the other is 'a construction which Caesar is not likely to have used.' In lxxxiii. § 3, where the MSS have *ferrent*, Mr. Peskett corrects to *ferri*, alleging that so harsh a change of construction after *placere* (*dari ferrent*) would be out of the question in Caesar. In cvii. § 1 the MS reading *fiunt adversissimi venti* is corrected to *flant adversissimi venti*.

This magisterial way of dealing with an author seems to me not only unwarrantable but positively mischievous: for it tends to weed out all exceptional usages, which are often the most instructive. The postulates on which it is based will not stand serious examination. Were the ancient authors never guilty of careless writing? If so, they must have been very different from modern ones. Did one of them never use an expression which does not occur elsewhere in his works, that is, in such parts of them as have come down to us?

Among the Spectres of the Tribe the first that Bacon mentions is the tendency of the human understanding to suppose a greater order and uniformity in nature than is actually to be found there. Mr. Peskett, writing from Bacon's University, might have been expected to remember that our rules are founded on the writings of the ancients, instead of compelling them to conform to our rules.

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

## BRÉAL'S SEMANTICS.

*Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning.*

By MICHEL BRÉAL. Translated by MRS. HENRY CUST, with a preface by J. P. POSTGATE. London: William Heinemann. 8vo. Pp. lxxi, 342. 7s. 6d. net.

IN October 1896, Professor Postgate delivered an inaugural address at University College London on the Science of Meaning, which was published in the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1897. In July 1897 M. Bréal, the distinguished professor at the Collège de France,—so well known for his studies on the Eugubine Tables, for his *Mélanges de Mythologie*, and for his *Dictionnaire Étymologique Latin*, to say nothing of the brilliant introductions to the successive volumes of his translation of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*,—published an *Essai de Sémantique*. The coincidence pointed to the existence of a very wholesome reaction against the dominance of phonetics in the sphere of linguistics. The establishment of phonetic laws, with their constantly increasing delicacy and precision, had naturally fascinated the younger generation of students, who delighted to develop them with a vigour and a rigour that was wholly for good. But it was not by any means wholly for good that the form of a word was regarded as its substance, and that it was forgotten or ignored that after all the function of a word, in this form or in that, was to convey thought from one mind to another. Of course there were always scholars who remembered the vast importance of a study of meanings, their origin and their changes. But to some the study seemed too indefinite, to others too difficult to admit of scientific treatment. So in spite of valuable contributions from scholars like Heerdegen, Paul, Sweet and others, the material stands in need of more careful and complete collection, more thorough sifting, and more systematic arrangement, before even the foundation of an adequate science of Semantics can be laid.

The present volume consists of five sections, which are somewhat imperfectly fused; Dr. Postgate's preface of sixty pages, M. Bréal's *Essai* covering in the translation two hundred and fifty (and not much more in the original), a chapter of twenty pages, giving the substance of a review by M. Bréal of Professor Noreen's

noteworthy essay on Purity of Language, another review of thirty pages, dating from 1887, of M. Arsène Darmesteter's *La Vie des Mots*, and finally Dr. Postgate's lecture, covering twenty-five pages. There is good matter in all of these, but not always in the most effective place, and the book rather suffers from the want of unity.

Dr. Postgate's preface is of especial interest to the classical student, for many, if not most of his interesting illustrations are taken from Greek and Latin. He discusses the fallacy of identifying grammatical gender with sex, here agreeing with Brugmann, illustrates the importance of the linguistic clue in problems of mythology, giving in passing an obviously correct, but frequently ignored interpretation of the hundred heads of Cerberus, protests against the domination of formal logic in grammar, dealing with several of the so-called 'figures of speech,' and tracing them to 'an imperfect differentiation of principal and accessory concepts,' and applies his proposed distinction between 'rhemes' and 'epirrhemes' to the elucidation of divers linguistic problems. To use once more the well-worn phrase, any one who has to deal with the interpretation of ancient authors 'cannot afford to neglect' the frequent hints which Dr. Postgate gives in this interesting preface. His aspiration for the formation of a society 'whose task should be to gather and arrange materials, to furnish direction and advice to individual workers, and to put before the world the fruits of their research' is not perhaps likely to be soon realised. We shall probably go on in an irregular unorganised fashion: but even so, just as in phonetics, progress may be made, as sound methods become more familiar.

The translation of M. Bréal's essay and of the appended reviews reads pleasantly and is free from Gallicisms, though it is an odd slip which turns M. Arsène Darmesteter from a distinguished 'Romance scholar' (*romaniste*) into a novelist. But it is rather to be regretted that it was not more thoroughly edited for an English public. To say nothing of the forms often used for proper names—Georges Curtius (regularly), Isidore de Séville, Grégoire de Tours, Lambes, Octavius Augustus—which ought not to find place in an English book, there are a good many points on which a note from a competent editor would have been welcome.

Dr. Postgate, for example, would not have made himself responsible for the statement that *spatium* = *στάδιον* (even though Curtius says so), that *θέλω ἴνα* is not earlier than the apocryphal Gospels (there are half a dozen instances in the New Testament), that *invitare* is from *invitus* and its proper meaning 'to do violence,' that *felis* meant originally 'female' or *erudire* 'to hew a branch of a tree into shape,' that *truncus* 'mutilated' came from *truncare*, and this again from *truncus* 'a tree-stem,' that in Pompeian electoral inscriptions *facite* means 'unite' not 'vote for,' that *splendidus* comes from *σπλῆν*, or that *senatus* is understood with the title *princeps*. It is an awkward choice of an illustration to write 'when the Latins began to say *impruntatum habeo*, "I have borrowed," they inaugurated a mechanism whose richness impressed their imagination:' of course the mechanism was 'inaugurated' (if one must use so unfortunate a phrase) centuries before *impruntare* was ever coined, if indeed it ever existed. These criticisms, to which others might be added, are not intended to detract from the substantial value of M. Bréal's book, but simply to indicate that the publisher might have done well to secure a scholar like Professor Postgate, not only to introduce the book, but also to revise and edit it.

The essay is divided into three parts: 'The Intellectual Laws of Language,' 'How the Meaning of Words is determined,' and 'How Syntax is formed.' Under these several heads M. Bréal lays down a number of laws, but he is careful to explain that these are not blind and uniform: they are psychological, and tentative, sometimes

logically carried out, more frequently representing 'furtive' attempts at the expression of thought. The most novel of these discussed in the first part is one to which the author gives the name of 'irradiation': it has elsewhere been called 'adaptation.' M. Bréal's point is that a form, e.g. a suffix, accidentally combined with a definite force in one word, is supposed to convey that force of itself, and so is employed for that purpose in other cases. For instance *-sco* has no inchoative force inherent in it, as we see from *pasco*, or *nosco* [the latter example seems dubious], but as it is actually found connected with it in *adolesco*, *senesco*, it comes to acquire it in cases like *pallesco*. A more doubtful suggestion is that *esurio* etc. are of the *i*-conjugation, because they have modelled themselves on *sitio*. The chapter on Analogy treats this prolific source of change in language as a means rather than a cause, and acutely indicates some of its own causes. The chapters on restriction and expansion of meaning are full of interesting but sometimes dubious matter. Is it probable or historically proved that *adulterare* in its wider sense was earlier than, and gave rise to *adulter* in its specific sense. The history of *gain* and *regain* might have been traced a little further with profit; and similarly with *accabler*. There are some excellent remarks on articulated groups. But it is impossible to notice all the points touched on in the twenty-six chapters of this comparatively brief essay. It is perhaps sufficient to say that it will be found everywhere interesting and often original and stimulating.

A. S. WILKINS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

HORACE, *CARM.* I. 9. 1 AND I. 2. 14.

MR. Sargeaunt's remarks on Hor. *Carm.* I. 9 and I. 2. 14 on p. 428 of the last volume of the *Classical Review* prompt a brief note. It is probably unnecessary to assign a definite place as the scene of I. 9, though some commentators on Horace (Nauck, for example) have gone altogether too far in representing the difficulty of seeing Soracte from Rome. But for those who take Rome, or its vicinity, to be the scene

of the poem, a greater difficulty of interpretation arises from the fact that Soracte is not by any means a prominent or characteristic feature in the bounding landscape of the capital. The Alban hills, or the Sabine, are much more impressive. Why did not the poet cite them instead of Soracte?

Some satisfaction may be given these critics, however, from the result of a recent winter residence in Rome when especial



attention was given to such climatic and topographical observations as might tend to the better understanding of the Roman writers. No snow fell in the city during the winter, though the air was often chill enough to stimulate the enjoyment of high-piled logs, and of beverages even more thrilling than the sour wine of Sabinum. Again and again the slopes of Monte Cavo were white with snow, while the more distant summits of the Sabine hills kept on their frozen nightcaps for weeks at a time. But not once did I see Soracte snow-crowned, though I looked for such a phenomenon under apparently favourable circumstances many a time. The question finally came to me whether Horace did not mean that when not merely Sabine and Alban hills, but *even* Soracte, stood deep in snow, the wintry weather was severe indeed.

With regard to I. 2. 14, I am not quite sure what Mr. Sargeaunt means by his remark that 'the course of a flood high enough to have threatened the temple of Vesta must have *traversed* [italics mine] higher ground than the Trastevere;' but at just about the time when his article was published (on the first of December) the Forum was standing six feet deep in the Tiber-water. I have myself seen the Tiber more than once back up the ancient sewer-system to within a very few feet of the Temple of Vesta. And this is all in spite of the modern engineering operations that by deepening and widening the bed of the Tiber, and by the construction of the magnificent new embankments, have done much

to make Father Tiber content to rest in his proper quarters. The ordinary Forum floods of classical days may well have been quite as striking as the extraordinary ones of the year just closing; and the poet may be pardoned even if he did not give a technically correct discussion of the cause of the phenomena, and did ascribe to the jealous river-god an impiety of deadly purpose against the safety of the deity who symbolized the very existence of the Roman community such as could not be allowed to stand as part of the arraignment before a modern court of law.

Mr. Page was of course much confused about his topography, but he may well be justified in believing *litus Etruscum* to be the right river-bank, and for more and other reasons than I have specified here. But it is to be hoped that the American School in Rome, and the newly-founded British School, may do something to quicken the study of elementary Roman topography among English-speaking students of the classics, so that we shall not encounter such statements as Mr. Sargeaunt has properly noticed, nor such as that made on p. 412 of the same number of the *Classical Review*, where an American student quotes the well-known *lex Julia municipalis*, but spoils the interpretation based upon it by attributing to the *Porta Flaminia* an existence a century and a half before the construction of the wall through which it opened.

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL.

MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT.

Dec. 15, 1900.

### PHARSALIA NOSTRA.<sup>1</sup>

*Hinc iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur.*—  
vii 533.

ON Lucan i 463 '*bellis arcere Caycos | oppositi*' I gave my reasons for accepting Bentley's *Belgis*. 'But it should be added' says Mr Heitland 'that he proposed to rewrite lines 460-72 in an astounding manner.' Why should it be added? Because Mr Heitland cannot afford to rely upon the merits of his case, and must import this foreign matter to create prejudice. The rightness or wrongness of *Belgis* has no dependence on anything else that Bentley ever did; but because he

annoys us very much by his bad conjectures, therefore we will refuse his good conjectures, for revenge is sweet. I avoided this irrelevancy; so it is said that I 'do not always manage to state the case fairly.' Then Mr Heitland, who shrinks from the conjectural emendation of Lucan, proceeds to the conjectural emendation of me; though I have not been dead nearly so long, nor do nine centuries of transcription intervene between my autograph and last December's *Classical Review*. To show that the Romans had no wish to restrain the Chauci from war, but only from war on Roman subjects, I adduced Tac. Germ. 33, where the Romans are seen exulting in the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 78-80 and vol. xiv p. 468.

wars of Germans upon other Germans and praying to heaven for their continuance. Mr Heitland alters my '33' to '35,' because the word *Chauci* occurs in that chapter: consequently at this point his argument runs off the rails and ceases to pertain to me. He then suggests that *bellis* may mean 'campaigns carried on, when necessary, beyond the Rhine,' and asks if Caesar did not twice cross the Rhine to impress the Germans. Yes, he did, in imposing strength; but that is not what frontier garrisons are for. Last, he enquires 'Are not the Chauci a rather ill-chosen *pars pro toto*?' I think that they are very well chosen, and that they are not a *pars pro toto*; but to whom, and with what design, is this question addressed? it is Mr Heitland's own business to answer it. *Caycos* is his reading and the MS reading, not a conjecture of Bentley's or mine.

iii 275 sq. 'mediae dirimens confinia terrae | nunc huc, nunc illuc, qua flectitur, ampliatur orbem.' I saw that Haskins understood *orbem* as Mr Heitland does, 'enlarges a continent'; but I thought the rendering unworthy of notice, and I hoped that no one would seriously deny the necessity of my version 'enlarges the globe.' That *orbem* should be used for *alterutrum e duobus orbibus*, that a man should say 'nunc huc nunc illuc ampliatur alterutrum e duobus orbibus' when he might say 'nunc huc nunc illuc orbem ampliatur,' that the naked word *orbem* in 276 should mean a continent when *terrae* means the earth in 275, I thought incredible. That *continent* is one meaning of *orbis* I know, and I myself translated it so in paraphrasing the true reading 'nunc hunc nunc illum.' Mr Heitland says 'a good deal here and elsewhere depends on the value to be assigned to the codex Vossianus primus (V),' and he wishes me to settle this question finally. I have plenty else to do, but perhaps I can enable him to settle it. Nothing here, and not much elsewhere, depends on the value to be assigned to V. That V has some value is admitted: the way to find the amount of that value is to collect the passages, including this iii 276, where its reading is intrinsically more probable than that of the 'Pauline' MSS, to confront these passages with those where its reading is intrinsically less probable, and to see which class is the larger and more important, and by how much. Having thus ascertained the value of V, dismiss it from your mind: never think of it again except in places where the intrinsic probability of V's readings and the 'Pauline' readings is

exactly equal. In these places your knowledge of the relative value of V and the 'Paulines' will serve to guide your choice a little better than the method of drawing lots or spinning a coin: not much better, but a little. Such are the precepts of common sense and the practice of my masters Bentley and Madvig. But in Germany they have now adopted another plan, which is very different and much easier. You assume (and if you have luck you may be right in assuming) that one MS is better than another; and you then proceed to settle, in accordance with this assumption, the intrinsic probability of their readings, endeavouring above all to persuade yourself that the other MS is as nearly valueless as possible. This is scientific criticism; though liberal shepherds give it the grosser name of putting the cart before the horse.

i 531 'uarias ignis tenso (al. *denso*) dedit aere formas': I said that air was incapable of tension. Here Mr Heitland is reinforced by Prof. J. S. Reid, who quotes three passages to show that air may be said to be 'put on the stretch.' When I was reading Lucan and making up my mind about i 531, I noted down in a cynical spirit two passages which would or might be quoted in defence of *tenso* by some of my fellow mortals who take less pains than I do to correct the native inaccuracy and precipitancy of the human intellect. One of them has been quoted by Prof. Reid. Seneca in n. q. ii 6—9 uses *intentio* thirteen times and *intendo* six; and by *intentio aeris* he designates, not a 'putting on the stretch,' but almost the reverse, the *urgence* or *pressure* of the air in a definite direction: this he assigns as the cause of many phenomena, which range from the impact of sound on the ear, and the resistance of inflated bladders, to the propulsion of heavy weights, the uprooting of trees, and the whirling away of houses. I take decisive instances: '*intentionem aeris ostendunt . . . pondera per magnum spatium ablata uento. ostendunt uoces, quae remissae claraeque sunt, prout aer se concitauit. quid enim est uox nisi intentio aeris, ut audiatur, linguae formata percussu? quid cursus et motus omnis, nonne intenti spiritus opera sunt? . . . hic cum uehementer concitatus ipse se torsit, arbusta siluasque conuulsit et aedificia tota corripens in alto frangit.*' So Lucan ix 472 *spiritus intentus*: Lucretius too at v 513 has '*aera . . . fluere atque intendere eodem | quo uoluenda micant . . . sidera.*' One might as well adduce *intendere litem* to recommend *lis tensa* in the sense of a protracted law-

suit; and law-suits are not incapable of protraction.

Since *intentio aeris* means pressure in Seneca it is not likely to mean the opposite in Gellius v 16 2, even if the stretching of air were a possible thing. What it does mean in Gellius will be learnt from the words of Epictetus which Prof. Reid has cited, diss. ii. 23 4 εἰκὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν μεταξύ αἶρα οὕτως ἐνεργὸν ἐποίησε καὶ ἐντονον ὥστε δι' αὐτοῦ τεينوμένου πως δικνεῖσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν; The Greek *ἐντονος*, like the Latin *intentus*, can mean either *tensus* or *conci-tatus*: that it here means the latter is shown both by its conjunction with *ἐνεργός* and by the sense, which is this:<sup>1</sup> 'Frustrane interiectum quoque aerem tam *agilem* et *intentum* fecit ut per eum, certa quadam ratione *citatum*, uisus penetret?' Vision, say the Stoics, consists not in rays of light which shoot from the object to the eye, but in rays of sight which shoot from the eye to the object: if the intervening air were ἀργὸς καὶ ἄρνος, *iners* et *languidus*, it would obstruct the passage of these rays; but it is providentially endowed with a sympathetic nimbleness and briskness, and under stimulation it transmits them to their goal. How the *stretching* of the air would help matters I do not see: its *rarefaction* might, but the Latin for *rarefy* is *extenuo*, not *tendo*.<sup>2</sup> Gellius then rightly renders *τενο-μένον* by '*radiorum ex oculis in ea quae*

<sup>1</sup> I have slightly altered Duebner's translation, which runs 'tam *efficacem* et *intentum*' and 'certa quadam ratione *commotum*.'

<sup>2</sup> Mr Hosius actually defends *tensio aere* by quoting *extenuatis nubibus*.

*uideri* queunt emissionem aerisque simul *intentionem*, not *tensionem*; for *citare* is a sense which *τείνω* and *intendo* have but *tendo* has not. In like manner the Latin for *τείνειν δρόμον* (Iliad xxiii 375 etc.) is not *tendere cursum*, which means something quite different, but *citare cursum*. Prof. Reid's three quotations, all of which he has misapprehended, neither show that air may be said to be 'put on the stretch' nor that Lucan could use *tensio* as Epictetus used *τεينوμένου*. But suppose he could: will you tell me that Lucan, in a rehearsal of terrific portents, interposed the mention of a circumstance which he believed to accompany every visual perception of which the eye is capable, and which itself was merely matter of theory?

For scholars to argue against me as Mr Heitland argues is just the way to foster in me that arrogant temper to which I owe my deplorable reputation. At i 481 I proposed 'inter Rhenum populos *Albimque* iacentes' instead of *Alpem*. Mr Heitland replies (p. 786) that with *Albim* the reference is clearly to Germans, and it is not certain that Lucan is thinking of Germans; and this he denominates an objection. If my infallibility, that is to say the care with which I think and write, had suffered me to make this same 'objection' to *Alpem*,—to say that with *Alpem* the reference is clearly to Helvetians, and it is not certain that Lucan is thinking of Helvetians,—he would perhaps have seen that there was something not quite right with the logic.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### MARATHON.

'I'LL throw a stone on your cairn' is an expression of gratitude and regard. It refers to ancient funeral rites when each friend showed his respect for the departed by helping to raise his sepulchral mound. Therefore we do not expect to find a cairn built of stones from a quarry as might be the case if the erection of the monument had been left to menials employed for the purpose. The stones were gathered over the surrounding ground wherever they could be most easily procured by the funeral party. So also, where a mound of earth was

raised over the ashes of the dead, the earth does not appear to have been systematically dug from a bank or pit but to have been scraped together from the loose surface around. When Limblow Hill,<sup>1</sup> near Royston, was opened it was found to consist of layers of humus and the rubbly top of the chalk all thrown together in such a manner as to show clearly that it was scraped from the loose and more easily gathered surface soil over a wide area around.

The Bartlow Hills are four high mounds

<sup>1</sup> See Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc., vol. vi. p. 395.



standing in a row on the South of the line near Bartlow Station, and, a little further to the North and West, there are remains of other smaller mounds arranged nearly parallel to the Bartlow Hills. There are traces of old fences or enclosures or earth-works of some kind all about and the soil shows evidence of having been much disturbed.

These smaller mounds are generally referred to a much more remote antiquity than the Bartlow Hills and the ground about has here and there yielded evidence of long and early occupation, but the circumstances of the various smaller finds were unfortunately not carefully recorded at the time of the discoveries.

The large mounds were however systematically explored in the years 1832, 1835, 1838, and 1840 and the results of the excavations were communicated by Mr. Gage and published in the *Archæologia*.<sup>1</sup>

Without repeating any of the details it may be stated that the discoveries showed that the mounds were sepulchral and their contents proved them to be of Roman age. But in the gallery which was driven into the interior of one of them a flint arrow-head was found. When I visited them some years ago accident or design had broken a good deal of the ground near the top of one or two of them, so that I was able to examine the character of the soil of which they were built up, and in it I found a considerable number of flint flakes and chips besides shells and bits of bone and other *débris* common in the surface soil around. A large number of flakes and chips, some partly dressed round the margin, were found with fragments of Roman pottery and other objects in the surface soil above and near the gravel pit near where the road crosses the line not many hundred yards away from the Bartlow Hills.

Such flint flakes, however, are not common everywhere, even in that part of the country where flint is abundant, but in certain localities and on limited areas they are thickly strewn. I have found them in large numbers on the first rising ground that lies along the edge of the alluvium between Fen Ditton and the Globe Inn near Cambridge.

This is an area which is certainly known to have been occupied by the Romans, and, lying as it does under the shelter of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxv. pp. 1-23, Plates i. ii. and iii.; Vol. xxvi. pp. 330-317, Plates xxxi. to xxxv.; *ib.* pp. 462-463; Vol. xxviii. pp. 1-6, Plates i. and ii.; Vol. xxix. pp. 1-4, Plate i.

See *Cambridge Chronicle*, May 31 and June 5, 1889.

Fleam Dyke and being rich land, it must have been cultivated from still earlier times. The area round the Bartlow Hills was also an ancient settlement and cultivated from pre-Roman times.

It so often happens that these flakes, which occur in large numbers together, are fragments of about the same size, while many of them show evidence of being chipped along their edges, that it seems not improbable that they were used in some kind of instrument, maybe a tribulum, for instance, and that the edges got chipped by use. Some of the smaller or coarser bits which show no such traces of use may have been thrown away unused, for it is obvious that such an implement would need constant repair and involve the breaking up of large quantities of flint with a view to the selection of the most suitable bits.

On the plain of Marathon a solitary mound rises out of the drier part of the ground which slopes gently towards the sea. It is not easy to form an opinion as to the position of some of the monuments and objects mentioned in history as occurring in this district, but excavations made by the Greek Government in 1890 and 1891 confirmed the tradition that this was the mound raised over the Athenians who fell in the great battle in which the Persians were defeated in 490 B.C.

In Frazer's *Pausanias*,<sup>2</sup> we read: 'The excavations have finally disproved the theory broached by Prof. E. Curtius in 1853, and maintained by Prof. A. Milchhöfer as late as 1889 that the mound was pre-historic and had nothing to do with the Battle of Marathon. For the black figured vases found with the bones and ashes of the dead belong to the period of the Persian Wars; the human remains can, therefore, be no other than those of the 192 Athenians who fell at Marathon.'<sup>3</sup> Prof. Curtius's erroneous theory was apparently countenanced by some imperfect excavations made by Dr. Schliemann in 1884. Many bronze arrow-heads, about an inch long and pierced with a round hole, (or socket), for the reception of the shaft, have been picked up at the mound; and also a great number of black flints, rudely chipped into shape. It has been conjectured that these flints are parts of the stone-headed arrows discharged by the Ethiopian archers in the Persian army,<sup>4</sup> but against this opinion it has been urged that similar flints have been found at other

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 431, s. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vi. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. vii. 69.

ancient sites in Attica and elsewhere, especially in the oldest graves on many Greek islands, and have not been found at Thermopylae and Plataea, where, if anywhere, the stone-headed arrows may be supposed to have flown in showers.'

I myself found similar flakes and chips of flint and fragments of ancient pottery not only in the earth of the Soros, but also in the soil of the surrounding area.

Of course such flakes and chips never were used as arrow-heads and certainly not by the Persians or their auxiliaries, mercenaries, or slaves. By the time men had got to hafting stone they had learned to trim it into more uniform size and shape.

But what was it that induced Curtius and Milchhöfer and Schliemann to arrive at the conclusion that the mound was earlier than the battle of Marathon? Why, the very same reasoning that led antiquaries to sug-

We see in the plain of Marathon a silted-up bay. The soft soils, carried in flood out of the valley of Vrana and from that in which the village now called Marathona lies, furnished the material of low widespread deltas and the sea bordered the encroaching land with its receding shingle and sand, until the present crescent-shaped lowland was formed, the part next the hills being largely made up of wash from the higher ground, the part nearer the sea having the materials of the receding beach underlying the soil. This sloping marginal lowland runs round a bay some six miles in length from north-east to south-west and between two and three miles in greatest breadth. At the north-east end there are some strong springs, which are fed by katavothra or swallow-holes in the limestone hills behind, and are forced out through the soil of the plain by the pressure of the head of water



gest that the Bartlow Hills might be pre-Roman and, when the flint arrow-head found in the interior seemed to confirm their suspicions, called for the explanation that it was in the soil of which the mound was raised and was thrown up with it.

We do learn from the Soros that the soil of which it is composed was not dug out of a hole in undisturbed ground but that it was gathered from the surrounding surface and that that area had long been occupied and cultivated. Fragments of pottery, sea shells and pretty stones from the shore; all exactly the class of objects one would expect to find on cultivated land, occur in the soil of the Soros, and the inference is that, although the Soros as a mound may be a structure of the fifth century B.C., the soil of which it is composed is made ground of a far more remote age.

Some further considerations of great interest arise out of this inference.

These cause ponds and surrounding marshy ground. A spring and similar but smaller swamp occur in front of the rocky spurs which run out from Pentelicus at the south-west end of the plain. But the rest of the ground is not a swamp and there is no reason for thinking that within historic times it was ever much more of a swamp than it is now, seeing that the geographical configuration of the hills and valleys opposite this middle part of the plain does not lend itself to the formation of the same kind of katavothra at high levels as are produced in the high ground opposite the south-west and north-east ends. Flood water and ordinary surface water would, however, have to be carried off, and there can be no doubt, if our inference is correct as to the ground being cultivated long before the time of the Persian invasion, that inequalities would have been filled up and a system of drainage carried out. Now let us examine what is likely to

have been the nature of the changes produced by these operations.

The sea wall is low. The tideless midland sea does not throw up great ridges of shingle as do the waves around our shores, nor is it necessary to raise high banks to keep the water out. The beach consists of sand and fine shingle. The line of wrack does not indicate a rise of more than six feet at the highest, and this must be only when the wind heaps up the waters on the shore, for we cannot allow more than a foot for tidal action. Six feet is about the difference in the height of the water which is caused by a very strong wind blowing across the larger American lakes.

The way in which the area about the Soros is now drained is by digging trenches straight down to the inside edge of the sea wall and allowing the water to percolate through the porous bank out to sea. This might be supplemented in places by sluices or even by pumping. As the water which has to be got rid of is the water which is gravitating seaward from the uplands through the porous subsoil of the plain it is obvious that this method of draining by deep trenches carried straight across the plain is that which must always have been adopted in order to get rid of the water.

The Athenians were encamped at Vrana in the most southerly of the two valleys that open directly on to the plain of Marathon. Having advanced out of this valley they were drawn up for battle as described by Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> The Plataeans also advanced on to the plain, probably from the adjoining valley, and formed the left wing while the Athenians furnished a strong body on the right wing, and a thin line, only a few ranks deep, along the front of the hill between them and the Plataeans. As there was an interval of several days between the landing of the Persians and the battle, there was plenty of time for the Plataeans to have reconnoitred and occupied an advantageous position in the valley in which lies the village now known as Marathona. The Athenians on the right wing drove the Persian left wing down towards the sea, thus outflanking the Persian centre. Whatever may be the exact age and value of the Life of Miltiades attributed to Cornelius Nepos, and whatever may be the correct reading of the corrupt passage in which the account of the preparations for the battle is given, the meaning of the generally accepted version seems to be that 'on the next day having drawn up their troops in battle array along

the lower spurs of the hills, but not quite in the open ground, they gave battle. [They chose this region] because in many parts trees were scarce, while their object was to find a site where they might be protected by the high mountains on either side, and could drag down trees [from the wooded slopes close by] to check the Persian cavalry, so that they would not be in danger of being outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy.' These preparations were made not on the plain but in the narrow parts of the valleys which ran down between the spurs, where a few felled trees judiciously placed here and there would effectually prevent the Persian cavalry from getting behind them and cutting off their retreat.

We learn from the traditions embodied in this account that it was expected that the Persian cavalry would take part in the battle.

There is a general agreement that the Athenians did not take a circuitous route but charged straight at the Persian left, and that they did not come in touch with the Persian centre till they had driven back the left wing and outflanked the centre.

Previous to the battle the Athenians were on the hills and it would have been impossible for them in such a short time and in face of such an enemy to have constructed any kind of abattis of felled trees upon the plain to protect the left flank of their right wing.

We do not hear that the Persians were advancing in three distinct bodies, yet something allowed the Athenians on the right wing to drive the Persian left wing back without at first getting involved with the Persian centre. What could this be but the long ditches running seaward like those we see there now? Then the Athenians on the right and the Plataeans who also had been successful on the left wing took the Persians in rear and on flank. If any large body of Athenians got as far as the sea bank they could move easily along the shore and cut off the Persians now making for their ships. We learn from the description of the picture of the battle in 'the painted Colonnade' that the ships were at the north-east end of the bay. The Persians, therefore, making straight for them, and being perhaps, as suggested above, cut off by the Athenians advancing along the shore, would fly north-east across land cut up by dykes something like those which traverse our fens, and finally find themselves on the margin of 'the Dragon water' or great swamp at the north-east end of the plain.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 111.



The Athenians had to get over the ditch on their left and face north-east in order to attack the Persian flank. Perhaps they were unable to cross until it had been filled with the dead bodies of the slain. Here then it was that the great struggle took place and close to this spot we may feel sure the Soros was raised.

Had the land been uncultivated the Athenians on the right wing would not have had the protection of the ditches on their left as they drove back the enemy who were immediately in front of them. Nor would the Persians have found it so difficult and disastrous to make a dash direct for their ships across the plain.

How well this view explains the absence of the Persian cavalry. The plain appeared at a distance well adapted for their employment, but when the Persians landed they found that it was all cut up by dykes across which they could not charge and which would seriously interfere with cavalry manoeuvres. Moreover the heavy, deeply furrowed soil was not such as the light Persian horse was accustomed to gallop over. Any one who has walked a young English thoroughbred over a rough fallow for the first time will appreciate this argument. The cavalry were either not put on shore or, if landed, were sent on board again as useless on such ground.

Agriculture helped the Greeks as the frost helped the Russians, and, as the Russian Czar declared that General January and General February were his most efficient officers, so the Greeks were told that General Ploughtail (*Echetlus* or *Echetlaeus*) had fought for them in that glorious struggle against the invader.

This interpretation of the various accounts given of the battle seems almost to require that the ancient Marathon should be placed somewhere near the modern Vrana and leads us to enquire whether it is possible that Vrana may actually be the ancient Marathon.

If we accept the derivation from *μάραθρον* (the Attic form of *μάραθρον*=the Latin *marathrum*, fennel), the situation of either locality will do equally well for that common plant in Southern Europe.

If we examine the two villages, however, we find that at Marathon there is a strange absence of any objects of antiquity such as we should expect from the descriptions of the locality where the Athenians were encamped, whereas at Vrana fragments of ancient masonry and sculpture scattered about suggest that we may be among the ruins of

the temenos and sacred precincts where the Athenians waited for the fateful hour of battle.

May we, however, thus override tradition embodied in the name of Marathon being given to the more north-easterly locality?

Surely it is most improbable that the name would have remained unchanged in the mouths of all the various races that have held or visited that land through such long ages of checkered history. It is far more likely that this is a pedantic assignment of the name to what appeared to some mediaeval writer to be a probable position for the ancient Marathon.

Next we may enquire whether, if the name still lingers there, what form it might have assumed, and we soon are led to Vrana.

Marathon by eliding the first 'a' becomes M'rathona; then for euphony Brathona.

Brathona becomes Vrathōna, as *βόθρος* is represented in modern Greek in *Katavothra*=Swallow-holes.

Vrathōna with the penultimate syllable shortened as is so common in modern Greek, or simply dropped for abbreviation, or perhaps passing through the form Vrahōna, becomes Vrana, the modern name of the village where, on other evidence,<sup>1</sup> we should place the Athenians before the fight.

My friend Mr. H. M. Chadwick writes to me on this point. 'It seems to me quite possible that the name *Μαραθών* may actually be traced in the modern name Vrana. In accordance with the general rule in words of this type we might naturally expect the old Nom. form *Μαραθών* to have been displaced by the Accus. *Μαραθῶνα* (cf. Mod. Greek Acc. *φλέβα, κόνα* from O. Gk. Nom. *φλέψ, εἰκὼν* Acc. *φλέβα, εἰκόνα*). Again there would be nothing strange in the syncope of the first vowel and the consequent change of the initial sound-group *mr* to *vr* (cf. Mod. Gk. *βρεῖ* i.e. *vre* from O. Gk. *μωρεῖ*). For the loss of *θ* indeed I cannot find any exact analogies; yet considering the fact that this part of the country has been from time to time occupied by Turks, Bulgarians and Albanians I hardly think that the loss of this sound can be regarded as an insuperable objection.'

We can thus, it appears to me, make the story hang together more satisfactorily and explain the different conclusions arrived at by different observers. The mound was made of the ancient cultivated surface soil,

<sup>1</sup> See Leake, *The Topography of Athens and the Demi*, vol. ii. pp. 78-91. Leake however derives the name from a Slavonic word meaning fortress.

and hence contains relics of much earlier date than that of the building of the mound.

The material of the mound proves that the surrounding ground was cultivated at the time of the battle.

The nature of the cultivation and method of draining the area explain many of the details of the battle, and the acknowledgement of the assistance derived from these causes explains the curious myth with which the story ends.

T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(Continued from p. 89.)

### III.—Basilica Julia.

The present excavations show that the building which has hitherto been visible is not the Basilica Julia of Augustus, but in great part a later reconstruction, though on the same ground-plan.

This had already been conjectured by Jordan (*Topographie* I, 2, 389) and now we find a line of travertine blocks with fresh, unworn surfaces which serve as the floor of a drain under the three uppermost of the roughly laid marble steps of the N.E. side, and which are clearly connected with the earlier building. The sides of the drain are formed by blocks of opus quadratum, and its width was indicated by two parallel lines ruled upon the blocks of travertine: the roof of the drain is a slab of travertine laid obliquely, the N.E. edge of it being about one foot lower than the S.W. in correspondence with the slope of the steps. This drain is probably part of the original construction, but the roofing slabs and the steps above it are certainly a later addition, as the opus quadratum on the N.E. side has been hacked away to carry its lower edge. The original steps must have been wider and more imposing than the present small mean-looking steps.<sup>1</sup>

On the S.W. side of this drain we see in one place two large travertine slabs, the foundations of one of the pilasters of the

façade of the basilica. The marble blocks which formed the pilaster itself have entirely disappeared, and even the masonry immediately beneath it, which must have been about six feet higher: this is indicated by the fact that these slabs of travertine are surrounded by masses of concrete faced with opus reticulatum which rise to this height and then end off with a flat surface which carried the pavement. The level of the floor of the basilica has apparently therefore undergone but little if any alteration.

### IV.—Basilica Aemilia.

The continuance of the excavations within the basilica has increased in certain respects our information as to the building, though some new problems have arisen, and others still await solution. Many important details are noted by Lanciani in *Bull. Com- unale* 1900 pp. 3 sqq. in a supplement to his former article, though further discoveries have since been made, and the work of exploration is not as yet completed even within the limited area—not more than half of the nave can be reached at present—at the disposal of the Government. The points most worthy of observation are (1) the width of the nave exclusive of the aisles is not, as I stated in *C.R.* 1900 p. 238, 53 feet, the width conjectured from the arrangement of the marble slabs of the pavement, but only about 36 feet. This has been ascertained by the discovery of the wall which carried the columns of the N.E. side of the nave. Upon this wall, which is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in thickness, there rests a block of travertine, the upper part of which is circular and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter. As the top of it is flush with the marble pavement of the nave which comes close up to it, it must have supported the base of a column, the columns themselves being about 8 inches less in diameter. (2) Several fragments have been found of a fine epistyle, much damaged by fire. Some belong to the Augustan age, others are rougher restorations. This epistyle must have been supported, as the size of the lacunaria shows, by columns nearly 11 feet apart from centre

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the present steps it is to be noted that Jordan (*Topographie* I, 2, 388) is in error in stating that at the N.W. end of the N.E. façade there was but one step from the road to the wide step which runs below the pilasters of the façade

(from which 3 more steps ascend between the pilasters to the floor of the basilica), there being 7 at the S.E. end. The concealment of the lower steps at the N.W. end is due to the raising of the level of the pavement of the road which runs along the front of the basilica. At the bottom of them runs another much smaller drain.

to centre, whereas the columns of the nave were  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart from centre to centre. On the other hand, it was found in the nave with the columns of Africano marble. An explanation of the problem is still to seek. Upon two of the blocks appear the letters PAUL | us RESTI | tuit. The inscription would refer to the restoration of 14 B.C. (Dio LIV. 24). No further information as to the great inscription in honour of Lucius Caesar (*C.R.* 1899, p. 465) is as yet available, since the heap of fragments, many of which in all probability do not belong to the basilica at all, remains as it was when it was first discovered: and the hope expressed by Lanciani (*Bull. Comun.* 1899, pp. 189-191) that a thorough examination of them might be undertaken, in order to determine how they came into their present position, remains as yet unfulfilled.

(3) The statement in *C.R.* 1900, p. 238 that the marble paved footway between the two projecting wings of the basilica is 6 yards wide is erroneous: its original width is only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet; but in some places it has been considerably widened by the addition in later times of marble pavements of 'opus Alexandrinum' which have covered the lower three steps.

(4) The marble threshold of a doorway through the longitudinal wall against which the tabernae are built has been discovered. It is worth noting that an exploration of the foundations of the longitudinal wall has shown that it was 4 feet thick, and not two, as it appeared at first sight to be; after a fire it was largely restored in rough brickwork, especially on the side towards the nave. To this late restoration belongs the marble facing of the S.W. wall of the central hall, which is entirely without pilasters corresponding to the columns of the nave.

(5) The foundations of all the spur-walls of the tabernae have now been traced: in several places we see intermediate walls parallel to them, which belong to the (slightly narrower) tabernae of the first basilica of 179 B.C. or perhaps to the restoration of 78 B.C. In the line of the S.W. row of columns of the nave, but at a depth of 3 feet below the marble pavement, we find the base of a tufa column in situ,  $3\frac{1}{3}$  feet in diameter, divided into two halves vertically. It stands upon a foundation of squared tufa blocks, some of which bear masons' marks similar to those which occur on the Servian wall. A wall with such masons' marks has been found below the N.E. end of the ambulatory immediately behind the main façade of the basilica. The column base

must also belong to the earlier building, the plan of which we see to have been reproduced in the later.

(6) The exact way in which the basilica ended on the N.W. is still obscure, but very possibly it had a blank wall towards the Curia which we might expect to have been parallel to it, so as not to spoil the symmetry of the street, and therefore on the skew with reference to the nave of the basilica. This seems to be indicated by the fact that the last spur-wall on the N.W. is not at right angles to the longitudinal wall of the tabernae. Some slabs of the marble pavement of the nave seem however to extend too far N.W. to permit this supposition, against which it is also to be noted that, while at the south-east end we find that two small tabernae correspond to the porch of the façade, the two that we see at the N.W. end, one of which has the skewed spur-wall just alluded to, cannot have been taken to mark the place where the porch, which must surely have existed here also, though no traces of it are visible, should be sought; for the steps of the front of the basilica certainly continue beyond this point. Certainly there was a road between the basilica and the Curia, remains of the pavement of which exist, and equally certainly the space between them cannot have exceeded 25 feet. This leaves a very small space for a street so important as the Argiletum, the main artery of communication with the Forum Transitorium and the Subura (see Jordan *Topographie* I. 2, 351, Lanciani *Bull. Comunale*, 1890, 98-102).

#### V.—*Cloaca Maxima.*

The most interesting result of the excavation of the subsoil of the basilica Aemilia has been the discovery of a Cloaca Maxima, perhaps the earliest, at any rate earlier than that hitherto known. The portion of it which may be seen running beneath the nave of the basilica has been repaired with blocks of travertine; these blocks have been laid irregularly, so that the width of the original cloaca is not preserved. Where it passes under the wall which carried the N.E. row of columns of the nave, it has in the centre of it three huge blocks of travertine, which probably served to support this wall; while we can still see one of the voussoirs of the arch by which the walls bearing both rows of columns crossed the cloaca on a skew. At the point



where the cloaca passes under the longitudinal wall of the tabernae we see the earlier cloaca built of blocks of capellaccio tufa and about 4 feet in width, going on still straight in the direction of the column of Phocas and it reappears again beneath the corridor in front of the tabernae just behind the façade of the basilica, but so far has not been traced further. Precisely at the point where it leaves the nave it is blocked by the N.W. wall of a second cloaca, about 6 feet in width, by which it was, from this point onwards, superseded: this turns off at an angle of (roughly)  $30^\circ$  from its line and runs at right angles to the axis of the basilica, in front of which it reaches and falls into what has hitherto been known as the original Cloaca Maxima, but which is constructed with blocks of stone removed from other buildings, just at the point where this latter after skirting the basilica on the N.W. and S.W. turns southwards and crosses the area of the Forum. The date at which the second of these two earlier cloacae was suppressed and the more devious route followed by the third was selected is not accurately determinable, but the change may very likely be connected with the aedileship of Agrippa in 33 B.C.—the basilica itself was restored, we are told (Dio XLIX. 42), by Aemilius Lepidus Paulus in his consulate in the previous year. It is indeed possible that the second remained in use under the Empire, as the restoration with blocks of travertine is very carelessly done and does not look like work of a good period.

The earliest of the three cloacae runs about  $35^\circ$  W. of N, and must be cut obliquely by the latest at the point where it passes under the steps of the basilica. Its direction is important, as, just S.W. of the latest cloaca, and at a level of about 4 feet *below* the top of its arch, we find a pavement of rectangular slabs of tufa,<sup>1</sup> crossing the earliest cloaca at right angles, which runs northward right up to the Comitium, from which it is separated by a raised edging of tufa blocks, a similar edging existing on the W. side also. At the north end of this pavement is one of the small pits referred to above as possibly

intended to contain votive objects and just beyond the raised edging on the W. side are two more.

This pavement belongs in all probability to the Sacra Via of the Republic. The Republican Forum must have run southwards towards the N.W. angle of the Palatine. With this orientation agree those of the Republican Curia, Comitium, and Rostra, the façade of the Carcer, the oldest Cloaca Maxima, the Regia, the temple of Vesta, the older Atrium Vestae, the front of the shrine of Juturna, the pavement of the lacus Juturnae of Republican times, and finally the flight of steps which descends from the Palatine to the W. side of the temple of Vesta. With that of the left side wall of the Carcer, on the other hand, agrees that of the temples of Concord and Saturn, of the Tabularium, of the arched platform which we have supposed to be the Graecostasis, and of the Sacellum (the original niger lapis) east of the stele. See Hülsen's extremely able article in *Röm. Mittheil.* 1893, pp. 79 ff., where the meaning of the orientation of the front and left-hand sides of the Carcer is for the first time recognized.

It will be seen that we have already made the most remarkable progress in the work of reconstituting the topography of the Forum of the Republic: and the continuance of the excavations may be confidently expected to lead to a further increase in our knowledge.

It remains to notice the discovery of what is in all probability the shrine of Venus Cloacina. This lay near the Tabernae Novae (Livy iii. 48 'the Story of Virginia') which stood in front of the original basilica Fulvia et Aemilia and the Comitium (Pliny, *H.N.* xv. 119—cf. Jordan *Topographie* I. 2. 398).

The remains consist of a small round marble base about 7 feet in diameter, filled up in the centre with rubble, which is partly built upon the lowest step of the façade of the basilica between the points where the first and second cloacae leave the basilica, and therefore quite close to the third also. The north-west side has a rectangular step much worn by frequent use, and has two bolt-holes for small pilasters; perhaps the whole was surrounded by a metal railing, as there are bolt-holes all round the marble base, and there is no room for the thickness of a wall of masonry. The marble blocks rest upon other blocks of travertine and these in turn upon foundations of tufa.

<sup>1</sup> It is plain that when this cloaca was made, the tufa pavement was already buried by earth to a depth of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, for the S.W. side of the cloaca is protected to this height by a wall of unfaced concrete which would only be used for foundations below the ground level. The pavement of the road skirting the front of the basilica must have lain almost immediately upon the crown of the arch of this cloaca.

VI.—*Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.*

A small, but useful, piece of work has been done here in the restoration of the steps of the temple to the condition in which they were when discovered, by the removal of all modern reconstructions. The pavement of the road in front of the temple is now being removed, and remains which seem to be those of a portico are being brought to light. Foundations in opus quadratum have also appeared under the narrow lane, paved successively with slabs of travertine and of marble, which runs between the temple and the Basilica Aemilia. It is not at all impossible that the temple occupies the site of the Macellum, which lay to the north of the Forum close to the Basilica Aemilia, and that these foundations belong to tabernae connected with it (Jordan, *Topographie* I. 2, 432).

VII.—*The Regia.*

The excavation of this building has been completed, without leading to further discoveries of great importance. As, however, no full official report has yet been published, it may be well to say that a good account (with sketch plan) of what has been found is given by Hülsen in the *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 1900, *Anzeiger*, p. 7.

VIII.—*Temple of Vesta.*

The official report of the excavation of the temple has appeared in *Notizie degli Scavi* 1900, pp. 159 *sqq.* The illustrations are excellent and plentiful, but there is one point that has not been sufficiently brought out, and which does not seem to have been dealt with by any of those who have written on the temple.

Of the fragments of columns preserved two, as has been noted (Boni *op. cit.* p. 190), have small rectangular projections, intended perhaps to support the frame of the door.

The rest have two vertical lines of bolt-holes, by which the metal screens surrounding the temple were fixed. These lines of bolt-holes do not however come opposite to one another: but, there being 24 flutings in each column, and each line of bolt-holes being set in one fluting, the holes have either five or seven<sup>1</sup> flutings between them counting one way, and either seventeen or

fifteen counting the other way. From this it appears that the screens were set further back than the centre of the columns, and did not accurately follow the curve of the temple; whether they were quite straight or slightly curved outwards is uncertain.

IX.—*Atrium Vestae.*

The rooms to the N.W. end of the later building have been cleared out, but without any further discoveries of note having been made.

There have also been unearthed several parallel walls of opus quadratum, forming tabernae fronting on to the Sacra Via, which were in connexion with the older Atrium Vestae (*C.R.* 1899, 466). Seven chambers of unequal size have so far been laid bare.

These tabernae were evidently very carefully drained: and there are also several wells of the Republican period to be seen in them.

X.—*Fons and Lacus Juturnae.*

A short preliminary account of the discoveries made here has been given by Boni in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, 291 *sqq.* I have had an opportunity of seeing some of the drawings which have been prepared to serve as illustrations for the eventual full account, and can state that for accuracy and clearness they leave nothing to be desired. It is only to be hoped that they will be reproduced upon an adequate scale.

The discoveries consist of (1) a row of arched chambers<sup>2</sup> constructed in tufa and opus incertum, and strengthened by later brickwork supporting a flight of stairs descending from the Palatine to the W. side of the temple of Vesta. The upper part of these stairs had already been laid bare, and the lower part, now excavated, is shown upon a fragment of the marble plan of Severus, published by Lanciani *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, p. 237, Tav. xiv., *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 271, fig. 103.

(2) The shrine of Juturna (which, like the stairs just mentioned, faces due north). This

<sup>2</sup> One of these chambers contains a headless statue of Aesculapius with a child (Telesphorus probably) which was found at the foot of the niche in which it has been replaced; close by has been placed a bust of Jupiter (or perhaps Aesculapius) found in the lacus Juturnae. A corridor close by is paved in black and white mosaic, representing a river or sea scene.

<sup>1</sup> The latter form is most numerously represented: the former was probably in use near the entrance.

is a small chamber of brickwork, not quite rectangular, but slightly trapezoidal, as is the favissa of the temple of Vesta.<sup>1</sup>

Within it is a pedestal which supported a statue. The architrave, bearing the inscription *Juturnai sa(crum)* has been discovered.

(3) The fons Juturnae, a circular well, immediately in front of the shrine, lined with slabs of tufa, with a round puteal of marble, bearing upon the N. side the inscription *M(arcus). Barbatius. Pollio | Aed(ilis) cur(ulis) | Juturnai sacrum rest(ituit). | puteal.* The word *rest(ituit)* has been erased, while the word *puteal* is considered to be an addition. The same inscription, omitting the last two words, is repeated on the rim.

A Barbatius Pollio is mentioned by Cicero in *Phil.* xiii. 2 § 3; but Vaglieri (*Bull. Comun.* 1900, p. 69, note) and Boni think that the style of the inscription and the ornate cornice at the foot of the puteal may belong rather to a period nearly a century later.

The water was originally drawn from this well by buckets supported on an iron standard; but later the buckets were hauled directly over the edge of the puteal, as the marks of the ropes show.

The upper portion of the well-head has in fact been turned slightly, so as to present an unworn portion of the edge; this is indicated by the fact that the holes for the clamps which held the two upper rings of the puteal together, do not now exactly correspond. It was then found necessary to add a step, to make the buckets more easy to manipulate, and, later still, the whole base of the puteal was covered with cement to prevent leakage back into the well. Lastly, when the well was no longer used—the spring had some while been dry and the well kept supplied with water by a pipe from the lacus (see below)—a small altar with a relief on the front, possibly representing Juturna taking leave of her brother Turnus, was placed upon the step in front of the puteal.

(4) The lacus Juturnae, a tank about 16 feet square and 7 deep. It is of opus reticulatum lined with slabs of marble. The water still rises in two rectangular basins at the east and west ends respectively of the north side; at the S.W. corner it overflows by a lead pipe, while at the S.E. corner another lead pipe supplied the Fons Juturnae. In the centre of the lacus is a

large rectangular base. This probably once supported the statues of the Dioscuri<sup>2</sup> standing by their horses, of which considerable fragments were found in and about the lacus itself, including the torso of one of the Dioscuri, the neck and breast of the other, a right leg of one of them, the head of one horse (which is extremely well preserved, the rest of the group having been apparently purposely broken up), and considerable portions of the bodies of both horses. The statues are very likely Greek work of the 4th century B.C.

Other pieces of statuary discovered in or near the lacus include (1) a marble altar with reliefs on all the four sides (a) the Dioscuri, without their horses, crowned with the morning and the evening star, (b) Jupiter with the thunderbolt, (c) Leda with the swan, (d) Diana Lucifera.

(2) A torso of Apollo in archaistic style, to which belong also a left arm, a plinth with a right foot, and a trunk with laurel leaves and flowers to which part of the right leg adheres.

(3) The lower part of a draped female statue (Juturna?).

(4) The helmeted head and lower part of a seated statue of Roma.

In the second century the east side of the lacus was partially arched over, in order to carry the west wall of the chamber which contains the statue of Aesculapius mentioned above. In the fourth century the office (statio) of the curator aquarum et Miniciae<sup>3</sup> seems to have been established here from the inscriptions recently discovered (*Bull. Comun.*, 1900, 71), the one a dedication to Constantine, dated March 1, 328 A.D., by Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, the then curator, who was consul in 355 A.D., the other a dedication 'genio stationis aquarum' without further particulars. It was still in use in the 8th century, as 200 or more jugs belonging to that period were discovered: but later it was converted into a latrine.

The discovery of the lacus Juturnae in this position was not unexpected—the classical authors tell us that it was close to the temples of Castor and of Vesta (cf. *Dion. Hal.* vi. 13), and the waters of the spring have frequently burst through in recent times—cf. Lanciani *Commentari di Frontino*,

<sup>2</sup> It was here that, according to the well-known legend, they watered their horses after the battle of Lake Regillus *Dion. Hal.* vi, 13 cf. Babelon *Monnies de la République Postumia*, 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the porticus Minicia frumentaria near the theatre of Marcellus, where distributions of corn frequently took place. Cf. Hirschfeld *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 134, 166.

<sup>1</sup> As to the latter see Boni in *Notizie degli Scavi*. 1900 p. 170.



p. 26. Further, it is clearly indicated in the fragment of the marble plan above referred to, with two squares in the centre of it, which seem to represent the statues of the Dioscuri which probably stood on the pedestal. The shrine and the fons are, curiously enough, omitted. On the same fragment we see clearly that the temple of Castor and Pollux stood free at the back as on the other three sides, a fact ascertained previously by Fea (*Lanciani Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, p. 234) and now made clear once more by the excavations.

We may note, finally, that on the east, south and north sides of the lacus—which belongs to the period of the late Republic or the early Empire, as the construction of its walls (*opus reticulatum*) shows—traces have been found of an earlier lacus at a lower level, paved with slabs of tufa, orientated in the same way as the front of the shrine of Juturna. It is probable that the lacus of the time of the Republic was decidedly larger than that of the time of the Empire.

#### XI.—*S. Maria Antiqua.*

The demolition of the modern church of S. Maria liberatrice has rendered it possible to completely excavate the space between the temple of Augustus and the Palatine Hill. The task has been a considerable one, as nearly 50 feet of soil had to be removed, but it is now practically completed. We find the church installed in two large halls, constructed in the second century, as the fineness of the brickwork and the brick-stamps found in it indicate. The first of these is rectangular, with niches alternately round and square. With the exception of a few figures on the right-hand side (one of them representing a pope with a square nimbus, whose name has not as yet been deciphered) the paintings have almost entirely perished. A large pillar of rough masonry in the centre was very likely erected as a support to the vault in very late times. The inner hall is of the same width, but longer. It has a straight end wall, in which an apse has been cut; at each side of this apse is a square chamber, which, being lower than the main hall, has another room above it, used as a chapel, but in each case forming a part of the original construction. The nave is divided from the aisles by two brick pilasters—which belong to the original structure of the hall, as does also the (now fallen) 'triumphal arch' of the basilica—and two gray granite columns on each side.

The church is remarkable for the frescoes, which covered every available bit of wall-space and even the granite columns: when first discovered they are in a marvellous state of preservation, though they rapidly lose their brilliancy when exposed to the air.

At least three different layers can be traced—most clearly on the back wall to the right and left of the apse. The earliest stratum probably belongs to the time of Justinian, while the uppermost has the figure of Pope Paul I. (757–767) with the square nimbus, which indicates that the paintings were executed in his lifetime. In the left-hand chapel dedicated to SS. Quiricus and Julitta is a figure of Pope Zacharias (741–752) with the square nimbus, and another figure, also with a square nimbus, holding a church in his arms. On each side of his head is the following inscription in the ungrammatical Latin of the period—'Theodotus primô(cerius) defensorum et dispensatore s(an)c(ta)e d(e)i genetricis senperque birgo Maria qui appellatur antiq(ua).' The controversy as to the name of the church seems thus to be definitely settled. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* ed. Duchesne, vol i. p. 385, the church was decorated with paintings by John VII. (705–707), who also erected one of the two ambones (pulpits) and built close by the palace in which he lived till his death. A slab of marble has recently been discovered, which probably served as the floor of this very ambo: upon its edge it bears the name of the Pope in Latin and Greek, qualified as *servus sanctae Mariae*; while upon the upper side are remains of the metal bolts which supported the slabs which formed the sides of the pulpit. The marble pavement of the apse, in 'opus Alexandrinum,' is extremely fine. Other interesting paintings adorn the walls of the nave.

It is not, however, the first time that this church has been discovered—the apse was partly excavated in 1702, when the figure of Paul I. was seen (cf. *Lanciani Ruins and Excavations*, p. 124; *Bull. Comunale*, 1900, p. 25). And in 1885 a passage cut through the wall of the Augusteum into the church was excavated, the sides of which were covered with figures of saints painted in or about the eleventh century (*De Rossi Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1885, 142). Upon the east side of the church and accessible from it, a wide staircase formed by a series of inclined planes paved with *opus spicatum*, ascends to the Palatine. Just to the south of the shrine of Juturna, between it and S. Maria

Antiqua, is a smaller church, occupying a hall nearly square in shape: in the apse is a painting representing the forty martyrs of Antioch, and on the side walls are other frescoes. The pavement is of roughly laid fragments of marble flooring slabs.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

*Congrès international de numismatique.* Paris. 1900. 8vo.

The papers contributed to the Congress of Numismatists held in Paris last year at the time of the Exhibition have now been collected in a volume of 449 pages. Fifteen articles are concerned with classical numismatics, and among them the following may be noted:—F. de Villenoisy. 'De la fabrication des monnaies antiques.' A short but suggestive paper, chiefly based on an examination of a large number of Greek coins in the French collection.—J. Leite de Vasconcellos. 'Les monnaies de la Lusitanie Portugaise.' A descriptive summary of the coins of Lusitania.—C. Patsch. 'Contribution à la numismatique de Byllis et d'Apollonia' in Illyria. M. C. Soutzo. 'Poids et monnaies de Tomis.'—P. Perdrizet. 'Tragilos.' This town has been usually placed at ten miles distance from Philippi. Perdrizet would fix its site at *Aidonochoiri* in Bisaltia. Coins of Tragilos have been found there.—S. Ricci. 'Intorno all' influenza dei tipi monetari Greci su quelli della Repubblica Romana.'—G. Dattari. 'Le date sulle monete d'Augusto (at

Alexandria in Egypt).—R. Mowat. 'La reconstitution des collections de coins aux I<sup>er</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> siècles.' This paper deals with the well-known 'restoration' coins of Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and M. Aurelius, which reproduce types of the earlier Emperors and even of the Republic. Such restorations are inscribed with the reigning Emperor's name followed by the word 'restituit.' This practice of reproducing earlier types has never been explained satisfactorily. Mowat contends that after 'restituit' we should understand 'hanc formam,' i.e. '(Titus) restored this die.' His theory is that a typical series of the Roman coin-dies was preserved in the Temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol and that when any specimens were impaired or destroyed (for instance in the fires of A.D. 69 and 80) the Emperor supplied their place by reproductions and engraved on the die 'restituit.' The 'restored' coins, most of which are decidedly rare, are merely impressions, or 'trial-pieces,' from these dies, probably not intended for circulation. This ingenious theory meets many of the difficulties of the case, but one would like actual proof of this antiquarian zeal on the part of the Emperors for the preservation of the ancient dies. A writer of the time of Constantine I. records that the dies of Victorinus were still in existence at Trèves in his own day, but this is the only statement of the kind that Mowat cites. A good detailed description of the 'restoration' coins is given by F. Gnechi in the *Rivista italiana* for 1897, p. 123 f.—O. Voetter. 'Les monnaies de Gallien.' On coins of Gallienus and his family, with many plates.—A. Blanchet. 'Les lois anciennes relatives à l'invention des trésors.' Notes on Roman and French laws relating to treasure trove.

WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

*Journal of Philology.* Vol. 27. No. 54. 1900.

*On Themistius II. eis Kanotávriov* 32 C, H. Jackson. *Emendations in the Fifth Book of Manilius*, A. E. Housman. *Emendationes Homericae* (Od. XIII.-XVI), T. L. Agar. *Euripidea*, R. Ellis. *Hiatus in Plautus*, W. M. Lindsay. *Tacitus*, Germ. 13, F. Haverfield. *Note on Plato Philebus* 15 A, B, R. D. Archer-Hind. *Alexandrian Evidence for the Chronology of the Gospels*, T. Nicklin. *Emendations of Valerius Flaccus*, J. P. Postgate. *Milton and the Aristotelian Definition of Tragedy*, I. Bywater. *Hermas and Cebes*, C. Taylor.

*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*, etc. Vol. 5. Part 8. 1900.

*Die Heimat der Cherusker*, E. Devrient. By *silva Baecensis* to which the Suevi withdrew before the advance of Caesar the Hohe Rhön is meant. This was the E. boundary of the Suevi, and in 10 B.C. Drusus found as their eastern neighbours the Cherusci, who were at that time partly on the left bank of the Weser. Drusus proceeded through their country to the Saal and Elbe. Thuringia therefore must be considered their home (as was conjectured by Werneburg in 1880) and not a country further N. After the death of Arminius, the Cherusci were

driven to the right bank of the Weser by the Chatti, and there remained.

ANZEIGEN UND MITTHEILUNGEN. W. Crönert gives information about the 1805 papyrus-rolls found in 1752 in Piso's villa at Herculaneum. H. L. Ulrichs favourably notices the English translation of Mau's *Pompeii*. Under Dörpfeld's guidance, W. Barth has attempted to identify Leukas with the Odyssean Ithaca on geographical and archaeological grounds in a recent art. in *Apollonia*.

Part 9. *Homer als Charakteristiker*, P. Cauer. Points out the excellence of Homer in the representation of age, sex, social position, different situations of the same person, and especially different persons in the same situation. On the whole, the power of characterisation is shown more in the Odyssey than in the Iliad.

ANZEIGEN UND MITTHEILUNGEN. A. Oeri writes on the *bona fides* of Herodotus, criticizing C. Niebuhr.

B. Huebner notices the following six papers read at the first *Alphphilologische Ferienkursus* at Bonn, 1900, viz. Bücheler on new inscriptions important for the history of the Latin language, Löschke on the Greek theatre, Wiedemann on the recent discoveries in Egypt relating to Greece, Sudhaus on new discoveries in the field of Greek literature, Solmsen on characteristics of the Homeric language, and Elter on Horace, especially on Od. iv. 8.

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# The Classical Review

APRIL 1901.

## HOMERICA. (VIII.)

OD. VIII. 352 f. AND THE LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS BEFORE χρ.

θ 352 πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ σε δέοιμι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι  
θεοῖσιν,  
εἴ κεν Ἄρης οἴχοιτο χρέος καὶ δεσμὸν  
ἀλύξας;

ACCORDING to Ameis-Hentze the form χρέος instead of the only well authenticated Homeric χρεῖος has caused La Roche to suggest (*Hom. Unters.*, p. 41) χρέως with monosyllabic scansion as the original reading. The result sounds anything but rhythmical. The equal division of the verse into two separate parts is a device not so richly beautiful as it is fortunately rare. To read the line as a verse at all is rather a trial to the vocal organs, a dangerous delight, not to be indulged in too frequently by the wise and prudent. Hence, if χρέος is as inadmissible as I fully believe it to be, I should prefer to attempt the restoration of the line in this manner:—

εἴ κεν ὁ γ' οἴχοιτο χρεῖος καὶ δεσμὸν ἀλύξας.

The pronominal ὁ γε without further addition is sufficiently lucid here, and yet it might easily have been displaced to make room for the very correct gloss, Ἄρης. Certainly the metrical outcome of this hypothesis need not fear comparison with La Roche's curious effort.

There are one or two interesting points attaching to the examples of χρεῖος in NO. CXXXI. VOL. XV.

Homer, which for the purpose I have in view may be exhibited at length:—

γ 367 εἰμ' ἔνθα χρεῖός μοι ὀφέλλεται, οὐ τι  
νέον γε—

Λ 686 τοὺς ἔμεν οἴσι χρεῖος ὀφείλετ' ἐν Ἡλίδι  
δίῃ·

φ 17 ἦλθε μετὰ χρεῖος, τό ρά οἱ πᾶς δῆμος  
ὀφέλλε·

θ 355 Ἥφαιστ', εἴ περ γάρ κεν Ἄρης χρεῖος  
ὑπαλύξας—

Λ 688 δαίτρενον· πόλεσιν γὰρ Ἑπε  
ὀφείλον,

698 καὶ γὰρ τῷ χρεῖος μέγ' ὀφείλετ' ἐν  
Ἡλίδι δίῃ.

Ν 746 χρεῖος, ἐπεὶ παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀνὴρ ἄτος  
πολέμοιο—

α 409 ἦ ἐὼν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος ἐλδόμενος τόδ' ἰκάνει;  
β 45 ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, ὃ μοι κακὸν  
ἐμπεσε οἴκῳ.

The odds against χρέος, which is not very likely to find many advocates—it is also impugned by Leo Meyer (*Kuhn's Zeitschr.* VII., p. 208.)—are not, however, quite nine to one, as would seem from the above list. It has the support, whatever it may be worth, of the accepted, but for all that not very trustworthy, reading of λ 479:—

ἦλθον Τειρεσίαο κατὰ χρέος, εἴ τινα βουλὴν  
εἴποι,—

so that in this case as in several others the questionable form exists in duplicate. It would seem as if there had been a deliberate intention not to leave the modernised form entirely without a comrade to keep it in countenance.

But it may be observed that *χρέος* in this latter line departs not only from the quantity of *χρέιος*, but is used in an uncertain sense. The commentators obligingly give us the choice of three renderings, (1) 'on business with,' (2) 'in need of,' (3) 'for consultation with.' To add to the difficulty the identical expression *κατὰ χρέος* actually occurs in the 'Hymn to Hermes,' l. 138 :—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνυσε δαίμων,  
where it evidently means 'duly,' 'in due course,' and contributes nothing to the elucidation of the usage in the Homeric passage.

I would suggest, as the only possible solution short of absolute surrender to *χρέος*, that in λ 479 the original must have been subjected to some slight alteration, and might previously have run thus :—

ἦλθον Τειρεσίαο κατὰ κλέος—

This is a little different from the usual *μετὰ κλέος*, but this difference would correspond to a difference in the sense of the expression. He came not 'in quest of,' 'to find,' the fame of Teiresias, cf. Α 227 *μετὰ κλέος ἵκετ' Ἀχαιῶν*, but 'because of his fame,' 'along of,' as we say in provincial English of the North.

So much then for the validity of *χρέος* in Homer. I must now return to θ 353. The lengthening of the *ο* of *οἴχοιτο* before *χρεῖος* in my proposed emendation will not be objected to in face of γ 367 *εἴμ', ἔνθα χρεῖος*, φ 17 *ἦλθε μετὰ χρεῖος*, where the 'production' is that of a syllable in arsis.

With regard to Α 686 *τοὺς ἵμεν οἷσι χρεῖος* the case is different, and I have a suggestion to make, which, if well founded, is of some importance in the sphere of metrical usage. The *ι* of *οἷσι* being here in thesis, the better reading would be, as I judge, *οῖσιν χρεῖος*. In fact I venture to maintain that, other means failing, the *ν* ἐφέκλυστικόν is a necessity here; for although *χρ* would always suffice to lengthen a preceding short vowel in arsis—of this there are examples in plenty—it would be quite a different matter if the vowel were in thesis. Then I submit this vowel would remain short, as in the well-known instances Ψ 186 :

ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖον ἐλαίῳ—.

Ω 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες.

Accordingly I should not regard the traditional reading of θ 353 as metrically open to any valid objection any more than Hym. Apoll. 293 :—

πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πτόνι νηῶ.

On the other hand La Roche's reconstitution of θ 353 in this light becomes worse than ever: but let it rest in peace. Why stretch the corpse, and such a lovely corpse, again upon the rack?

I proceed to add to the passages already adduced Hym. Herm. 332 :—

σπουδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἦλθε

and one of a unique, but very suggestive, character from the Hymn to Apollo l. 439 :—

ἐς λιμέν', ἥ δ' ἀμάθοισιν ἐχρίμψατο ποντοπόρος νηῦς.

Now I do not claim to have absolutely proved by these instances the canon I have ventured to lay down, but the probability of its truth is at least considerably strengthened thereby, and may derive still further confirmation and support both (1) from examples of its applicability to improve existing rhythms and (2) from the facility, with which such adverse examples as occur in the vulgate may be corrected.

(1) I will begin by referring to α 409 and the very similar β 45, quoted above in the list of instances of the use of *χρεῖος*. The primitive and more acceptable rhythm in these lines may fairly be supposed to have been :—

ἦ ἔδν αὐτόο χρεῖος—  
ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτόο χρεῖος—.

In ρ 121 *ὄττεν χρηίζων* at the beginning of the line is clearly improved by the restoration of the dactyl *ὄττεο*. No advocacy is here required. None shall be used.

And so probably enough in Α 686, although, as I have said, *οῖσιν* would be at least correct, yet something might be advanced both on grounds of sense and rhythm in favour of :—

τοὺς ἵμεν, οἷσί τι χρεῖος ὀφέλλετ' ἐν Ἥλιδι δῆψ.

In Α 37, 451, perhaps I may not be alone in preferring to the vulgate this emendation :—

κλῶθί μεν, ἀργυρότοξος, ὃ Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας.



For the nom. for voc. *v. Cobet. Misc. Crit.* p. 333, Monro H. G. § 164 and for the article used as relative pronoun *v. Monro H. G. § 262.*

I expect less ready support and approval for my next suggestion, on the analogy of *Hym. Apoll.* 439, quoted above, that α 13 :—

τὸν δ' οἶον νόστου κεκρημένον ἦδ' γυναικός,

may have had originally, as the second hand in U (*Monacensis Augustanus*) gives it,

νόστοιο κεκρημένον,

while the very similar, but even more cumbersome *andante* movement of *v* 378 σίτου καὶ οἶνου κεκρημένον, would certainly be infinitely improved in lightness, harmony and rhythm, if read :—

σίτοιο καὶ οἶνοιο κεκρημένον—.

(2) The adverse instances of lengthening of a short vowel in thesis before *χρ* are neither numerous nor formidable. In *v* 215 we now read :—

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἰδωμαι.

For this I have elsewhere (*Journ. Phil.* xxvii., p. 172), without any idea that the second foot was really illegitimate, proposed to restore :—

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰδε χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω τε ἰδω τε.

I need not dwell on the un-epic character of the article here. The hitherto unsuspected fact that it is also unmetrical, merely confirms the general opinion which already condemns, and has long condemned, τὰ χρήματα as a late depravation, though the terrors of *χρ* seem to have prevented any suggestion of the above easy remedy.

*v* 263 ἀλλὰ χρήματα μὲν μυχῶ ἄντρον  
θεσπεσίῳ  
θεῖομεν αὐτίκα νῦν—

The tradition here has not been altogether fallacious, for in four reasonably good MSS. PHTU (*Ludwich*) may be found the true reading ἀλλ' ἄγε instead of ἀλλά FGSLW.

ξ 385 πολλὰ χρήματ' ἄγοντα σὺν ἀντιθέοις  
ἐτάροισι

Here again the MSS. in three instances at any rate, GLW, indicate an unexceptional reading :—

πολλὰ κτήματ'

This is to some extent confirmed by the analogous case of *v* 120, where the accepted text has ἐκ δὲ κτήματ', though a minority of MSS., already started on a wrong tack, has χρήματα there also (κτήματ' FGP HDSU; χρήματ' MLW, Eust.) *Ludwich*.

There remains, I believe, but one other instance of this lengthening in thesis :—

π 185 ἦδ' ἐκ χρύσεια δῶρα τετυγμένα.

Here the MSS. render no assistance towards a restoration; but the subjoined is not a very far-fetched remedy, nor one from which the vulgate could not be developed with tolerable facility :—

ἦδ' ἔτι χρύσεια δῶρα

ἦδ' ἔτι would be read ἦδ' ἐτι, and then the meaningless ἐτι would of course drop out altogether. Compare ξ 173, where although ὄφρα ἐτι is in no wise meaningless, yet I am distinctly of opinion that Homer said ὄφρ' ἔτι, in spite of the recurrence of ἔτι in the next line. Such recurrences are not uncommon in Homer.

I now pass for a moment to the consideration of θ 355 :—

Ἥφαιστ', εἴ περ γάρ κεν Ἄρης χρεῖος ὑπαλύξας.

On the principle I have endeavoured to establish, the intolerable ending -ος ὑπαλύξας, now defended on grounds, which carry no conviction, but cannot well be discussed at present, may be easily redeemed by a simple tmesis :—

Ἥφαιστ', εἴ περ γάρ κεν Ἄρης ὑπὸ χρεῖος  
ἀλύξας.

In conclusion I cannot but remark on the curious inconvenience of the duplicate set of verb forms exhibited in the lines, on which I have been commenting, ὀφείλεται, ὀφείλον, ὀφείλετο contrasted with ὀφέλλεται, ὀφέλλε. The inconvenience is enhanced, when we have to find room for another ὀφέλλω, *augeo*, which has obviously no connection with the above double-barreled eccentricity. It must not be supposed that the variation of spelling in the verb that signifies 'I owe' is a point of absolute differentiation between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as might appear to be the case from these lines. So far as can be ascertained, the authority of *Aristarchus* (*v.* on Λ 688) seems to have largely prevailed in the *Iliad* in favour of the spelling -ειλ-; but -ελλ- is not by any means absent from the older poem, as may be easily seen. In fact we have in the *Iliad* pretty much the same

elegant confusion as in the *Odyssey*. If the latter gives us γ 367 *χρεῖός μοι ὀφέλλεται* (*debetur*) and ξ 233 *αἶψα δὲ οἶκος ὀφέλλετο* (*augebatur*), the former is a good second with:—

A 353 *τιμὴν περ μοι ὀφελLEN Ὀλύμπιος ἐγ-  
γναλίξαι* (*debebat*)

Υ 242 *Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρεσσιν ὀφέλλει τε  
μινύθει τε* (*auget*).

In this difficulty are we to throw Aristarchus overboard or to accept his pilotage and allow him to guide us into smoother waters? I leave the question unanswered for more experienced seamen to tackle. Non omnia possumus omnes. T. L. AGAR.

#### ON ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS*, CH. VIII. 1451<sup>a</sup> 22 sqq.

ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διαφέρει καὶ τοῦτ' ἔοικεν καλῶς ἰδεῖν, ἥτοι διὰ τέχνην ἢ διὰ φύσιν· Ὀδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη, οἷον πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ μανῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἄγερμῳ, ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρον γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον ἦν <ἡ> εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἷαν λέγομεν τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν συνέστησεν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν *Iliada*.

My attention was directed to the difficulties of this passage by an interesting paper upon several places in the *Poetics* and other Aristotelian writings, recently read before the Oxford Philological Society by Mr. J. A. Smith of Balliol College.

There appear to be two main views on the interpretation. The first is that the words οἷον πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ μανῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἄγερμῳ give examples of what Homer left out, and this may well seem at first sight the natural explanation. But then the *Odyssey* does contain the first incident. Robortello meets this difficulty by supposing, apparently, that οὐκ ἐποίησεν means 'did not describe at length,' on the ground that the wounding by the wild boar is only briefly alluded to (*uno tantum atque altero verbo exposuit*).<sup>1</sup> Some modern scholars, since the incident is really described at length, interpret οὐκ ἐποίησεν rather as amounting to 'did not embody in his poem as a part of the main subject,' or something similar. The other view is that by a brachylogy, which does not seem altogether impossible, πληγῆναι μὲν κ.τ.λ. is given as an example corresponding to ποιῶν and μανῆναι δὲ κ.τ.λ. as one corresponding to οὐκ ἐποίησεν. The scholars who maintain this view are well aware that it has its difficulties, but feel compelled to it by the fact that the first incident is really mentioned in the poem; and think they find some confirmation in

the following clause ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρον κ.τ.λ., which seems to indicate a discrimination between the two incidents. It is rather against their ingenious interpretation that Aristotle is fond of pointing such an antithesis as they suppose by an emphatic οὐ following the second member of it: but the main thing is that the supporters of neither view have considered sufficiently the great difficulty in which both sides are involved by the next clause ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρον γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι. On the second view, as we have said, the clause would allege a ground for discriminating between the two incidents. The sense then would be 'Homer put in the first incident but omitted the second, because neither of these incidents involved the other.' This would be very awkward logic. The reason for preferring one to the other could not lie in the mere fact that neither involved the other; it would have to be that the first suited the plan of the poem: and then also the reason for rejecting the second must be, not that it was disconnected with the first, but that it had not the characteristic which justified the admission of the first, that is to say that it was not connected with the story.

On the first view the sense would be:— 'Homer embodied neither incident in his main subject because neither involved the other.' But that two incidents should be unconnected can be no reason for excluding both from the main subject; one of them may be connected with it and if the rule were carried out every incident would be eliminated from a poem. Thus, whether we suppose Aristotle intended to say that the first event was put in and the second left out, or that both were left out, the clause ὧν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. seems to cause insuperable difficulties. Only if neither of these alternatives, which have been taken to be the only possible ones, was true would these difficulties disappear.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to Mr. A. O. Prickard.

And this really seems to be the solution : there is another alternative.

What is here said of the procedure in the *Odyssey* is an illustration of a principle laid down at the beginning of the chapter, which Homer, Aristotle says, understood (τοῦτ' ἔοικεν καλῶς ἰδεῖν) :—1451<sup>a</sup> 16, μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἰς οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἰοῦνται ἐὰν περὶ ἓνα ἢ πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἐνὶ συμβαίνειν, ἐξ ὧν [ἐνίων] οὐδέν ἐστιν ἓν· οὕτως δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐνὸς πολλαί εἰσιν, ἐξ ὧν μία σὺδεμία γίνεται πράξις. 'A story is not a unity, as some people fancy, because it is about one person, for innumerable things happen to one person out of which no unity can be made' etc.

So here, in our passage, Aristotle says 'Homer, when composing a poem about one man, Odysseus, nevertheless did not put in it everything which happened to his hero, [for, as said above, things happened to him which could not be combined into a unity,—συνέβη ἐξ ὧν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἓν] for instance it happened to him (συνέβη) on the one hand that he was wounded on Parnassus, and on the other hand that he pretended to be mad, neither of which events had any necessary or probable connection with the other' [and so could not be combined in the same unity.]

Thus in the clause οἶον πλεγγῆναι κ.τ.λ., with which συνέβη must be understood, Aristotle does not assert either that Homer put in the first event and omitted the

second, or that he omitted both; but only gives them as examples of incidents which could not be combined into a unity, examples therefore which shew that Homer could not put in everything alike which happened to Odysseus (οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη) because they are such that he could not put in both. And that is all. It is not said how, exactly, the poet treated the incidents, e.g. which of them he left out, and it would make no difference to Aristotle's point if neither had happened to occur in the poem.

The sense then is shortly 'Homer who appreciated (καλῶς εἶδε) the principle above laid down, did not put in his poem everything which happened to his hero: for example here are two incidents, which have no conceivable connection with one another etc. [which could not therefore be combined into a unity; so that, according to our principle, one or other must be left out.]'

The logical and grammatical difficulties would thus seem to disappear.

It may be added that the words ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκός are emphatic. The expression 'no necessary or probable connection' comes very near our phrase 'no conceivable connection.' The emphasis is very appropriate on the interpretation here suggested, but on the other interpretations seems rather lacking in point.

J. COOK WILSON.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE PARIAN MARBLE.—I.

IN revising the text of the Parian Marble with a view to a new edition I have hit upon certain supplements and corrections, which I publish at once, partly at the instance of Dr. Hiller von Gaertringen, who is preparing the inscriptions of Paros for the *Corpus Insularum*, partly in the hope of drawing suggestions from other scholars.

The text naturally falls into three parts corresponding to the three fragments of the stone. The first fragment, lines 1 to 45, disappeared<sup>1</sup> in the seventeenth century, and its text is known to us only from Selden's edition in his *Marmora Arundelli-*

*ana*, 1628 and 1629. The second is now in the University Galleries at Oxford, but has suffered so much from exposure and neglect that the text is in many places better preserved in the earlier editions than on the stone. The third fragment was discovered about four years ago in Paros, and remains in the local museum at Paroikia, where I have collated it.

This last portion has been excellently edited by Crispi and Wilhelm in *Mittheilungen des Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*, xxii. 1897, pp. 183–217. For the rest Boeckh's great edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. ii. no. 2374, is the standard. It is the foundation on which all later editors have built, and enjoys such unquestioned acceptance that even in scholarly works Boeckh's restorations are commonly quoted as if they had the

<sup>1</sup> Prideaux says in his preface that this fragment was used to repair a fireplace in Arundel House, presumably a marble chimney-piece. If so, it may yet be recovered, for such a piece of furniture would be likely to be removed entire, and the slab may have been made into a panel or shelf and still retain the inscription on its inner face.



authority of the Marble itself. Boeckh has indeed done more for the restoration and interpretation of the text than anyone since Selden, and more than anyone will ever be able to do again. But his edition has not the finality which has sometimes been attributed to it. Perhaps no edition can ever be final, for the reconstruction of the text is a very difficult matter. In some places the inscription has been so extensively mutilated that no supplement can be more than a happy divination. The size and closeness of the writing vary so much that one line may contain 30 letters more than another. Selden's text (as Palmerius long ago demonstrated) does not always preserve the spaces of the original, his gaps are only very roughly measured, and his dots seldom represent, and do not seem to be meant to represent, the number of letters missing. It is not surprising that even Boeckh's wide learning and wonderful sagacity are sometimes at fault. But his edition is still beyond all comparison the best hitherto published, and the bulk of his work need never be done again. I take my start from Boeckh's achievements, and discuss only points in which I think that his text can still be mended.

## I.

*Ep. 4. Lines 6-8.* 'Αφ' οὗ κατακλυσμός ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐγένετο, καὶ Δευκαλίων τοὺς || ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐγ' Αἰκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κραναῖον, καὶ ΤΟΥΔΙΟ . . . ΥΟ . . . Δ . . . Μ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΡ . . . ΟΝΙΔ . . . . . Ο . . . τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν, || [ἐ]τη ΧΗΗΓΔΓ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Κρ[α]ν[α]οῦ.

Boeckh restores τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀμβρίου Ἀπ[η]μ[ί]ου τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδ[ρύσατο] [καί], comparing Pausanias i. 32, 2, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. But the altar on Parnes is not here to the point, and Boeckh's attempt to treat seriously Selden's spaces and dots breaks down. Probably Selden copied first what was obvious and afterwards what was difficult, but his gaps proved too wide and his supplements were badly adjusted. It is better to revert to Chandler's restoration, based on Prideaux, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλ[υ]μ[πι]ου τὸ [ἐ]ρὸν ἰδ[ρύσατο] [καί]. Cf. Paus. i. 18, 8, τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομησαί λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν. On ἱερόν not ἱρὸν see Wilhelm's observations in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii. p. 199.

*Ep. 5. Lines 8-10.* 'Α[φ] οὗ Ἀμφικτύων Δευκαλίωνος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, καὶ συνῆγε || [τ]οὺς περὶ ΤΟΝΟΡΟΝ οἰκοῦντας καὶ ὁ[ν]όμασεν Ἀμφικτύωνας κ.τ.λ.

Wilhelm (l.c.) convincingly argues that for τὸν ὄρον we ought to read ΤΟΙΕΠΟΝ, τὸ ἱερόν.

*Ep. 7. Lines 12-13.* 'Αφ' οὗ Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγῆνορος εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκετο [καί] ἔκτισεν τὴν Καδμεί- || -αν, ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

Palmerius supplied κατὰ χρησμόν with reference to the oracle about the cow. Boeckh suggested ἐκ Φοινίκης comparing lines 14-5, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπλευσε. (Cf. also Herod. ii. 49, παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλεομένην χώραν cf. v. 57). Flach justly observes that the order of words in lines 14-5 is different and tells against Boeckh's suggestion. (Cf. also line 7, above, and line 51 Σαπφώ ἐγ' Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε.) Flach conjectures τῆς Βοιωτίας, which is flat, and supported neither by Herodotus nor by the practice of the Marble. Perhaps, as the line seems a little too short, κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν might stand. This phrase, or its equivalent, is so frequent in connection with Cadmus, that it suggests that either one chapter of the Cadmean legend was known as 'the quest of Europa,' or some poem, which was a favourite authority for the legend, bore that title. Cf. Herod. iv. 147, Diod. Sic. v. 48 and 58, Ap. Rhod. iii. 1178, Apollod. iii. 1, Schol. Eurip. Phoen. 638, Syncell. p. 306 (Bonn), etc., and the Δήμητρος ζήτησις attributed to Orpheus in line 26 below.

*Ep. 8. Lines 13-14.* 'Αφ' οὗ [ ] νικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν, ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

Boeckh justly suspects that the *lacuna* is too small in Selden's text. He is clearly right in preferring Lydiat's Λακω[ν]ικῆς to Selden's Φοι[ν]ικῆς, but I cannot follow him in accepting the supplement Εἰρώτας καὶ Λακεδαίμων. It is neither recorded nor probable that Eurotas reigned simultaneously with his son-in-law<sup>1</sup> Lacedaemon, and neither of them has a strong claim to be mentioned.

I conjecture Ἀφ' οὗ [Σπαρτοὶ, μετὰ Κάδμου ἐκπεσόντες, Λακω]νικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν, or something to that effect. The suggestion is based on the proximity of Cadmus in space and

<sup>1</sup> Lydiat does not prove his statement that Eurotas and Lacedaemon were sometimes regarded as brothers. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταύγετον only shows that Taygete might be made the mother of either.

time (Ep. 7, three years earlier, cf. Eusebius (Schoene) Ann. Abr. 696 and 700) and the words *Λακωνικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν*. The Sparti furnish not only a link between these two terms, but also an explanation of the name Sparta, which would be quite in the manner of this part of the chronicle, cf. *Κεκροπία*, 'Ακτική, 'Αρειος πάγος, 'Αμφικτιόνες, 'Ελληνες, Καδμεία, πεντηκόντορος, κ.τ.λ. On the Sparti in Laconia, cf. Steph. Byz. *Σπάρτη, Λακωνικὸν χωρίον, ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ Κάδμου Σπαρτῶν, περὶ ὧν Τιμαγόρας φησὶν ἐκπεσόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν Σπάρτην ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ὀνομάσαι*.

The Aegeidae, φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ (Herod. iv. 149), were sometimes derived from these immigrant Sparti (e.g. Schol. Pind. Pyth. v. 101, Tzetzes, Lyc. 495). Theras, whom Herodotus regards as the grandfather of Aegeus, was a Cadmean, and ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην (Herod. iv. 147). One Admetus, priest of the Carnean Apollo in Thera, and so presumably an Aegeid, boasts his descent *Λακεδαίμονος ἐκ βασιλῆων* in a pair of inscriptions of Roman date, C.I.G.I., iii. 868-9. These royal pretensions may be put beside the *ἐβασίλευσαν* of the chronicle.

Possibly Plato's fondness for the myth of Cadmus and his earth-born warriors may be connected with his interest in Sparta.

Ep. 9. Lines 14-17. In line 16 certain of the daughters of Danaus ἀποκληροθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν [ιερόν ιδρύσ]αντ[ο] 'Αθηνᾶς ]]] καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐμ ΠΑΡΑ . . ΑΔΙ ἐν Δίνῳι τῆς 'Ροδίας.

On ΠΑΡΑ . . ΑΔΙ Selden adds in his note (p. 74) 'Ex elementorum, quae supersunt in Marmore, vestigiis elicuerit forsan quis ΠΑΡΑΡΑΔΙ aut ΠΑΡΑΓΑΔΙ.' Since therefore Selden evidently paid some attention to this word Boeckh's remark 'pro infaustis aliorum conatibus certam dedi emendationem ἐμ παράπλω' must be pronounced reckless. I had long decided that παρα[στ]άδι must be the right reading, when I was astonished to find it lurking unheeded in Palmerius' commentary. The editors seem to have wholly ignored this convincing suggestion, and perpetuated only Palmerius' impossible alternative παρα[λι]άδι. For ἐμ παραστάδι compare the formula so common in the inscriptions of Iasus, C.I.G. ii. 2672 sqq., ἀναγράφαι εἰς παραστάδα, or ἐν τῇ παραστάδι τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου.

Line 16 is obviously too short, but it is difficult to decide how to fill it out. The whole subject of the Danaids at Lindus needs clearing up.

At the beginning of line 16, among the names of the Danaids, Selden gives . . ΛΑΡΕΥΩ. To one who knows the stone the obvious emendation is ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩ, and just as Archedice does not occur elsewhere among the Danaids, so Καλλιστῶ may perhaps be admitted. Καλλιδίκη is found in Apollodorus, whose list differs widely from Hyginus'.

Ep. 10. Lines 17-21. Among other events Hyagnis the Phrygian invented flutes [καὶ ἁρμονίαν τὴν κ]α||λουμένην Φρυγιστὶ πρῶτος ἠύλησε καὶ ἄλλους νόμους Μητρός, Διονύσου, Πανός, καὶ τὸν ἐπ[

It should be noticed that the νόμοι are all associated with a particular deity. Boeckh's restoration τὸν ἐπ[ὶ Πυθῶνι ἐπικήδειον Ἀνδιστὶ], cf. Plut. de Mus. 15, is the only one which entirely harmonizes with the series, and although he does not print it in his cursive version, its appropriateness seems to me to outweigh the fact that this νόμος was attributed by Aristoxenus to Olympus. Perhaps τῶι Πυθῶνι (as in Plutarch) would, as Flach observes, be an improvement; and I should omit Ἀνδιστὶ, which is at least unnecessary after ἄλλους νόμους, and to my mind a little out of tune with the rest of the passage.

Ep. 11. Lines 21-23. καὶ 'Ακμονος, the name of the third Dactyl, inserted by Boeckh, makes the line rather long. Palmerius and Prideaux more prudently restricted themselves to two, especially as the discovery of iron is elsewhere actually ascribed to Kelmis and Damnameneus without Acmon, v. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 75.

Ep. 12. Lines 23-24. 'Αφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ ἀφικομένη εἰς 'Αθήνας καρπὸν ἐφύ[τε]νεν, καὶ ΠΡ . . . . ΠΡΑ . . . . ΩΤΗ δ[ε]ίξαντος || Τ]ριπτολέμον τοῦ Κελεοῦ καὶ Νεαίρας, ἔτη ΧΗΔΔΔΔΠ[Ι], βασιλείοντος 'Αθήνησιν 'Εριχθέως.

Boeckh restored πρ[ό]πειρα ἐ[π]πρά[χθη] πρ[ώ]τη, but evidently felt some misgivings as to the conjunction of the first two of these words. With great confidence I suggest πρ[ό]σηροσία ἐ[π]πρά[χθη] πρ[ώ]τη. Cf. Hesych. προηρόσια· τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότου (ἀρότρου cod.) θύματα: Suidas προηρόσια· αἱ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότου (ἀρότρου cod.) γινόμεναι θυσίαι. On the whole festival and its relation to Demeter and Eleusis, see A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*.

Boeckh writes δειξάντων, but it is more likely that Neaera is meant to be the mother of Triptolemus than his helper. Many different mothers are assigned to him.

I have added | to the numeral to distinguish this *epoch* from the next, for nowhere in the chronicle are two *epochs* dated at the same year. Boeckh adopts Lydiat's expedient, and reads || for Π in Ep. 13. But it is obviously better to set the ploughing and sowing in close connection in consecutive years. This point has some bearing on the question of the season from which the chronicler reckons his years.

Ep. 14. Lines 25–27. [Αφ' οὗ Ὁρφεὺς Οἰάγρου] | νίδ[ς τῇ]ν αὐτοῦ πο[ί]ησιν ἐξ[έ]θηκε, Κόρης τε ἀρπαγὴν καὶ Δήμητρος ζήτησιν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ [ ]θος τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τὸν καρπὸν κ.τ.λ. One would expect τὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς αἶδον κατάβασιν (see Boeckh's note), but Selden's copy has τόν. Boeckh therefore restored καταβαθμόν, but quotes no parallel for this rather odd use of the word. Perhaps, in view of the prominence of water in the Orphic pictures of the nether world, κατάπλους might be used. Cf. e.g. Hermesianax in Athenaeus xiii. 597, ἐπλευσεν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπεχθέα χώρον κ.τ.λ.

For the latter half of the *lacuna* Boeckh's first idea was τὸ θεῖον πάθος, and it seems to me happier than his second thought τὸ γῆθος. I would add to it ἐκεῖ, for which there is room enough, to make the meaning clear and precise.

The whole passage will then run—καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ [εἰς αἶδον κατάπλουν καὶ τὸ θεῖον || ἐκεῖ πά]θος τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τὸν καρπὸν. On the general sense consult Boeckh's admirable note.

In line 26 Selden has πόησιν both in his uncial and in his cursive text, and Boeckh retains it. But, without reckoning ἱαμβοποιος and the like words, ποιητῆς or ποιήσις occur 16 times in the extant portions of the chronicle, and ἐποίησεν once. The omission of the *iota* here seems more likely to be due to Selden than to the author.

Ep. 16. Lines 29–30. Ἀφ' οὗ καθαρυὸς πρῶτον ἐγένετο . . . . . ΟΥΓΡΩΤΩΙΑΟΝ . . . EANT . . . . . || [ἐτῇ Χ<sup>α</sup>]ΔΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.

None of the conjectures hitherto proposed are satisfactory. Boeckh, partly following the lead of his predecessors, writes [φόν]ον, πρῶτω[ν] Ἀ[θηναίων καθηρ]αίν[ον] Ἡρακλέα]. I would suggest [Μελάμπος πρῶτ]ον Πρ[οί]τ[ι]δ[ω]ν [παύσ]αν[τος τὴν μανίαν], which is nearer to the copy than it looks at first sight, and still leaves the line rather a short one. Cf. Eusebius Ann. Abr. 642

and 649 (Arm.), 647 and 650 (Hieron.), where Melampus follows in the next note after Eumolpus (cf. Ep. 15); and especially Apollodorus ii. 2, 2, 4, Μελάμπος δὲ . . . . . μάντις ὢν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εἰρηκῶς ὑποσχέται θεραπεύειν τὰς παρθένους κ.τ.λ. The letters EANT point to -σ]αντ[ος] rather than καθήρ]αντ[ος], and πανσ]αντ[ος] fits the space better than θεραπευσ]αντ[ος]. Cf. Alexis in Athenaeus viii. 340, ὁ Μελάμπος, ὅς μόνος τὰς Προϊτίδας ἔπανσε μαινομένας: Schol. Eur. Phoen. 181, ἐπλανῶντο ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν ἐς ὃ Μελάμπος ὁ Ἀμνθάονος ἔπανσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου: Steph. Byz. Δουσοῖ' ὅπου Μελάμπος ἔλονσε τὰς Προϊτον θυγατέρας, καὶ ἔπανσε τῆς μανίας.

There is great diversity in the dates assigned to Melampus and Proetus, v. Clinton, Fast. Hell. i. p. 74. The restoration of the numeral here is due to Lydiat, who acutely observed that no other number ending in ΔΙΙ could fall within the reign of Pandion II.

Ep. 17. Lines 30–32. Ἀφ' οὗ [ἐ]ν Ἐλευσίνι ὁ γυμνικός. . . . . ΑΦΟΥ. . . . . || . . . ΑΙ . . . τὰ Λύκαια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ Ἀ . . . ΚΚΕ . . . . . Λυκάονος ἐδόθησαν . . τοῖς Ἑλλ[η]σι[ν] ἐτ[ῇ] κ.τ.λ.

There can be no doubt that ἀγὼν ἐτέθη must follow γυμνικός, but ΑΦΟΥ is difficult, for considerations of space absolutely preclude us from starting a fresh *epoch* here, as was done by some of the earlier commentators. Boeckh ingeniously conjectured Κ[Α]Ι[Ο]Υ[ΣΙΑ βρέφους ἀνθρώπου κ]αί, (cf. Paus. viii. 2), but the double subject *θυσία* καὶ τὰ Λύκαια scarcely suits ἐγένετο, and the position of ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ is very awkward. Ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ought to answer to ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, and everything before καὶ τὰ Λύκαια ought to be connected with Eleusis, not with Arcadia. A passage in the Hymn to Demeter, lines 263–7, has suggested to me the restoration ἐπὶ Τ]ΑΦ[ΩΙ Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Κελεοῦ, κ]αί, which at least illustrates the sort of supplement required.

For the second *lacuna* Boeckh considered [αἰ ἐκ]κ[ηρύξεις τοῦ] Λυκάονος a certain restoration, which he interpreted 'de praeconibus novos ludos per Graeciam nuntiantibus.' Müller justly objected to the unknown word ἐκκηρύξεις and substituted ἐκχειρίαι, which is accepted by Flach. But neither word quite fits ἐδόθησαν, and both ideas are mere weak developments of the preceding clause. This is the right place for a reference to the human sacrifices which



formed part of the Lycaean festival and were ascribed to the institution of Lycaon. Part of a human victim was chopped up with the flesh of the other animals sacrificed, and served out to the communicants. Whoever at this ghastly sacrament chanced to eat of the human flesh was supposed to become a wolf. [Αἰ] κ[ρ]ε[ανομίαι] Λυκάονος seems to me to give the right expression, and to suit the vestiges well enough, for Κ is written narrow with short tails, so that ΚΡ might easily be misread as ΚΚ.

It is difficult to say whether the space for two letters [έν] before τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν is deliberate or casual. There is a similar gap between καὶ and τὰ Λύκαια, and such maladjustments are bound to occur in a copy gradually puzzled out—a bit here and a bit there and a bit between. But έν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν would rather gain by my restoration, for the insertion of έν emphasizes the un-Hellenic character of the practice. Cf. Plato, *Minos*, 315 C, καὶ μὴ ὅτι βάρβαροι ἄνθρωποι ἡμῶν ἄλλοις νόμοις χρώνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ έν τῇ Λυκαίᾳ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος ἔκγονοι οἷας θυσίας θύουσιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες.

Ep. 20. *Lines* 34–36. Ἀφ' οὗ Θησ[εὺς] βασιλεύων || Ἀθηνῶν τὰς δώδεκα πόλεις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνώικισεν καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ΑΠΠΕΩ . . . . || . . . . ΟΣ Ἀθηνῶν τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας, κ.τ.λ.

Boeckh gives ἀπ[έδ]ω[κε, καὶ ἀπογενόμενος] Ἀθηνῶν. Ἀπέδωκε seems certain, but ἀπογενόμενος is a little colourless. On the other hand Gutschmid's ἔκων ἀπαλασσόμενος (why present?), quoted by Flach, is unnecessarily emphatic, although the words τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπέδωκε point to a voluntary abdication, cf. Plutarch, *Thes.* 24 and 25. Perhaps μεταστὰς αὐτὸς would hit the mean without missing the antithesis.

Ep. 22. *Lines* 37–38. I much prefer Boeckh's suggestion ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρῳ τῷ Διῷ, which he prints. It is much more like the chronicle to give the occasion, cf. Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας above, ἐλόντες Κυρῆαν in Ep. 37, and there is no real lack of space, for the lines are long (that is to say closely written) in this part of the inscription.

Ep. 25. *Lines* 40–41. Ἀφ' οὗ Ὀρέστη[ς] . . . ΙΟΙΑΙΤΩΝΑΥΤΟ . . . . [Α]ἰγίσθου θυγατρὶ [Ἡριγ]όν[η] ὑπὲρ Αἰ[γίσθου, καὶ αὐ[τοῖς] ἡ δέ || -κη ἐδικ[ά]σθη έν Ἀρεί[ῳ] πάγῳ, ἣν Ὀρέστης ἐνίκησεν [ἴσων γενομένων] τῶν ψήφων, ἔτη [Π]ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ[ΔΙ]Η, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Δημοφῶντος.

Boeckh restored Ὀρέστη[ς] πρ[ο]σ[α]ιτῶν αὐτ[ο]ῦ δίκην ὑπέσχε[ν] κ.τ.λ., but did not satisfy himself. Perhaps Ὀρέστη[ς] ἐπὶ προνομ[ο]ίαι τῶν αὐτοχειριῶν ἐδικάσατο might stand in default of a better suggestion. It does not quite convince me, but it has the advantages of keeping all the letters of Selden's copy and giving a sense more pertinent to the case. Not all αὐτοχειρίαι were judged by the court of Areopagus, but only αὐτοχειρίαι ἐκ προνομίας, v. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57, cf. Plato, *Laws* ix. esp. 865 B, C, 871 A.

ἴσων γενομένων is more natural than Boeckh's ἰσοθεισῶν. In both lines I allow more letters than Boeckh, but keep well within the number preserved in several complete lines.

In the numeral Boeckh supplies ΠΗ, but since it is impossible to conform the number to Homer, *Od.* iii. 304–8, I think that the first year of Demophon's reign is the date most probably intended.

Ep. 26. *Lines* 41–42. Ἀφ' οὗ [Σαλα- || -μίνα ἐγ] Κύπρῳ Τεύκρος ὤικισεν, κ.τ.λ.

The editors restore έν Κύπρῳ, but compare ἐγ Κυβέλοις and ἐγ Κελαιναῖς (line 19), ἐγ Κυζίκῳ and ἐγ Κῳι (lines 14 and 23 of the new fragment), ἐγ Γέλαι (line 74, clearly ΕΓ on the stone). The exception έν Γάζει (lines 19–20 of the new fragment) is to be explained by the fact that the two words come in different lines.

Ep. 27. *Lines* 42–44. Ἀφ' οὗ Νη[λ]εὺς ὤικισ[ε] Μίλητον κ.τ.λ., ἔτη ΠΗΗΗΔΙΗ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν ΜΕΝΕΣΘΩΣ ΤΡΕΙΣ-ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ [ΕΤΟ]ΥΣ.

Selden's uncial text has ΝΕ . . ΕΥΣ, but in his table of *errata* and his cursive version he corrects ΝΕ to ΝΗ. Boeckh puts the correction aside as a conjecture, but I see no valid reason for rejecting it. The Ionicisms in the text of the Marble have now almost disappeared (εἰως is merely in the heading), so that Νηλεὺς seems more probable than Νελεὺς.

More important is the question of the date. Selden in his cursive version and notes tacitly corrects Μενεσθως to Μενεσθέως, which may be accepted as the reading of the Marble. He is evidently inclined to believe<sup>1</sup> that the words Μενεσθέως τρεῖςκαὶδεκάτου ἔτους have simply been repeated from line 39 by a blunder of the engraver, and would substitute for them Μέδοντος or Ἀκάστου. Μέδοντος is both epigraphically

<sup>1</sup> Palmerius positively and confidently adopts this theory.

and historically the more probable correction. But perhaps Selden goes too far in rejecting altogether *τρεῖσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους*. The precise date assigned to the foundation of Syracuse in the reign of Aeschylus (Ep. 31) creates a presumption in favour of a precise date in the reign of Medon for the Ionic colonization. Moreover the engraver could hardly have made the mistake, or at least must surely have detected it, if something like *τρεῖσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους* had not intervened between the king's name and the 'Αφ' οἱ which opens the next *epoch*. But if Selden's correction *Μέδοντος*, and his restoration of the numeral 813, be accepted, as surely they must be, then *τρεῖσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους* can hardly be retained as it stands. For if we may assume that the Marble continues to agree with Eusebius' Canon in the lengths of the reigns (although putting them all 26 years earlier), 813 will be the 19th year of Medon. The only other possible number is 823, which would be equally inconsistent with *τρεῖσκαίδεκάτου*. Boeckh attempts to reconcile the 13th year of Medon with the numeral 813 by adopting Dodwell's suggestion that the chronicler agreed with the Excerptor Barbarus, and not with Eusebius' Canon, in reckoning the years of the reigns between Menestheus and Medon. But there still remains a difference of one

year, which he tries to adjust by his untenable doctrine of the double *computus*. We may, however, find a middle course between Boeckh and Selden. It will be enough to account for the stone-cutter's blunder if the beginning and end of our restoration resemble those of *Μενεσθέως τρεῖσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους*. Now there is no evidence that the Marble is not consistently 26 years behind Eusebius down to the date of Pheidon in Ep. 30. We may therefore legitimately argue that the date 813 carries with it the restoration *Μέδοντος ἑννεακαίδεκάτου ἔτους*. If the engraver slipped from *Me-* into *Μενεσθέως*, he may well have followed up the false cue and written *τρεῖσ-* (as in line 39) for *ἑννεα-*, and yet have been prevented by the final *-καίδεκάτου ἔτους*, which is common to both phrases, from ever detecting his aberration.

It is worth noting that the two slips, Medon 13 for Medon 19, and Menestheus 2 for Menestheus 22 (Ep. 24), would, if taken seriously, throw the historical reckoning 26 years back on the numerical, and that this is precisely the interval by which the Marble differs from the Canon of Eusebius. Possibly it may not after all be the engraver who is to blame.

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(To be continued.)

## TWO EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL.

### LIB. SPECT. XXI.

Quidquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro

dicitur, exhibuit, Caesar, harena tibi.  
repserunt scopuli mirandaque silua cucurrit,  
quale fuisse nemus creditur Hesperidum.  
affuit inmixtum pecori genus omne ferarum  
et supra uatem multa pendit auis.  
ipse sed ingrato iacuit laceratus ab urso.  
haec tamen res est facta ita pictoria.

The story of Orpheus and his lute was enacted in the amphitheatre; the stones and trees, the beasts and birds were there, all spell-bound by his music; but the show ended with a novelty: Orpheus was killed by a bear. The last verse appears as above in the best and oldest manuscript H; T amends the metre somewhat,

haec tamen *haec* res est facta ita pictoria;

most of the MSS have larger alterations,

haec tamen *ut* res est facta, ita *ficta alia*;  
and Schneidewin proposed and Friedlaender and Gilbert accept

haec tamen, *haec* res est facta ita, *ficta prior*,  
'yet this, this circumstance was so performed, the earlier was feigned': *res prior*, I suppose, is the accepted tale of Orpheus' death. The antithesis has no point, the emphasis of the repeated *haec* is mere ineptitude, and *tamen*, so far as I can see, means nothing at all; for there is no sort of contrast between verse 7 and verse 8, between being killed by a bear and being really and truly killed by a bear.

Mr Buecheler has recognised that the Latin letters ICTORIA at the end of the verse are the Greek word *ιστορία*. But he

gets no profit out of this discovery: he writes

*haec tamen, haec res est facta, τὰδ' ἱστορία*, explains *ἱστορία* as *res gesta*, 'das vor Zeugen urkundlich dokumentirte' (*ἱστορία* being glossed as *θέα* in the Byzantine lexicons), and leaves *haec haec* just as aimless and *tamen* just as senseless as before.

I propose to write

*haec tantum res est facta παρ' ἱστορίαν.*

ITAPICTORIA = ITAPICTOPIA ('lineola significans *v* frequentissime occurrit iis in uocibus, quae in fine uersuum scriptae sunt' Bast comm. pal. p. 747). For IT=Π see Porson on Eur. Phoen. 1277: add a good example from M. Sen. suas. vi 21 *ei τιτλφίον* for *ἐπιτάφιον*. Since *tūn* could signify either *tantum* or *tamen*, these two words are incessantly exchanged: thus at ix 46 4, the MSS are divided between them. The behaviour of T in attempting to cure the metre with *tamen haec* is repeated at i 3 5, where H has 'maiores nusquam *runt*' for *rhonci* and T expands it to *fuertunt*. In lib. spect. 22 4 'sed *tandem* rediit' some MSS have *tamen* and then others make matters worse with *tamen huic* and *tamen is*.

The sense wants no explaining, 'in this detail alone did the performance diverge from the story.'

## XXI B

Orpheus quod subito tellus emisit hiatu  
uersam is amur uenit ab Eurydice.

So H, with a letter erased between *uersam* and *is* says Schneidewin, between *is* and *amur* too says Friedlaender. T makes this into *uersa miramur*, the editors all build on the falsified reading, and their structures are worthy of their foundation. The conjectures of Haupt, Munro (accepted by Friedlaender) and Gilbert are virtually identical in meaning, but Haupt's is nearest to the MSS:

Orpheus quod subito tellus emisit hiatu,  
*mersa* (*miramur*!) uenit ab Eurydice.

Who was so ignorant as to wonder or think of wondering at the spectacle of Orpheus emerging from underground, exactly as Orpheus would be expected to do? And who, that did wonder at this spectacle, would cease to wonder on being told that Orpheus came from Eurydice, from whom he was most unwilling to come? I do not know that I can more clearly and briefly display the absurdity of these lections than by saying that they would acquire some sense and

point if we made the following changes in the proper names: 'Socratem quod tellus emisit, miramur? uenit a Xanthippe.'

So put *uersa miramur* aside, and from *uersam is amur* elicit

Orpheus quod subito tellus emisit hiatu  
ursam mersuram, uenit ab Eurydice.

*ursam-ers-ur-am* makes *u-ersam-rs-am-ur*. For this leap of *e* over four letters compare Plaut. mil. 604 *si rescuere, scire siuere*, Liu. xxii 14 3 *extrema iuga Massici, extremam iuga assici*, xli 21 3 Claudio *sine, cladio suine*; the transposition *ur-am, am-ur* I have illustrated in this *Review* vol. iii p. 201 and in the Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society vol. iii p. 146: here I will only add Liu. xlv 34 11 '*uer primum ex domo exciuitat, iamque Synnada peruenerant*,' where the editors write *exciuit*, but *exci-ui-ta-t* should perhaps be *exci-ta-ui-t*.

This is the same bear that we met in the former epigram: it has changed its gender for the sake of grammatical lucidity, much as the *uulidi leones* of Lucr. v 1310 become *leae* to suit the metre in 1318. 'As for the earth opening and sending forth a bear to drag down Orpheus, the creature was Eurydice's emissary': she sent it that her husband might rejoin her in the shades. *hiatu* is to be supplied a second time with *mersuram*, 'tellus subito hiatu emisit ursam eodem hiatu Orpheus mersuram': the bear came out of a fissure in the ground, and disappeared into it again, dragging the body of Orpheus after her ('*mergere hiatu*' Aetna 119, 'ad infernam Styga | tenebrasque mergis' Sen. Thy. 1008). It may seem that *ursam* and *Orpheus* should change places, but I suppose Orpheus stands at the beginning to match Eurydice at the end. The use of *quod*, so frequent in prose, recurs in Martial at ii 11 1—6, viii 21 4, 82 2. In this connexion let me cite and explain the hexameter sors C.I.L. i 1453, which is not fully apprehended either by Munro at Lucr. iv 885 or by Mr Buecheler in his anthologia epigraphica.

quod fugis, quod iactas tibi quod datur,  
spernere noli.

The third *quod* is the relative pronoun, the two others belong to the class of which I am speaking: *quod fugis iactasque* (= *fastidis*) *eam rem quae tibi datur, noli donum spernere*, 'as for your refusing and disdaining what is given you, I bid you despise it not.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.



## THE CODEX TORNAESIANUS OF NONIUS MARCELLUS.

For the text of Book IV of Nonius Marcellus, a book which is in size equivalent to a third of the whole work, the Geneva MS. (*Gen.*) is probably the best authority; better even than the famous Leyden MS. (*L.*). With *Gen.* are associated in one family or group the Berne MS. (*B.*) and the first hand of the Cambridge MS. (*Cant.*<sup>1</sup>) and of the Harleian MS. (*H.*<sup>1</sup>).

In this year's volume of the *Philologus* I have, I trust, proved that *Cant.*<sup>1</sup> and *H.*<sup>1</sup> are nothing but copies of *Gen.*, so that the only existing independent representative of the group, besides *Gen.*, is *B.* Now *B.* is a MS. which omits at random passage after passage, so that its testimony is as often wanting as not. And further its text shews clear signs of arbitrary emendation and alteration. *B.* is therefore not of much use as a check on *Gen.* Where *Gen.* exhibits a unique reading, we do not get much help from *B.* in deciding whether this reading has come from the archetype or is merely an error of the scribe.

Considerable interest therefore attaches to the readings of the lost MS., which was once in the possession of Dutournes (Tornaesius), and whose text must have stood in close relation to the text of *Gen.* They were found in the margin of an edition of Nonius belonging to Schneidewin, who had transcribed them from another edition belonging to Duebner. Duebner himself had taken them from the marginalia of a printed text. Here is Prof. Mueller's account of them in the second volume of his edition of Nonius (p. 307):

'Porro similis admodum Genevensis libri fuit Tornaesianus, excepto quod mancum fuisse probabile est. Ex eo dittographias paucas inveni adiectas margini editionis Basiliensis nuper a me emptae, quae olim fuerat Jacobi Beckeri. Is acceperat a Schneidewino, professore quondam Göttingensi, qui descripserat ex Duebneri exemplari Merceriano. Cf. comm. doctor. Götting. a. 1843 p. ii. pg. 700 sq. Nec vero Duebnerus ipso usus est codice, sed ex editione quadam transcripsit quae dixi. Pertinent excerpta illa ab initio capitis iv. ad 314, 19.'

For readings removed by so many stages from the actual MS. of Tornaesius complete accuracy could hardly be claimed. In 280 M. 27, for example, where our Nonius MSS. have *Appia*, it was difficult to believe that

the Codex Tornaesianus not merely had *Appio* but placed the word in the preceding line after the word *exercitu*. Fuller and more direct information regarding the lost codex was highly desirable.

In the margins of a Plantin edition of Nonius (Antwerp, 1565, 8vo.) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (with shelf-mark Rés. X. 1, 788) I have just found what appears to be a careful and fairly complete collation of this codex. The book belonged to Cl. Dupuy (Claudius Puteanus) and has been used solely for the collation of a MS. which contained only Book IV. No account of the MS. is given; but in another copy of the same Plantin edition, which belonged to the same owner (Rés. X. 1, 786), this collation has been entered along with other marginalia and is distinguished from them by the symbol 'vet. cod. Torn.' (e.g. p. 269 im.), 'Tor. v.c.', or (usually) 'To.' This transcription<sup>1</sup> is not always perfectly accurate. For instance, at

266 M. 17, where the original has *pergamera sic* (i.e. *pergam era* had in the codex been corrected to *pergam eri*), the transcription has *To. pergameri sic*. But since the binder of the original volume has often cut ruthlessly through the marginalia, the help of the transcript is very welcome.

An examination of the readings ascribed to this 'vet. cod. Torn.' destroys the hope of fresh light being thrown on the text of the fourth book of Nonius. For the codex appears to have been nothing else than the Geneva MS. itself. In the passage just quoted the Geneva MS. has precisely this correction of *pergam era* to *pergam eri*. In 353 M. 34-35 after *verum ea necessitudo* in the text, the collation gives *Necessitudo necessitas*. *Sall. in Catil. praeterea necessitudo* with the appended note 'haec addita sunt manu alia, sed antiqua tamen,' corres-

<sup>1</sup> There is in the same library (Rés. x. 1, 791) another copy of Nonius (Paris, 1583, 8vo.), whose marginalia come from this volume. At the end stands this entry in the handwriting, I think, of P. Pithou the younger: 'Emendavi Lutetiae ex libro v. cl. Claudii Puteani mdcxii kal. Mart.' The fact that no less than three copies of the readings of so important a MS. should have remained undiscovered emphasises anew the necessity for catalogues of all those early editions of the Classics which are provided with marginalia. The Cambridge University Library has long had a printed catalogue of this kind; the Bodleian now possesses a written one. It is to be hoped that other libraries will follow their example.

ponding with the state of the passage in the Geneva MS., where *Gen.*<sup>3</sup> has added the words which other MSS. of Nonius omit. In 296 M. 44 all MSS. of Nonius offer *induat*, and so does *Gen.*; but in *Gen.* the word is so written as to resemble *inducit*. The newly found collation has *inducit*. Coincidences like these can hardly be accidental. Where the readings of the Codex Tornaesianus, as given by Mueller, differ from the readings of *Gen.*, the collation effaces the difference. It shews e.g., in 280 M. 27 *appia* (at its normal place in the text) with the appended note 'f(ortasse) ab *Appio*. vide historiam annorum u. c. 676 et 681.' Similarly:

232, 30 *qua*, not *quanta*

234, 7 *studos ualem*, not *s. suavem*

234, 9 *meridonibus*, not *mier*.

13 *ne quid animas emittat*, not *amittat*,

and so on. One by one, all the discrepant readings of the Codex Tornaesianus vanish as we go through the collation. And when we consider how much nearer to the actual MS. is the collation made by a contemporary, Dupuy, than the marginalia of Schneidewin, and how every new transcription brings new opportunities for error, we can hardly claim that the variants in Schneidewin's list are strong enough testimony of the existence of a second 'codex Tornaesianus,' connected, but not identical with the Geneva MS.

W. M. LINDSAY.

### PROHIBITIVES IN TERENCE.

A RECENT reading of the *Phormio* with an undergraduate class increased my scepticism as to the validity of Elmer's theory of the force of tenses in the prohibitive in Early Latin. To satisfy myself, I reread the remaining plays twice. The results were so at variance with Elmer's statistics and conclusions that I venture to present them here.

Elmer, in his first article on the prohibitive (*A.J.P.* xv, 142-146), cites 24 examples of the four types he is considering, *ne* with the perfect and present subjunctive and *cave* with the same tenses. Bennett gives practically the same figures (*Cornell Studies* ix, 48, note) when he says: 'Terence has a total of fewer than 25 instances of these four types.' I have noted 14 additional instances, (all in the present tense), and 7 instances of *vide* (*ne*). It is interesting to note that half of the 14 examples 'are accompanied by other expressions which betray the speaker's earnestness, e.g. *per deos atque homines, obsecro, hercle*, etc.' (Elmer, p. 140, when arguing in favour of his interpretation of the force of the perfect).

The only satisfactory way in which to prove the truth or falsity of Elmer's theory is to subject it to the 'fair test' which he himself suggests. He says: 'Ask in connection with each prohibition the question, 'Will a failure to comply with the prohibition result in a disaster of some sort to one's

interests or feelings? You will find that in prohibitions with the present tense the answer will be 'No' almost without exception. In prohibitions with the perfect, the answer will be 'Yes' in most cases.'

#### 'NE' WITH THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

There are but two instances, both from the *Phormio*: 514, Si tum non dederō, unam praeterea horam *ne oppertus sis* (Phaedria to Dorio). The answer to Elmer's proposed question would be 'No,' but I agree with him that the speaker's attitude would justify the more emotional form, if we regard the perfect as such); 742, *ne me istoc posthac nomine appellassis* (Chremes to Sophrona). This is in accord with Elmer's theory).

#### 'CAVE' WITH THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

*Faxis cave*, *And.* 753 (Davus to Mysis); 760, *cave quoquam ex istoc excessis loco* (same persons); *H.T.* 187, *cave faxis* (Clitipho to Chremes, who wishes to invite Menedemus to breakfast); 826, *cave quicquam admiratus sis*, Qua causa id fiat (Syrus to Clitipho. Elmer classes this as a present); *Ad.* 458, Geta. Si deseris tu, perimus. *Hegio. Cave dixeris*. Of the five instances, the first two are clearly in accord with Elmer's theory. The other three are almost on the border line, the speech of Clitipho being the weakest.

## 'NE' WITH THE PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

The following do not conform to Elmer's theory. In every case a failure to comply with the prohibition would result in a disaster of some sort to one's interests or feelings:

*And.* 291, (not given by Elmer), *Quod per ego hanc te dextram oro et genium tuom, Per tuam fidem perque huius solitudinem Te obtestor, ne abs te hanc segrege neu deseras* (The dying Chrysis to Pamphilus, urging him to save Glycerium from a life of shame. One cannot imagine a more emotional address); *H.T.* 292 (not in Elmer), *Syre mi, obsecro, ne me in laetitiam frustra conicias*; 939, (not in Elmer), *Chremes, Ne quid vereare, si minus* (Menedemus about the dowry); 1028, (not given by Elmer), *Obsecro, mi gnate, ne istuc in animum inducas tuom, Alienum esse te* (Sostrata to Clitipho); 1049, (not in Elmer) *Mi vir, te obsecro, Ne facias* (Sostrata to Chremes' suggestion to Menedemus that he summon his daughter); *Eun.* 212, *Ne istuc tam iniquo patiari animo* (Phaedria to Parmeno); 388, *Verum ne post conferas Culpam in me* (Parmeno to Chaerea); 988, *Ere, ne me spectes*; *me impulsore haec non facit* (Parmeno to his master); *Ph.* 508, *Heia, ne parum leno sies* (Antipho to Dorio. Elmer regards this as dependent); 945, (not in Elmer), *Obsecro, Ne facias* (The frantic Chremes to Phormio, who threatens to tell Nausistrata of Chremes' Lemnian wife); *Hec.* 343, *Ne mittas quidem visendi causa quemquam* (Parmeno to Sostrata. I cannot understand why Elmer regards this as a prohibition and then classifies perfects with *ne*—*quidem* under his Subjunctive of Obligation or Propriety. This is one of the subtle distinctions in the theory which the average intellect fails to grasp); *Ad.* 942 (not in Elmer), *Ne gravere* (Aeschinus to Micio).

The following instances are in harmony with Elmer's view: *And.* 205, (not in Elmer), *ne facias*; 704, *ne erres* (possibly subordinate); 706, *ne credas*; 980, *ne expectetis*; *H. T.* 745, *ne quaeras*; *Eun.* 76,

*ne afflictus*; 273, *ne sis*; 786, *ne metuas*; *Ph.* 419, *ne agas*; *Ad.* 22, *ne expectetis*.

## 'CAVE' WITH THE PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

The following examples are not in accord with Elmer's theory: *And.* 403, (not in Elmer), *Cave te esse tristem sentiat* (Davus to Pamphilus); *H. T.* 302 *Perge, obsecro te, et cave ne falsam gratiam studeas inire* (Clinia to Syrus); 1031, (not in Elmer), *Et cave posthac, si me amas, umquam istuc verbum ex te audiam* (Sostrata to Clitipho); 1032, (not in Elmer), *At ego, si me metuis, mores cave in te istos sentiam* (Chremes to Clitipho); *Ph.* 764, (not in Elmer), *Sed per deos atque homines meam esse hanc cave resciscat quisquam* (Chremes to Sophrona); 993, *Cave isti quicquam creduas* (Chremes to Nausistrata, referring to Phormio); *Ad.* 170, *Cave nunciam oculos a meis oculis quoquam demoveas tuos* (Aeschinus to Parmeno).

The following is in harmony with the theory: *Eun.* 751, *Cave ne amittas*.

Elmer appears to have omitted, intentionally or otherwise, all instances of *cave* with the first or third person, although citing them in Plautus.

## 'VIDE' WITH THE PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

Of the seven instances of *vide* with the present, all but the first and fourth are against Elmer's theory; *H. T.* 212, *Tu, ut tempus est diei, vide sis ne quo hinc abeas longius* (Chremes to Clitipho); 352, *Tu es iudex: ne quid accusandus sis vide* (Clitipho to Syrus); 369, *Sed heus tu, vide sis ne quid imprudens ruas* (Syrus to Clitipho); *Eun.* 380, *Vide ne nimium calidum hoc sit modo* (Parmeno to Chaerea); *Ph.* 803, *Au, obsecro, vide ne in cognatam pecces* (Nausistrata to Demipho); *Hec.* 484, *Verum vide ne impulsus ira prave insistas* (Laches to Pamphilus); *Ad.* 550, *Syre, Obsecro, vide ne ille huc prorsus se inruat* (Clitipho speaks).

The results of the investigation will be seen from the following table:

|                                 | For Theory.       | Against Theory.   | Doubtful.        |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Ne</i> with Perfect ... ..   | 2 (100 per cent.) | —                 | 3 (60 per cent.) |
| <i>Cave</i> with Perfect ... .. | 2 (40 per cent.)  | —                 | —                |
| <i>Ne</i> with Present ... ..   | 11 (48 per cent.) | 12 (52 per cent.) | —                |
| <i>Cave</i> with Present ... .. | 1 (13 per cent.)  | 7 (87 per cent.)  | —                |
| <i>Vide</i> with Present ... .. | 2 (29 per cent.)  | 5 (71 per cent.)  | —                |

In view of such results and those already reached by Bennett in his examination of the Plautine instances, we must conclude

that in Early Latin, 'there is no discoverable difference of emotional force in prohibitions (understanding 'emotion' as



Elmer would have us), whether expressed by *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, by *cave* with the perfect subjunctive, *ne* with the present subjunctive' (Bennett), or *cave* or *vide* with the present subjunctive. I have shown elsewhere (*A. J. P.* xxi. 154-169) that Elmer's theory is untenable for Silver Latin. If untenable for these two periods, it is certainly untenable for all and should be withdrawn.

Four instances cited by Elmer as subjunctives of obligation or propriety should be added for the sake of completeness.

They are *And.* 392, *Nec minueris*; *H. T.* 976, *Nec pararis*; *Hec.* 79, *Nullus dixeris*; *And.* 787, *Non credas*. Two additional instances (*Eun.* 1080, *Neque metuas*; *And.* 640, *Nil promoveris*) I cannot find in Elmer's papers on the prohibitive or *Cornell Studies* vi. I regard all six as genuine prohibitions.

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### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS IN ARMENIA, A.D. 51-63.

To be of value, any account of the wars in Armenia under Claudius and Nero between A.D. 51-63 must necessarily furnish and be based upon precise details alike of chronology and of geography. Failing either, the course of events and the strategy of the combatants are vague and unintelligible, and the historical merit therefore of the account is exceedingly small.

But alike the chronology and the geography of the wars in Armenia have been matters of great controversy and widely different conclusions. Here it is my intention to confine myself to a consideration of the former, viz., the chronological difficulties involved, and to present certain conclusions. For a study of the whole chronological question *de novo* compels me to think that we cannot with satisfaction follow any one modern writer throughout, whether he be editor of Tacitus or professed historian.

Some of these modern writers are of no independent value in this connection whatever. Schiller for instance in his very long 'Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches unter der Regierung des Nero' (Berlin, 1872) as in his later *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, adopts almost without discussion the chronological scheme furnished him by Emil Egli, and, if he is conscious on one solitary occasion of the possibility of another view, manages to misunderstand this before rejecting it. For our purpose of fresh inquiry, his *History of Nero* is a negligible quantity. Neither do Rawlinson or Merivale contribute anything of value to this subject. Those who have given independent consideration to the chronological problems of the Armenian wars seem to be two editors of Tacitus, Nipperdey

and Furneaux, and two others, Emil Egli and Mommsen. These, where failing to agree, resolve into at most three systems of chronology for the years A.D. 51-63, for Furneaux follows Nipperdey so closely as to be practically identical with him, save in one or two minor points. Egli in his 'Feldzüge in Armenien von 41-63' (ap. Büdinger: *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, Band I, pp. 265-364. Leipzig. 1868) discusses the whole chronological problem at length, without however gaining the adhesion throughout of Mommsen, who in footnotes to the fifth volume of his *Roman history* (i.e. in English Translation *The Provinces*, Vol. II.) and elsewhere suggests an arrangement of his own for some of these years.

It is then because after a fresh investigation of the whole question I find myself compelled to reject now Egli, now Mommsen, now the Nipperdey-Furneaux combination, and at times all three, that I propose here to deal succinctly with the whole controversy in periods, bringing out clearly, so far as I may, the decisive points in the disputes, balancing difficulty and argument against argument and difficulty, and presenting finally that chronological arrangement for the years 51-63 which the balance of evidence seems to me to justify.

The subject may conveniently be divided into three periods, dealing with:—

- I. A.D. 51-54 = Tac. Ann. xii. 44-51. xiii. 5. 6.
- II. A.D. 54-60 = Tac. Ann. xiii. 7-9. 34-42. xiv. 23-26.
- III. A.D. 61-63 = Tac. Ann. xv. 1-17. 24-31.

Throughout in dealing with each it will be my method first (A) to give in order the successive events narrated by Tacitus: secondly (B) to explain and contrast the different chronological systems deduced from Tacitus: thirdly (C) to discuss the respective difficulties of each: and lastly (D) to present that scheme, whether my own or one already suggested, which seems to me on all the evidence the best. Merely negative conclusions are in this matter for me insufficient.

L.—A.D. 51–54.

*A. Tacitus' Order of Events:—*

- A. 'Eodem anno—[viz.: Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus: viz.: 51 A.D.] bellum inter Armenios Hiberosque exortum.' Pharasmanes of Iberia sends his son Radamistus to invade Armenia, then under rule of Pharasmanes' brother Mithradates. The war actually begins then in this year.—xii. 44.
- B. Mithradates besieged in Gorneae, where is a Roman garrison under Caelius Pollio, prefect, and Casperius, centurion.—xii. 45.
- C. Radamistus offers bribes to Pollio to betray Gorneae. Casperius protests and departs (i) to dissuade Pharasmanes from prosecuting the war, failing which (ii.) to inform Ummidius Quadratus, legate of Syria, of the state of Armenia.—*ib.*
- D. Casperius reaches Pharasmanes. Meanwhile Pollio has been urging Mithradates to surrender.—xii. 46.
- E. Message from Pharasmanes to Radamistus, warning him 'oppugnationem quoquo modo celerare.' The bribe offered Pollio is increased and the soldiers are incited to compel Mithradates to surrender.—*ib.*
- F. Meeting of Mithradates and Radamistus. Seizure and slaying of the former. Radamistus seizes the kingship of Armenia.—xii. 47.
- G. Quadratus hears of this (? from Casperius) and calls a Council of War. This decides to do nothing save send envoys to Pharasmanes bidding him withdraw from Armenia and recall Radamistus.—xii. 48.
- H. Julius Paelignus, procurator of Cappadocia, collects provincial auxilia 'tamquam recipiaturus Armeniam,' plunders his allies rather than the enemy, is deserted by his men, on 'a

barbarian incursion' flees to Radamistus, and, bribed by him, urges him to put on the royal insignia and is present, 'auctor et satelles,' at the coronation.—xii. 49.

- I. Quadratus hears of Paelignus' proceedings and despatches Helvidius Priscus, legate, with one legion from Syria, to mend matters.—*ib.*
  - K. Priscus crosses Mount Taurus and has already restored order in a large measure when
  - L. Quadratus sends and recalls him to Syria, 'ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret,' he hearing of Vologeses' intentions and preparations to set Tiridates on the throne of Armenia.—*ib.* and 50.
- [NOTE.—Mommsen (E.T. II. p. 49) speaks of Q. recalling 'the legion put upon the march from Syria,' as though Priscus had never reached his destination whether this was Cappadocia, or, as Mommsen suggests, Armenia. Tac. words certainly prove he *did* reach it and *had* spent some time there before recall].
- M. Vologeses, King of Parthia, invades Armenia to set his brother Tiridates on the throne.—xii. 50.
  - N. Radamistus and the Iberians 'sine acie pulsi.' The Armenian cities Artaxata and Tigranocerta submit. First flight of Radamistus.—*ib.*
  - O. '*Deinde atrox hiems*' and insufficient supplies compel Vologeses to retreat from Armenia.—*ib.*
  - P. 'Vacua Armenia,' [*i.e.* Tiridates has also withdrawn].—*ib.*
  - Q. Radamistus returns again to Armenia, thus left without a ruler, and makes himself king for the second time.—*ib.*
  - R. Harsh rule of Radamistus in Armenia.—*ib.*
  - S. Rising of Armenians against Radamistus. Second flight of Radamistus with his wife Zenobia, whom, as unable to accompany him further, he stabs and casts into the river Araxes. She is found by shepherds and carried to Artaxata.—xii. 51
  - T. Zenobia brought from Artaxata to Tiridates and treated kindly by him.—*ib.*

[Immediately following on this Tacitus opens the next chapter with the words 'Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone consulibus,' viz.:

the consuls of 52 A.D. (xii. 52, 1).

There is no mention of events in the East again till Book xiii. c. 5, in the year 54 A.D., viz:—

U. Armenian envoys appear at Rome and plead before Nero.—xiii. 5.

[Nero became Emperor on 13th Oct. A.D. 54].

V. 'Fine anni' (viz. A.D. 54) 'turbidis rumoribus prorupisse rursum Parthos et rapi Armeniam adlatum est, pulso Radamisto, qui saepe regni eius potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum deseruerat. Igitur in urbe sermonum avida, quem ad modum princeps, vix septemdecim annos egressus, suscipere eam molem aut propulsare posset . . . anquirebant.'—xiii. 6.

[Nero was 17 years old on Dec. 16, A.D. 54].

W. Nero's provisions for war with Parthia. (See *Second Paper*).

In this narrative Tacitus marks clearly

(a) The beginning of the war in 51 A.D.—(A).

(b) The news of Radamistus' last expulsion reaches Rome by rumour in December 54 A.D.—(V).

(c) A winter intervening at some point.—(U).

Expressly he narrates nothing whatever in the years 52 and 53 A.D. of these events. Hence the difficulty arises: do all the events A–T belong to 51 A.D. or are they to be distributed over the years 51–54 A.D.? And to which year belongs the 'winter' of 'O'?

### B. The Rival Schemes:—

There are two arrangements of the chronology of these events.

#### 1. Nipperdey–Furneaux:

The result of both editors' systems is the same, although there are slight differences in detail. Nipperdey (ad Ann. xii. 14) e.g. places the accession of Vologeses to the Parthian throne in the year 52–53, believing that the latest coins of his predecessor Vonones II. and the first of his own reign belong to the year from the autumn of 52 to that of 53. This necessarily causes him to place Vologeses' invasion of Armenia ('M') in 53 A.D.

Later numismatic research now makes it appear that the entire reign of Vonones II. was comprised in the Parthian months  
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Panemus and Loius of the year 362 of the Seleucid Era, corresponding roughly to June and July A.D. 51. The accession of Vologeses then may be securely dated in August 51 A.D. (cf. P. Gardner, 'The Parthian Coinage'—International Numismata Orientalia, London 1877, pp. 22, 50, 51). Furneaux, however, accepting this, still follows Nipperdey in placing Vologeses' invasion in 53, save when he is inconsistent with himself. For it follows that the '*Atrox Hiems*' of 'O' is the winter of A.D. 53–54. This is Nipperdey's view and Furneaux adopts it in two places (ii. p. 106, n. 5; p. 278, col. 1). In one place (ii. p. 107, line 13) he calls it the winter of A.D. 52–53, which must be regarded as an oversight.

Then in A.D. 54 comes the final occupation of Armenia by the Parthians consequent on Radamistus' expulsion. This, as Furneaux well points out (ii. p. 106, n. 5), cannot have taken place before this year, as the news reaches Rome after the death of Claudius. And it follows essentially on this view that the break in the Tacitean narrative between xii. 51 and xiii. 5 does not involve any break in time i.e. that the expulsion of Radamistus in xiii. 5 is the second flight of xii. 51, and that the Tacitean narrative in xii. 44–51 covers the four years A.D. 51–54.

This then is the Nipperdey–Furneaux scheme, with which Mommsen (E.T. ii. p. 47) is in agreement:—

|     |          |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     | A.D. 51. | The peaceful intrigues of Radamistus preceding his first actual invasion of Armenia.                                                                                       |
| A–L | „ 52.    | The first invasion of Radamistus and its results.                                                                                                                          |
| M–N | „ 53.    | Invasion of Vologeses. First flight of Radamistus.                                                                                                                         |
| O–P | „ 53–54. | The <i>atrox hiems</i> . Withdrawal of Vologeses.                                                                                                                          |
| Q–W | „ 54.    | Return of Radamistus and his second flight. Renewed occupation of Armenia by the Parthians, and Tiridates set on the throne. The news reaches Rome at the end of the year. |

There are three main objections to this view, to be presently considered after presenting the rival scheme.

#### 2. Egli:

This view follows more closely the apparent grouping of events by Tacitus. The actual invasion of Radamistus is placed



by Tacitus in 51 A.D. Vologeses coming to the throne (according to Egli in A.D. 50) seizes the earliest opportunity of invasion, viz., that same summer. The winter which compels his retreat is then that of 51-52 A.D. Tacitus then, before mentioning the consuls and other events of 52 A.D. into which year this winter conducts us, anticipates events, but only by a few months. The return and second flight of Radamistus will be in the spring or summer of 52 A.D., for the river Araxes into which Zenobia was cast was unfrozen and the flocks were evidently pasturing in the open ('S.'). Thus we reach the summer of 52 A.D., where the narrative breaks off in xii. 51.

The narrative is resumed late in 54 A.D. in xiii. 5. The break in the narrative thus implies a break in time, viz., from 52-54 A.D. Concerning the events of these years in Armenia, Tacitus is entirely silent, but we may suppose them filled with new quarrels between Tiridates and Radamistus, such as are indeed implied in Tacitus' words concerning the latter '*saepe regni eius potitus, dein profugus*,' (V) whereas in his actual narrative he has mentioned only *two* occasions when Radamistus acquired and then again lost possession of the Armenian throne—(F and Q). To suppose that his second flight is his last flight (as does the first scheme) makes '*saepe*' mean '*on two occasions*.' '*Das geht aber nicht an*.'

Thus between the summer of 52 and 54 there must have occurred fresh quarrels between Radamistus and Tiridates, and more flights and more restorations of the former. But all this petty warfare was too unimportant for Tacitus' mention, and he resumes the narrative only when news of Radamistus' final expulsion reaches Rome and Nero thus, when Tiridates' possession of the throne is really a *fait accompli*, has to decide on a policy.

It follows then on this view that *the break in the Tacitean narrative between xii. 51 and xiii. 5 implies a considerable break in time.*

This then is the Egli scheme:—

- A-L A.D. 51. summer. — Iberian - Armenian war.  
 M, N „ „ late summer.—Vologeses' invasion. Radamistus' flight.  
 O, P „ 51-52. The '*atrox hiems*.' Withdrawal of Vologeses.  
 Q, R „ 52. spring.—Return of Radamistus.  
 S, T „ „ summer.—Second flight of Radamistus. Return of Tiridates.

- S, T „ 53, 54. Unrecorded warfare.  
 U „ 54. summer.—Armenian embassy to Rome.  
 V, W „ 54. winter.—Nero's measures.

### C. Discussion of the Schemes:

To both these schemes certain difficulties are attached.

#### Difficulties in 1 (*Nipperdey-Furneaux*):

- (a) The actual beginning of the Iberian-Armenian war is placed by Tacitus in 51 A.D. It seems impossible to take the words '*eodem anno bellum exortum*,' to apply merely to the preliminary treacherous plots of Radamistus, as does this scheme. Tacitus most certainly implies that actual hostilities began in 51 A.D., not in 52 A.D.
- (b) Tacitus after narrating all the events A-T (xii. 44-51) proceeds at once to narrate the consuls and events of 52 A.D. This scheme makes A-T embrace the years 51-54 A.D., i.e., anticipate the events of xii. 52, viz. of 52 A.D. by three years. Tacitus betrays not the least consciousness of any such great anticipation of events on his part. That there is some slight anticipation is obvious from his mention of the winter in O, which may be taken as equivalent to a direct assertion on his part that in order to secure continuity of treatment he has anticipated the events of the following year. [Such a direct assertion e.g., we have in xiii. 9, 7: '*Quae in alios consules egressa coniunxi*']. But though we are justified in supposing such slight anticipation in xii. 44-51, it is extending the principle unduly to make these chapters cover so long a period without any statement by Tacitus to that effect.
- (c) Radamistus '*saepe regni eius potitus*' (V.) But this scheme with its immediate chronological connection of T and U, treating the Tacitean narrative as complete, must make '*saepe*' actually come to mean '*on two occasions*.' For Tacitus mentions only two occasions on which Radamistus seized the kingship (F and Q). Furneaux shows that he feels this an objection when he speaks of Radamistus '*keeping up some desultory warfare*' between the date of his second flight and the end of

54 A.D. (Note to xiii. 6, 1.). Insisting on the word 'saepe' we must take Tacitus to imply warfare continuing which, however, he has not thought it worth while to record.

None of these difficulties are present in the second scheme. According to it the war does begin in 51 A.D. (a); the anticipation of events in the narrative reaches only to 52 A.D., viz., one year and not three (b); and it supposes more expulsions and restorations of Radamistus in the otherwise blank years 53 and 54, thus justifying the 'saepe' (c).

On the other hand the second scheme itself labours under a not inconsiderable disadvantage—apart from this supposition of two years' unrecorded warfare.

#### *Difficulties in 2 (Egli):*

This disadvantage is the very great compression of events in the year 51 A.D. The campaigning summer in Armenia is at most five months, from May to September, though we may allow one additional month for campaigning in Southern Armenia. The campaign opens with a siege in the extreme North, viz.: at Gorneae = Bash Garni, a few miles east of Erivan, and north of the Araxes, and the natural place for a garrison-outpost of Artaxata. Thus it can hardly begin before May. From thence onwards many events are recorded, all taking much time. These are (1) the blockade of Gorneae; (2) the negotiations with Pollio; (3) the journey of Casperius to Pharasmanes; (4) the message from Pharasmanes to Radamistus; (5) the surrender of Mithradates; (6) the time taken for the news of this to reach Quadratus and Paelignus; (7) Paelignus' preparations and expedition; (8) his flight to Radamistus; (9) the time taken for the news of this to reach Quadratus; (10) Quadratus' consequent measures; (11) Priscus' march over Taurus; (12) Priscus' stay and restoration of order (i) in Armenia; (13) the time taken for Quadratus' message of recall to reach Priscus; (14) Vologeses' invasion; (15) surrender of Artaxata; (16) surrender of Tigranocerta; (17) the winter.

Now on this scheme all these events are crowded into some five months. Surely the compression is too great. This impression is strengthened when the attention is directed chiefly to the later events here mentioned.

Egli supposes that Vologeses came to the throne of Parthia in 50 A.D., or at least early

enough in 51 to allow him to invade Armenia in the summer.

But it appears he came to the throne only in August 51 (cf. supra). He then after this has

(i.) To plan the overthrow of Radamistus and make all his preparations for an invasion of Armenia, which preparations last long enough for Quadratus in Syria to hear of them and send to recall Priscus in consequence (L).

(ii.) To invade Armenia and receive the submission of the two widely distant towns of Artaxata in the extreme north, and Tigranocerta in the extreme south, over 450 kilometers away as the crow flies, before winter compels his retreat. (N).

For all this, on this scheme, but a bare two to three months at most is available. Egli very justly assumes that Vologeses is eager to carry out his compact with his brother Tiridates and invade Armenia as soon as possible. Moreover, winter evidently surprised him before his work was done. Yet on the scheme, the time even so seems far too short, the more closely the difficulties of campaigning in Armenia are considered. The capture of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, as I hope to show later, took Corbulo one whole campaigning year, though the resistance offered him was of the slightest. Thus the general impression produced by this scheme is one of a well-nigh impossible crowding of events into the one year 51 A.D.

#### *D. Conclusion:—*

Of the difficulties urged against the first scheme, the first is certainly valid. An attempted answer to the third is, as it is presented in Nipperdey and repeated by Furneaux, partially misleading. Nipperdey quotes one other passage in Tacitus to prove use of 'saepe' meaning 'twice.' This passage, the reference to which is re-inserted in Furneaux, does not prove his case.

In Ann. iii. 18, 2, Tacitus speaks of Tiberius as 'satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversus pecuniam.' There are only two passages, declares Nipperdey, where Tacitus mentions this trait in Tiberius' character, viz. i. 75 and ii. 47. Hence here in iii. 18, 2 'saepe' is used loosely and rhetorically for 'twice.'

But this supposed parallel does not hold good. For in

- i. 75—Tacitus mentions two instances of Tiberius' generosity, viz. to Pius Aurelius and Propertius Celer: similarly in
- ii. 47—to twelve cities of Asia: and in
- ii. 48—comments on his 'private' as well as his 'public' generosity, viz. to Aemilius Lepidus and M. Servilius, adding the general statement 'neque hereditatem cuiusquam adiit nisi cum amicitia meruit.'

Tacitus then is more justified in stating that he had 'frequently' mentioned cases of Tiberius' firmness 'adversus pecuniam' than we are in saying he has mentioned it twice only.

Doubtless there are certain kindred loose usages of words—as of 'semper' in xv. 47, for 'on two occasions': of 'omnes' in i. 13, 3—applying really to 'three' only (not 'two,' as Nipperdey): of 'tot' in the 'tot per annos' in vi. 24 as really meaning 'three' years only (as Dio lviii. 3 shows). Tacitus does allow himself a certain loose rhetorical exaggeration, and this may possibly extend to 'saepe' in xiii. 6. And here it would be the easier to suppose this as, though Tacitus states the 'saepe regni potius, dein profugus' directly as his own remark, yet it may very well be but the repetition of the rumours then current in Rome, and popular talk is not apt to care for statistical accuracy.

We may on this point conclude that there is no absolute impossibility in supposing that Radamistus seized the kingship twice only, despite the 'saepe': i.e. that this word 'saepe' is no absolute bar to accepting a scheme which connects xii. 51 without any great interval of time with xiii. 5. But nothing is gained for this view of the case by adducing iii. 18, 2 as a confirmatory parallel.

As regards the second objection, that there must be some anticipation of events in Tacitus xii. 44–51 is certain. *Ceteris paribus*, the scheme which involves the least anticipation is preferable to its rivals.

The objection to the second scheme of over-crowding of events is so far valid that on this ground some other scheme involving their fairer distribution would be preferable. It must be admitted, however, that the fairer the distribution, the greater the anticipation of events is. No scheme, there-

fore, can be devised which is not liable to one or other objection. Inasmuch as the fact of some anticipation is admitted, perhaps it is better in the final choice rather to seek a distribution of events which shall be possible than to endeavour to avoid their anticipation.

Coming then to the final choice, it is important to insist on the following points of probability for guidance:—

- (1) The first invasion of Radamistus took place in 51 A.D.
- (2) The whole course of events which followed this necessarily implies the lapse of a considerable amount of time. Especially this is true of the expeditions of Paelignus and of Priscus, and of the stay of the latter in Armenia spent in the restoration of order.
- (3) Radamistus therefore probably remained for some time in possession of the throne of Armenia before his expulsion by Vologeses.
- (4) Vologeses did not ascend the Parthian throne until August 51 A.D.
- (5) The whole course of events which followed this necessarily implies, in view of the geography and climate of Armenia, the lapse of more time than is remaining available in that year: viz. his preparations for the invasion of Armenia, which are long enough for Quadratus to hear of them and send to recall Priscus: his actual invasion, and the submission to him of the widely separated towns of Artaxata and Tigranocerta.
- (6) Radamistus probably remained some time in possession of the throne of Armenia after his return, because his harsh rule compels the 'patient' Armenians to rise against him, and for this 'patientia' to be overcome by his severity requires some considerable duration of rule.
- (7) News of his final expulsion by Tigranes reaches Rome by Dec. A.D. 54 and possibly a month or two earlier.

The scheme which satisfies these points I construct as follows.

A-K A.D. 51. Invasion of Radamistus. Surrender and death of Mithradates. Expeditions of Paelignus and Priscus. Radamistus on the throne.



- L-N „ 52. Invasion of Vologeses. Flight of Radamistus.  
 O-P „ 52-53. The *atrox hiems*. Withdrawal of Vologeses.  
 Q-R „ 53. Return and harsh rule of Radamistus.  
 S-W „ 54. Expulsion of Radamistus. Return of Tiridates. News of this reaches Rome.

Compared with the two schemes hitherto suggested, this third one presents certain advantages.

It is entirely devoid of the objection of over-crowding of events, which goes far to invalidate the second scheme.

Of the three objections to the first scheme, it gets rid entirely of the first. It does imply an anticipation of events by Tacitus which is more considerable than that implied by the second scheme. But that is, as I have suggested, probably a lesser evil than that of over-crowding, with a consequent blank record for at least two years. That Tacitus seems entirely unconscious of any such blank years is to be taken into consideration. In this third scheme 'saepe'

must be taken as rhetorically used of but a double acquisition of the kingdom. And xiii. 5 is taken to follow chronologically closely on xii. 51—allowing that Tiridates' return took place in the interim—itself doubtless a matter of some time. It seems also to have been in these years A.D. 53-54 that Vologeses was kept busy in Parthia by his preparations for attacking Izates, the feudatory king of Adiabene, and by an invasion of Parthia by the Dahae (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xx. 4. Rawlinson, 'Parthia' c. 16). This would fit in well with the third scheme, which allows Radamistus to rule undisturbed in 53-54 A.D., until he is expelled, not by the Parthians, but by his own subjects, whose patience at last gives way.

On the whole it seems to me that if we had to choose between the first and second schemes, that of Egli is preferable. But a third scheme may be devised of greater probability and fewer difficulties than either. And this third scheme I have here suggested.

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(To be continued.)

#### THE DISCOVERIES OF POGGIO.—A CORRECTION.

I HAVE in two previous articles published in this *Review* (July 1896 and March 1899), discussed some questions concerning two Madrid MSS. which contain certain works discovered by Poggio in 1416-1418. The general conclusion to which I came was that, while the first of these (X 81), containing Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, was in all probability written by Poggio himself, the second (M 31), containing Manilius and the *Silvae* of Statius, was written for him by a Swiss or German scribe. I also ventured to make some suggestions concerning the MSS. of Silius Italicus, an author discovered shortly afterwards by Poggio, or by his colleague in the work of discovery, Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano. The only one of these authors concerning whom I was in a position to speak with any degree of authority was Asconius, since, although I have examined or collated the principal MSS. of Valerius Flaccus, I have not been able to make any minute study of him. With regard to the *Silvae* of Statius and

Silius Italicus I merely threw out suggestions for students of these authors to consider.

The main point in favour of which I argued in my second article has not been controverted, viz. that M 31 is the copy of Manilius and the *Silvae* made for Poggio by a local scribe of whom he speaks in a letter to F. Barbaro which I found in a Bodleian MS. (Canonici. Misc. 484). Klotz in his recent edition (Teubner, 1900), after quoting from the letter in question states without further argument the conclusion to which it points. To what extent his conviction is based upon my article or independently arrived at by himself or Dr. Krohn is a point upon which he is silent.

A suggestion which I made with regard to Silius Italicus was advanced in view of the statement made by Blass that all existing MSS. are derived from one copy brought to Italy by Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano. This appeared to me unlikely in itself and to be disproved by Poggio's letter to F.

Barbaro, in which he speaks of the copy made for him by his ignorant scribe. The phenomena in the case of Silius are the same as in that of Valerius Flaccus and of Asconius, and can only be explained by the existence of at least two transcripts of the original MS. The suggestion, therefore, which I made, viz. that FL represent the transcript of Poggio, and OV that of Montepoliciano appears to me very plausible.

My object in writing now is to retract a conjecture which I then made, to which objection has been rightly taken by Klotz in his edition of the *Silvae* (p. lxxx), and by Mr. Summers in the March number of this *Review*, viz. that F might possibly be the copy of Poggio written for him by his local scribe. If this were so, it would of course have to be in the same hand as M 31, and the description given of it by Blass made me hope that this would prove to be the case. I had written to Florence for photographs, intending to excise this portion of my article in case that I was disappointed. Unfortunately my letter remained unanswered, and the article appeared entire. It was not till some months afterwards that by the kindness of a friend I obtained photographs, and saw at once that F is in a totally different hand, and that the description given by Blass is most misleading. The hand employed in F is Italian of an ordinary type, and I see no trace of 'Gothic' influence about it. It is not, therefore, necessary for me to examine this MS. with what Mr. Summers so kindly terms my 'experienced eyes.' It will of course be understood that, although I withdraw the proposed identification of F, I do not withdraw the suggestion which I made that F and L in some way or other represent the transcript of Poggio as opposed to that of Montepoliciano. What this way is can only be determined by students of Silius, such as Mr. Summers. I have myself neither time

for the inquiry, nor requisite knowledge of the author.

I take this opportunity of referring to the view of Klotz concerning the *vetustissimus liber Poggii* containing the *Silvae*, which was used by Politian, and which, according to him, was written *Gallica manu*. Klotz considers that this was not M 31, as I had supposed, but a copy of it, i.e., that Politian made a mistake. This view explains the omission from Politian's copy of the mysterious line 1, 4, 86 a which is found in M 31, and appears to me quite convincing. Klotz, therefore, sets aside the readings recorded by Politian in the 'Corsinianum exemplar', as of no importance now that M 31 has been collated. While I agree with Klotz upon the main point, I do not think that he is right in his explanation of the phrase *Gallica manu* used by Politian. He says that *manu Gallica* = *littera antiqua*, and, as it is well known that Poggio himself wrote *littera antiqua* and had an amanuensis whom he trained to write in this style, Politian would naturally speak of a MS. written by Poggio or by his amanuensis as written *manu Gallica*. I cannot agree with this identification. I take *littera antiqua* to signify the beautiful hand used in Italy in the twelfth century, as opposed to the cramped and inartistic script by which it was succeeded. Specimens of this are to be found in MSS. written by Poggio himself, such as Laur. xlvi. 22, L 31, lxvii. 15, Vat. 3245, or proceeding from his school, such as Vat. 1613, 1614. Such expressions as *manus Gallica* or *manus Germani librarii* when used by Renaissance scholars denote a rough and illiterate script such as that found in M 31. I prefer, therefore, to suppose that in the transcript which Politian erroneously took to be the *vetustissimus liber Poggii* traces of the *manus Gallica* or *Germana* in which M 31 is written still survived.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

### THE FROG OF HORACE, SAT. 1, 31

Trebatius Testa was patronus of Ulubrae and in his absence in Gaul Cicero seems to have undertaken to act for him. Writing from the villa of M. Aemilius Philo in the *Pomptinus Ager* Cicero tells Testa that he can hear the frogs of Ulubrae, which he supposes have bestirred themselves to do

him honour, i.e. as their deputy patronus. The letter is dated 8 April (Fam. vii 18) This confirms Mr Shipley's date of 'February to April or so.' I have heard them in Switzerland as late as the end of June, but I am not naturalist enough to know whether they are the same as the Italian frogs.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

<sup>1</sup> See *Classical Review* xv. 2, p. 117.

## REVIEWS.

## WHITE'S TRANSLATION OF APPIAN.

*The Roman History of Appian of Alexandria*, translated from the Greek by HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D. With maps and illustrations, in two volumes. London: George Bell & Sons, and New York. 1899. (2 vols. i.-lxviii, 1-413; 1-554). 12s.

APPIAN proposed to write the history of Rome from the earliest times to the establishment of the Empire after the battle of Actium, and on to his own time. He died about A.D. 160. Of the work completed in twenty-four books we have some considerable extracts of Books i.-v., apparently Books vi.-viii. complete, fragments of ix., and x.-xii. complete, besides five books on the 'Civil Wars' ending with the death of Sextus Pompeius B.C. 35. The period of Roman history, however, which he covers cannot be stated by limits applying to the whole work because of the plan which he proposed to himself and carried out. This was to take the history in separate blocks, generally marked off by the several nations with whom the Romans were from time to time engaged, and whom they eventually absorbed in the Empire. Thus, after devoting one book to the kingly period, and a second to the wars with various Italic peoples, a third to those with the Samnites, a fourth to the Gauls, and a fifth to Sicily and other islands—of which book we have only fragments—we have a long book (the sixth) devoted to the wars in Spain down to the propraetorship of Julius Caesar (B.C. 61), while in the seventh and eighth books we have the history of the Punic wars from the beginning to the destruction of Carthage in B.C. 146, though the earlier of the two books is devoted exclusively to the Hannibalian War. Book ix. contained the history of the Macedonian wars to the fall of Perseus; Book x. the Illyrian wars; Book xi. the Syrian wars to the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) followed by a sketch of the earlier and later history to the fall of the Seleucidae (B.C. 63). The twelfth book is devoted to the Mithradatic wars down to the death of Mithradates in B.C. 63, with a sketch of the subsequent fortunes of his dominions. It is evident that these periods must overlap each other, and the result is that a reader, whose object is to follow the general stream of Roman history, is constantly thrown back

and perhaps loses the thread that unites these episodes. Yet the arrangement has certain advantages, and in a way foreshadows the modern fashion of specialisation, in accordance with which historians are apt to appropriate a 'period' as peculiarly their own, and to be content with a very slight knowledge of others. The intrinsic value of a history written so long after most of the events narrated must depend upon the sources used and the accuracy with which they are employed; the chief accidental importance to us depends on the periods covered by the writer for which we have no earlier or better authority surviving. From this latter point of view the most valuable portions of the history of Appian are the later parts of the wars in Spain, especially the Lusitanian war, the war of Viriathus and Siege of Numantia, the later Illyrian wars, the affairs of Syria after the battle of Magnesia, and above all the Mithradatic wars, for which we have no authorities earlier than Appian except Plutarch's lives of Sulla, Lucullus and Pompey. Of the five books on the Civil Wars, the first covers a period down to the war of Spartacus for which the only earlier authority extant is Plutarch and in part Velleius Paterculus, while for the period from B.C. 63 to B.C. 35, though for part of it we have first-rate materials for history in the letters and speeches of Cicero, the Civil War of Caesar and the two other books printed among his works, besides a considerable fragment by Nicolas of Damascus, we have no continuous narrative earlier than Appian. From this point of view, then, Appian's work is of considerable importance to our knowledge of Roman History, and readers of Mommsen will have observed how frequently he depends for facts (and not seldom for deductions) on the authority of this writer.

The second point, as to sources used by Appian and the manner in which he has used them, is fairly discussed in Dr. White's introduction. The general conclusion—though it is by no means firmly established—is that with the exception of Livy and Sallust he relied mainly on Greek rather than on Latin writers, such as Diodorus, Dionysius, and Polybius. It will perhaps be best to take the case of one particular book, as a sample. In the first book of the



Mithradatic wars the points of agreement between Appian and Eutropius or Orosius (both of whom followed Livy closely) show that Livy was his principal guide, without correcting himself as he might have done by the writings of Posidonius or the memoirs of Sulla. In the second war ('War of Murena') he perhaps followed Nicolas of Damascus rather than Livy, for the tone of his narrative is anti-Roman, or at any rate impartial. In the third the discrepancies between him and Eutropius or Orosius—especially in proper names, but also in facts, such as the omission of the battle of Arsianias and the taking of Nisibis, and making the battle of Nicopolis to be fought by Pompey in the day instead of the night,—tend again to show that he did not use, or at any rate use exclusively or even generally, the work of Livy, as both Plutarch and Strabo did. We are almost forced to suppose that Nicolas was again his source:—that is, he prefers an inferior Greek to a better Latin authority.

As for the accuracy of his narrative, he makes the usual blunders in geography, for instance, Saguntum is placed north of the Ebro, and at another time confounded with New Carthage, Britain is only a half-day's sail from Spain and Panticapaeum (*Kertch*) is placed on the Bosporus. Scipio Africanus the younger is called *son* of the elder Africanus, and is made to take part in the campaign against Antiochus, five years before he was born. In spite of these and similar blunders, however, the value of Appian's work is very considerable. There are passages in the Punic wars—for instance, the account of the final campaign of Scipio and Hannibal in Africa—in which he had some authority better than Livy; and in the 'Civil Wars' we probably have much drawn from the lost memoirs of Augustus and the history of Asinius Pollio: and the funeral oration of Antony, as well as the edict of the Triumvirs for the proscriptions, may well be translations of original documents. In view therefore of the great loss of historical literature in the Augustan period, Appian's work is of first-rate importance to students; and Dr. White has done a great service in presenting it in such clear and readable form for English-speaking students. The volumes are rendered more attractive by useful maps and some fairly good portraits of the principal Roman statesmen and generals. The translation itself is straightforward and clear. Some-

times one is tempted to wish for a little more brightness of style; and though in general very accurate, there are places in which there seems a doubt as to whether the translator has not expanded the Greek in a way to mislead. For instance, in iii. 9, (Vol. i. p. 28) Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἐπιμελῶς οἷα πηρὸς ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο 'Decius being placed under strict guard, *in the discouragement of a blind man*, committed suicide.' I believe ἐπιμελῶς to be a mistake for ἀμελῶς and the sentence to mean that Decius was carelessly guarded as being already disabled. At any rate the οἷα πηρὸς can hardly refer to the motive of the suicide. 'Thus had Pyrrhus come to grief' (ἐπεπράχει κακῶς) may be said in modern parlance to 'lack distinction' as a translation, and there are a few other phrases of the same sort that might be better away, such as 'knowing to the crime,' 'appointed of Octavius,' 'she fixed him up as a charcoal dealer.' In Bell. Civ. i. 4, αἰτιάμενος 'alleging as a reason' is hardly well represented by 'He charged that it was not the wish of the Senate,' etc. In the account of the ceremonies of Octavian's adoption (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 334) it is rather misleading to translate ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων 'in the case of orphans,' though it is true that Appian himself has a very imperfect understanding of the nature of a *lex curiata* in an adoption. In his note to Bell. Civ. iii. 45 (vol. ii. p. 246) Dr. White seems to confuse *Alba Fucensis*, where the Martian and Fourth Legions stopped and repelled Antony's overtures, with *Alba Longa*. Notwithstanding these and similar minor blemishes, the translation is accurate and clear and the notes useful. As no English translation existed of the entire works of Appian later than 1679 (preceded by one in 1578), and as both these are unsatisfactory and not easy to obtain, Dr. White has done good service to students of Roman History by his two handy and well-printed volumes, with their excellent index. He could not have better employed the intervals of leisure during the five years which he tells us he has devoted to this work. The first volume, besides the translator's preface, contains a translation of Mendelssohn's preface on the MSS. of Appian in the Teubner edition of 1879. It is not quite clear for whom this is intended. Scholars would use the original, while the 'general reader' will not care for an elaborate discussion of MSS. authorities.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

## MEISTERHANS' GRAMMAR OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

*Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, von K. MEISTERHANS, dritte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von Eduard Schwyzer. Berlin, 1900. 9M.

To Greek students acquainted with the vicissitudes which classical texts have undergone at the hands of copiers and theorists during Graeco-Roman and Byzantine times, and desiring to gain an insight into the true state of the language as generally received in ancient Greece, no book could be more acceptable than a good grammar and a lexicon of the language as portrayed in the ancient inscriptions. It was a happy thought of Meisterhans' then, when fifteen years ago (1885) he made the first attempt at classifying the material of the *C.I.A.* and issuing the results in the form of a short grammar. The favourable reception accorded to that pamphlet stimulated its author, and so three years afterwards he issued a more systematic and greatly enlarged volume of 237 pp. That second edition then soon found its way into all classical libraries and has ever since become a household book among Greek scholars. Meanwhile the inscriptional material having greatly increased and at the same time grammar having been reconstructed on more critical and sounder principles, it was only natural that Meisterhans' book should require a fresh revision and overhauling. Unfortunately the author himself has not lived to prepare and issue the required new edition, and the task devolved upon Ed. Schwyzer, favourably known—under the name of Schweizer—as the author of a valuable *Grammatik der Pergamenischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1896). We learn from the present editor's preface that, in addition to the 'extensive collectanea' left by the lamented author, he has perused once more the entire *C.I.A.* and excerpted the inscriptional material published since the appearance of the second edition in 1888; he further states that he has laid under contribution all recent literature on the subject, though among the list of authorities added to Meisterhans', we miss a number of important publications, e.g. W. Larfeld's *Griech. Epigraphik*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Classical Review*, Th. Eckinger's *Orthographie Lateinischer Wörter in Griech. Inschriften*, Ch. Michel's *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, and others. Our own *Historical Greek*

*Grammar* (1897) might also have been profitably consulted; however, as no English authorities are quoted, the omission may be attributed to the editor's unfamiliarity with the English language.

In its present or third edition the book, though preserving the same plan and arrangement, and even the old print and paper, appears in a form considerably improved and enlarged, since it covers 288 pp. as against 237 pp. of the second edition. The alterations and additions not being specially indicated, readers of the present edition cannot trace a given statement to its proper authority.

Critics may differ in their opinion as to whether a grammar of the Greek inscriptions should be founded upon the principles of comparative philology, or whether such a book should be 'a mere collection of the material,' (as Brugmann rather severely calls Meisterhans' work), systematically arranged in the form of a convenient grammar. For my part, I believe that the purpose of every class of students would be better served if we had a book of the latter class: a comprehensive grammar presenting the vast material in a handy and practical form, avoiding all speculation and provided with complete indices. Unfortunately this wish has still to be satisfied, seeing that even in this new edition Meisterhans still remains a mere 'survey' of the vast material. For beginning with the seventh century B.C., it traverses the bulk of the *C.I.A.*, then follows the spread of the Greek language in its Atticized form, both at home and abroad, through post-classical antiquity down to late Byzantine times (fifth century). Now it stands to reason that a short grammar covering such an immense period and area, cannot possibly give complete satisfaction. In the present case, moreover, students will miss the μέτρον of proportion and uniformity, inasmuch as the various periods of the inscriptions and the various parts of the grammar are disproportionately considered. Thus, once included in the plan, the period of Graeco-Roman inscriptions and papyri should have been more fully considered. On the other hand, when Phonetics alone covers no less than 100 pp., one would expect that Accidence would claim more than 77 pp., Etymology more than 4 pp., and Syntax more than 64 pp., now allotted to these parts respectively. I am also bound

to add that the two indices are far from being complete, so that students seeking information on particular points or periods of the language are likely to meet with disappointment. Thus, to pass over many single instances (e.g. Ἀτ(τ)ικός on p. 26, γεωργός 46, Καμυρῆς Καμερῆς 54), all the words discussed in pp. 34 and 49, words so interesting for their spelling, are missing in the index.

Another feature of the work which critical and accurate scholarship cannot but deprecate, is the practice adopted by the author and still followed by the present editor of changing or 'normalizing' the spelling of the inscriptions, and thus mislead or leave in doubt the reader as to the actual orthography of the original records. This principle appears to me unwarrantable, seeing that students may like to consult the book from various points of view. To be sure a grammar of the inscriptions ought to represent exactly and faithfully the actual vocabulary and spelling of the inscriptions themselves and not that of our normalized MSS. Moreover, the orthography current through the best or classical period of the language deserves full consideration and recognition both on account of its own merits and because it reflects the phonetic system and speech of the time. It is true that Meisterhans often preserves the spelling of the stones, especially in post-classical inscriptions, but this inconsistency only increases the evil of confusion, particularly when we read on the same page or even in the same paragraph or note such instances as (p. 242, Note 1904) ἕως ἂν πραχθῇ and ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ, where the stone in both cases exhibits -θῃ; so too on p. 195 (Note 1594) : ὅθεν ἂν ᾗ beside οὐ ἂν εἰ for the [εἰ] and εἰ of the inscriptions, the latter of which, by the way, dates not from the year 320, but from 298-7 B.C.

Another point about which I have often felt misgivings is the frequent case where a definite statement is made in the text or body of the book, which statement is based upon a conjectural reading. Thus the assertions that στρατεύειν and διαλέγειν can stand for στρατεύεσθαι and διαλέγεσθαι (p. 192), and that 'ὅς can serve as an indirect interrogative pronoun' (p. 240), are supported by no better evidence than the following conjectures : [ἀνειπεῖν Διονυσίῳ ... τῷ] ἀγῶνι ὧν ἔ[νεκε] αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσ[ε]; στρατ[εύειν]; διαλέγοντ[ος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐννοια]ς. διαλ[έγειν] μέλ[λημι]. Again, for the statement (p. 241) that 'the

independent future appears in oaths and conventions' we are merely referred to a number of inscriptions in the *C.I.A.*

From these general remarks which may be profitably considered in a further fresh edition of the book or in a new work of the kind—for which there is much room—I pass over to the discussion of some details. To begin with p. 2 f. (§ 2), which deals with the old Attic alphabet, the prominence given to the symbol **F** among the 23 (rather 20) letters is hardly warrantable, and still less justifiable on p. 88 where it again occupies a special and prominent section. As a matter of fact, **F** could claim no more than passing mention in a note, since the three instances adduced, viz. *ναφυπηγός* (read -πεγός) *ἄφνιτάρ* and *ἄφνιτο*—are demonstrably and admittedly cases of foreign importation into Attica.

On the same page (3) 'spurious' *ει* and *ου* are treated as if they were already familiar to the reader, whereas the distinction between spurious and genuine—better hystero-geneous and original—*ει* and *ου* is discussed long after, namely on pp. 20 and 26 respectively. In both places we are further told (Note 104 and 134) that the credit of having recognised and established a genuine *ει* and *ου* and a spurious *ει* and *ου* belongs to Dietrich (*K.Z.* xiv. [1865], pp. 65-70), who was followed by Brugmann, Cauer, G. Meyer, and Blass. As a matter of fact, the priority of that discrimination goes back to E. A. Sophocles or, to call him by his real name, Εὐαγγελινὸς Ἀποστολίδης, late Greek Professor in Harvard University, and author of the well-known Byzantine Lexicon. It was this shrewd scholar who in the second edition (I do not possess the first) of his *History of the Greek Alphabet and Pronunciation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1854) pp. 16-18, formulated very clearly and concisely what 14 years afterwards Dietrich succeeded only in vaguely indicating.

Pp. 14-74. Here Greek 'Vokalismus' is discussed at great length, a chapter which required thorough revision or rather recast, in order to separate the phenomena of analogy and orthographic practice from the phenomena of phonetic change, both of which are now indiscriminately crowded together. Thus in the alternative forms of *Σαραπίων* and later *Σεραπίων* (p. 14), the latter is due to the influence of *τέσσαρα* and *Σεραφεῖμ*; likewise *Σακόνδος* (15) for *Σεκ*—was suggested by *σάκος*, *Σάκας*, *Σακάδας*; *Ἀρραβαῖος*, (*ib.*) for *Ἀρριβ*—by *Ἀραβικός*; the name of the Libyan 'King' *Μασαννάσης* (*ib.*, also p. 99 where it is mis-spelt *Μασανάσας* for



Μασινισσῶς) by ἀνάσσω; διανεκῆς (16) for διην- by διαρκῆς; Ὀφιλίων and Ὀφιλίμη (18) for Ὀφελ- by φίλος φιλεῖν φίλτρον (occurring as it does in incantations with καταδέω!); Ὀρχιεύς and Ὀρχομενός (22) for Ἐρχ- by ὄρχος or ὄρχατος; ὀβελός ὀβελίσκος etc. (22 f.) by βέλος; ὀβολός τριώβολον etc. (*ib.*) by βολή or βόλος; Πυανεσιών (23) by ἔψω; Πυανοσιών (*ib.*) by ὄψον; πρότανις and προτανεία (24) by πρόεδρος and προεδρεία; Μεταγειτονιών (69) by γείτων; ἀγρόπολις (75) by ἀγρός; δλιωρέω (75) by πολυωρέω; ὀλιαρχία (*ib.* Note 650) by πολυαρχία; Φιαλεὺς (75) by φιάλη; Ἐξυπεταιών (93) for Ξυπ- by ἐξ-υπο-; κατούχιος (115) by πολιοῦχος; Ἀνθέστιος (117) from Ἀντίσθης by ἑστία and ἐφέστιος (cp. Ἀνθεστηριών); so further: δεῦρε (146) by ἄγε; ἀποροῦμαι (192) by φοβοῦμαι, etc. Again, the aspiration in ἀκούσιος (86) is due simply to ἐκούσιος; ἔχω (87) to ἔξω (καθέξω-καθέχω); καθ' ἰδίαν (*ib.*, common) to καθ' ἑαυτόν; ἀριθμός (103) to ἄρμός ἄρμόττω; εἰληφα (*ib.*) to εἴρηκα (ἤρηκα); ἐψηφισμένος (*ib.* and 194) to ἔψω; ἀφέσταλκα (169, Note 1415) to ἀφέστηκα; so too in the New Testament οὐχ εἶδον is due to οὐχ ὄρω; ἐφεῖδεν to ἐφορά, etc. (Jannaris § 113). Conversely κατιστάσιν (85, Note 725) is due to κατέστησαν; κατ' ἡμέραν to κατ' ἔτος or κατ' ἐνιαυτόν; and so on.

On the other hand, the case of Θεαγένης (117) and Θεογένης is different; here Θεαγένης is conceived as the son of a θεά, whereas Θεογένης is the son of a θεός, just as Μοιραγένης, Τιμα-γένης, Ἡρα-κλῆς are associated with μοῖρα, τιμά, Ἥρα; just as ἱερωσύνη comes from ἱερός, whereas ἱερε(ι)ωσύνη comes from (τόν) ἱερέα or (ῆ) ἱερεῖα. As to the alternative forms Ἀθηναία-νάα, αἰεῖ-αἰί, αἰετός-ἀετός (p. 31-33), if not due to epic influence, they are inseparably connected with the widespread orthographic phenomenon of dropping any intervocalic postpositive<sup>1</sup> iota, a case very common in the stem and almost regular in the terminations -αιος, -ειος, -οιος, -ηιος, -ωιος, -αικός, -αίνος, etc. It is this phenomenon, then—rather orthographic than phonetic—that accounts for the apparent reduction of αἰ εἰ οἰ υἱ to α ε ο υ, in forms like ἐλά(ι)α, Ἀνακα(ι)εῖς, Ἔστια(ι)εῖς, Κρηται(ι)εῖς, Παιρα(ι)εῖς, Ἀθηνα(ι)εῖς, Ἀχα(ι)κός, Πειρα(ι)κός, Πτολεμα(ι)εῖς, ἐλά(ι)ινος, ὠρε(ι)ά, ἐπμῆλε(ι)α, ἱρε(ι)α, πολιτέ(ι)α, χρε(ι)α, Λιρέ(ι)ας, Λινε(ι)-ἄται, Ἀκαδήμε(ι)α, εὐγένε(ι)α, Ὑγίε(ι)α, ἀνδρέ(ι)ος, γραμματέ(ι)ον, κουρέ(ι)ον, (not κούρ- p. 43), πλέ(ι)ον, τέλε(ι)ος, Ἄρε(ι)ος, θε(ι)ός, Μεσόγε(ι)ος, Κλε(ι)ώ, στελε(ι)ών, πετελέ(ι)ινος,

στο(ι)ί, πο(ι)εῖν, τριηροπο(ι)ικός, καταγί(ι)α, παρειληφῦ(ι)α, ὄργυ(ι)ά, ὑ(ι)ός, Ἰλεῖν(ι)α, etc., etc. So further the cases of crasis (p. 71 f.) in the *scriptio continua*: (κα(ι)εγω) κἀγώ, (κα(ι)εμοι) κἀμοί, (κα(ι)εῖτα) κᾶτα, (κα(ι)εαν) κᾶν, (μο(ι)εδοκει) μοιδῶκει, (σο(ι)εστι) σοῖστι, (δοννα(ι)αν) δονᾶν, etc. Whether this practice of freely dropping intervocalic ι was suggested by the similar practice of dropping ι subscript—then adscript—as: τῷ for τῶι=τῷ, ᾗ for ᾗι, ἐν τῷ (πρόνεωι), etc., or conversely, whether the insertion of intervocalic ι was suggested by the development of iota in the frequent case of hystero-geneous (spurious) diphthong εἰ (εἰς, εἰμί, πόλεις, φιλεῖν, εἶδε, τὸ εἶ), remains an open question. At any rate it is very striking that just as the ι adscript was often wrongly inserted, in the same way we frequently find a redundant ι inserted between two vowels, acting as it were like a mere divisor. Cp. ἐ<ι>άν (= ἐάν), ἐ<ι>αντοῦ, τὸν βασιλέ<ι>α, ῥέ<ι>ω, δέ<ι>ηται, νε<ι>ώς, Θε<ι>όκριτος, Θε<ι>οφάνης, γε<ι>ωργός, πρέσβε<ι>ων, βο<ι>θεῖν, ὄγδο<ι>ος, χλό<ι>η, etc., etc. (pp. 45-47); cp. Jannaris § 20<sup>o</sup>. Whatever the origin of this orthographic phenomenon or fashion may have been, there is no doubt as to its nature and practice in the inscriptions, and had Meisterhans grasped the question and treated it synoptically under one heading, he would have spared himself the trouble of entering upon unnecessary speculations, repetitions, and inconsistencies, such as the statement (p. 57) that 'in the verb ποιεῖν the ἰῶτα can disappear everywhere before a succeeding e-sound (ε or η): ποεῖ, ποεῖσθαι, ποιῶ, etc., but not before a succeeding o-sound, hence: ἱεροποιοί, ποιῶ, ποιῶσι,' etc. For here the ἰῶτα is of necessity preserved for the obvious reason that its dropping would bring together two o's (ἱεροποιοι ποιω = ΠΟΟ ποιοῦσι), a case manifestly inadmissible in Attic (hence even ὄγδο<ι>ος, besides ὄγδους (cp. Meyser Gramm. Griech. Pap. p. 43).

As a matter of course where the material is to such a large extent ill-assorted and misinterpreted, the fault lies with the premisses, that is, with the phonetic principles adopted as the basis of the whole system. Thus it cannot be conceded (p. 24, 17) that 'the vowel ω, because it proceeds partly from α (τιμᾶμεν-τιμῶμεν), therefore must have been an open sound, differing from ο alike in quality and in quantity.' For, apart from the confusion here of 'grammatical' with 'phonetic' contraction, ω also proceeds partially from η: ση and ηο (ἀρήγω-ἀρωγή, μισθόητον-μισθῶτον, νη-οδός-νωδός). Are we

<sup>1</sup> I.e. one which appears as the second element of a diphthong.

then to argue on the same principle that *α*, because it comes partially from *ε* (τιμάετε-τιμάτε, ἀέκων-ἄκων, φανός, ἄδω, ὄστᾱ, ἡμάς), therefore must have sounded not like *α* but something like German *ä*? Or are we to assume a variety of sounds for each vowel, corresponding to its grammatical or etymological genesis? (Cp. σαφῆ, ῥρος, βασιλῆς, then λόγον with Doric λόγω, πρῶτος with πρᾶτος, etc.)

Not more felicitous is the statement that the ancient Athenians sounded every *αι* as *αι̃*, despite the frequent occurrence in their inscriptions of such endings as -αῖος, -αῖνος, -αῖτης, -αῖκός, -αῖς, where the assumption of two consecutive iotas is quite inadmissible in Attic. Here *αι* must have been a single sound, something like a French *ai* or *é* (modern Greek *αι* or *ε*), so that -αῖος, -αῖνος, -αῖτης etc. sounded like -aios, -ainos, -aitis etc. On this particular point, as well as on the sound of *η* (p. 19), Meisterhans' speculations are singularly unhappy and even mischievous, inasmuch as they have already given rise to widespread confusion even among eminent scholars. On p. 19, he boldly states and on p. 34 again emphatically repeats, that '*η* and *αι* are confounded in the [Attic] inscriptions down to 150 A.D.' Now in support of this assertion the following evidence is adduced (p. 34): 'στήλης (Dat. Plur.), C.I.A. iii. 7, 16 (117-138 n. Chr.); Εὐκῆρος 3, b, 16 (125-140 n. Chr.); Ἀνακηεύς 1569, 3 (nicht näher datierbar).' But to begin with Ἀνακηεύς, whether it stands for Ἀνακαίεύς or Ἀνακαεύς as it does in the next following inscription (1570), the word proves nothing, seeing that every unaccented *ε* (*ε* or *αι*: Ἀνακαίεύς) before a vowel can easily pass into *ι*: *η*, *ει*, etc. (Blass Pron. 35; Jannaris § 155). Then as regards Εὐκῆρος, Dittenberger himself, the editor of the inscription referred to, cautiously asks: 'Εὐκῆρος i.e. Εὐκ[αι]ρος?' Here therefore we are not sure whether Εὐκῆρος stands for Εὐκαίρος or whether it contains the word κῆρ (cp. Εὐτυχος); at all events Εὐκαίρος is a mere guess. As to the third and last evidence, στήλης, if we open the volume of the C.I.A. referred to, we find that it occurs in a greatly mutilated inscription (iii. 7, 16 [not 15!]) in the following conjectural sentence: [ἐπιμελίσθαι τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ ἀναθέσεως τῆς] στήλης! How Meisterhans came to mistake this τῆς στήλης for a dative plural I am unable to guess; I only find that the blunder is repeated in all three editions of his book

and has this further strange interest, that it is appealed to by Blass (Pron. p. 66, Eng. ed.); that Meisterhans himself in his 2nd and 3rd editions (26 and 34) refers back to Blass, and that even Brugmann has fallen into the error (Gr. Gram. second edition p. 35, third edition 48) by appealing in his turn to both Meisterhans and Blass. To crown all, the present editor has not detected the blunder, and so he refers us to his own Grammatik (77 f.) and thence back again to Meisterhans.

However, in fairness to Meisterhans, I wish to point out that, considering their vast multitude, his references to the C.I.A. are generally accurate.

P. 82 f. deals with the alternative forms μικρὸς and μικός. The latter probably originated in the speech of little children and stammerers who cannot pronounce *ρ*. This very form with palatal *κ* (μικός or μισός) still survives in Crete in the sense of 'tiny.'

On pp. 258 f. which deal with the remarkable forms οἰθεῖς-οἰθέν and μηθεῖς-μηθέν, frequent in the inscriptions since 378 B.C., we are told: 'The feminine always preserves its form οἰδεμία-μηδεμία. For the explanation of this process see above § 40, 4.' On turning to the section referred to, we are merely told that here '*θ* appears for *δ* + *h*.' For the explanation of this puzzling phenomenon I would suggest that the analogy of such common and fixed phrases as καθ' ἕνα, καθ' ἕν, καθ' ἑνός, μεθ' ἕνα, μεθ' ἕν, μεθ' ἑνός, ἀνθ' ἑνός, gave rise to οἰθ' ἕνα, οἰθ' ἕν, μηθ' ἕνα, μηθ' ἕν, and that from these familiar expressions common speech evolved a new nominative οἰθεῖς-οἰθέν, μηθεῖς-μηθέν (later on also καθεῖς καθέν). From this it follows that οἰθεῖς-μηθεῖς, οἰθέν-μηθέν can proceed neither from οὔτε εἰς-μήτε εἰς, οὔτε ἕν-μήτε ἕν, nor from οὐδὲ εἰς-μηδὲ-εἰς, οὐδὲ-ἕν, μηδὲ-ἕν, and further that no feminine \*οἰθεμία-\*μηθεμία could be evolved, seeing that there was no such set phrase as \*καθὰ μίαν, \*μεθὰ μίαν etc. to serve as a pattern.

There are numerous other points on which critical students will differ from the author and present editor. But as the space allotted to this review has already been exceeded, I finish by pointing out a number of misprints (not included in the Zusätze und Berichtigungen)—chiefly cases of misaccentuation—which I have noticed. Thus on p. 19 (note 96) we read Μιλέσις (for Μιλέσιος); p. 36, 4 κλησίον (for κλη); 41 Ἀριστοδαμέ(ι)α (twice), Ἀχιλλέ(ι)α (twice), Μηδέ(ι)α (twice); 42 ὀμνρέ(ι)α; ἰβ. κούρε(ι)ον

(twice); 47 *θεράπη* (twice), *Λαδαμῆα*, *Ἀργηος* (twice); 50 *ἀγκυρεῖος*; 64 *ῥᾶδιος*, and *θνήσκω*; 66 *τοῖ δῆμοι, τοῖ Διονύσοι* (for *τοῖ=τῶ*); 78 *Βενύστος* (*sic* for *Βένυστος*); 89 *Ἀσσυκλήπιος*; 96 *Ἀτ(τ)ικος* (twice); 115 *καναῦστρον* (twice) and *κανύστρον* (for *κάν-*); 119 *χαμεῖνα* (for *χά-*); 126 *τὸ καπηλεῖον Ἀρίστανδρος* (for *τὸ καπ- τὸ Ἀρ-*); 129 *Μανίδι* (twice for *Μάν-*); 130 *Ἀρτεμ(ε)ῖν* (six times for *Ἀρτ-*); 131 (Note 1171) for 'Note 644' read '§ 27, 3'; 166 *παρειληφύα* (twice for *-φύα*); 192 *ἰδοῦ* (twice for *ἰδοῦν*, as on p. 203 twice); 203 *ἀγκύραι* (for *ἀγκ-*); 242 Note 1905 *περύσινος*

(for *-ρός*). Most of these cases of misaccentuation are repeated in the index.

In conclusion I feel bound to say that, inadequate and faulty though the book undoubtedly is, both in plan and detail, it still deserves grateful recognition; for it is, in its present edition especially, a very useful and I should say almost indispensable companion to all earnest students of the Greek language.

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## CORNELL STUDIES XI., XII.

*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.* No. XI. Index in Xenophontis *Memorabilia* confecerunt CATHARINA MARIA GLOTH, MARIA FRANCISCA KELLOGG. Pp. 96.—No. XII. A Study of the Greek Paean. by ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Ph.D. Pp. 166. Published for the University by the Macmillan Co.

The series of *Cornell Studies*, which now numbers twelve volumes, has scarcely maintained the standard set by its first member—Prof. Hale's well-known study of the *cum*-constructions. But its volumes contain the results of much solid and useful work of the type which American scholars seem more ready to undertake than those of our own country. In the first of the volumes here to be reviewed two ladies provide us with an Index to the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon which (so far as we have tested it) seems to leave nothing to be desired on the score of accuracy or completeness within the limits fixed by the compilers. As to those limits the statement of the Preface 'Articulus merus et καὶ simplex omissa sunt' is incomplete. Neither *οὐ* nor *δέ* is indexed when used alone. As *ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἰ γὰρ* and the like are given separate articles, it seems a pity that *εἰ καὶ* and *ὥσπερ καὶ* should not receive the like treatment. The number of a section in which a use recurs is repeated in the reference, so that we have such strange agglomerations as '8, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 9, 9, 9' (p. 76), which would surely look better in the shape '8, 4 (quater), 5 (septies), 6, 7 (sexies), 9 (ter),' especially as this method is adopted *e.g.* in the article *ῆ* (p. 40). We have no further criticism to make on the book as it stands,

but it seems to us doubtful whether it was worth while to compile an index of *this kind* to so small a portion of Xenophon's works. The fifth volume of the *Cornell Studies* was formed by van Cleef's Index to Antiphon, an excellent piece of lexicographical work, in which the context of each reference was given and the uses of each word analysed. A compilation of this kind, taking the *Memorabilia* as a specimen of Xenophon's work, might have been of much service to students of his diction. A merely verbal index—such as this practically is, save in the case of some particles—might be worth making for the whole of Xenophon, but is hardly so for so limited a portion of his text.

Dr. Fairbanks' *Study of the Greek Paean* lays more claim to originality, though the very full collection of *Schriftquellen* is what gives the book its principal importance. We miss but little in this list of 206 passages in which *παῖάν* and cognate words are used; Eustath. *ad. Il.* p. 1163, 55 (on the species of *ῥμνος*) and Bacchyl. xvii. 128 (an important passage, as will be seen later) should be added.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fairbanks would have done better, moreover, to include the text of some passages to which reference is more than once made in the course of his essay—*e.g.* Plut. *de musica* cap. x. (of which only detached fragments appear amongst the *Quellen*) and Athen. 696 B. The former of these passages should also have been laid under contribution in making up the list of literary paeans extant or known from allusions (p. 101 ff.). The substance of the essay is arranged in seven chapters, whose

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 145 is unaccountably misquoted *ἦιον δ' ἐπανακαλῶ Παῖάν, ἦ.* Bacchyl. xvi. 8 (though the restoration is doubtful) should also be quoted.



object is to trace the origin and relationship of the various forms assumed by the paean in Greek literature and worship. A summary of the author's results is given in tabular form on p. 68, in which the various types of paean are arranged in divergent series. This leads to the singular result that the *παιανισμός* before and after battle stand at opposite ends of the scale. Dr. Fairbanks finds the root-meaning of the word to be a hymn of prayer in sickness or distress originally addressed to a divinity *Paian* (or *Paieon*), 'the Healer,' who was in course of time overshadowed by greater gods, usurpers of the healing function, such as *Asklepios* and above all *Apollo*. He can, however, scarcely be held to have achieved any conclusive proof that the god *Paean* is prior to the invocation *ὦ παιάν*, nor does he add to the number of unsatisfactory guesses at the etymology of the word. It still seems to us the more probable view that the *παιανικὸν ἐπίρρημα*, whose ultimate derivation is irrecoverably lost, formed the starting point, and that the divinity (or epithet) was an abstraction. Dr. Fairbanks, when he leaves origins behind, discusses the various acts of religious worship in connection with which the word *παιάν* is used with care and sound judgment; he seems to be but little interested in what to scholars in general must be the most attractive theme—the literary history of the paean. And yet his book surely fails to fulfil the promise of its title through this omission. We miss some fuller account of the relation between paean, dithyramb and hyporcheme, and of those early poet-musicians, such as *Thaletas*, *Xenodamus* and *Xenocritus* whose works the scholars of Alexandrian times found it so hard to pigeon-hole. It would have been interesting to show how the confusion of paean and dithyramb, to which we find an allusion in *Plat. Legg.* 700 D, led to the desperate makeshifts by which the Alexandrian editors of classical texts sought to

differentiate the classes. The doctrine that the *ἡρωικὴ ὑπόθεσις* distinguished the dithyramb—explicitly stated in *Plut. Mus.* 10—was clearly held, for instance, by the editor of *Bacchylides*, and thus we find the seventeenth poem—the ballad of *Theseus* and the Ring—classed amongst the *διθύραμβοι* (*Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* vi. 21), although it is a clear example of the paean, as is proved by the closing lines, in which the myth breaks into an invocation of *Apollo* in the words *ἦθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν νέοι παιάνιξαν ἐρατῇ ὀπί. Δάλιε, χόροισι Κηίων φρένα ἱανθεὶς ὅπαζε κτλ.* Dr. Fairbanks, as was mentioned above, makes no allusion to this poem. More space might also have been given to the 'cretic' or 'paeonic' metre, which must surely have had an intimate connection with the religious paeans of Delphic worship; we would remind Dr. Fairbanks that the 'paeonic' lines quoted by *Aristotle (Rhet.* iii. 1409a 14) clearly belong to such ritual paeans. In return for a fuller treatment of the literary paean we would gladly sacrifice the appendix containing the paeans found in inscriptions, including those recently discovered at *Delphi*. By the last of these, which is addressed to *Dionysus*, Dr. Fairbanks might have been reminded (v. 1) that *Διθύραμβος* was lacking in his list (p. 8) of 'names of gods that are also names of songs.' The refrain *εὐοὶ ὦ ἰὸ βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ παιάν* moreover well illustrates the *κεραννίντες παίωνας διθύραμβοις* of *Plato (Legg.* 700 D, referred to above). Still, we must express our thanks to Dr. Fairbanks for the first commentary in English on the Delphic hymns.

We notice occasional misprints ('*Eriphron*' for '*Arifhron*' p. 38 and '*Xenodamas*' for '*Xenodamos*' p. 47), and an awkwardly expressed statement on p. 7 which would imply that the famous sculptor of *Mende* was called, not *Paionios*, but either *Paion* or *Paionaios*, it is not clear which.

H. STUART JONES.

#### DU PONTET'S TEXT OF CAESAR'S *GALLIC WAR*.

*C. Iulii Caesaris Commentariorum pars prior qua continentur Libri VII de Bello Gallico cum A. Hirti Supplemento.* Recensuit brevisque adnotatione critica instruxit RENATUS DU PONTET. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1900. 2s. 6d.

MR. DU PONTET has the merit of knowing his own mind. He has been called a con-

servative; but it would be more accurate to describe him as a reactionary. In his brief, but pithy and interesting preface he refers to the long-standing controversy as to the comparative merits of the two families of Caesarian MSS. generally known as *a* and *β*. *Nipperdey*, whose authority remained for many years unchallenged, except by *Heller*, regarded *β* with contempt, though even he

was obliged to make use of  $\beta$  in many passages. But within the last fifteen years H. Walther, R. Richter, Meusel and Kübler have vindicated the claims of  $\beta$ . Mr. Du Pontet virtually sides with Nipperdey: 'libros conferentibus,' he says, 'praesertim quod ad verborum ordinem attinet, vel luce clarius patet familiam  $\alpha$  redolere antiquitatem.'

Now all Caesarian scholars admit that it is impossible to construct a sound text without having recourse to both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . In a considerable number of passages the MSS. of the former group are disfigured by lacunae: in a much larger number they contain manifest errors, which  $\beta$  enables us to correct. On the other hand,  $\beta$ , although it too contains numerous palpable errors, which are corrected by  $\alpha$ , is virtually free from lacunae. But, setting aside for the present certain disputed passages, in regard to which most modern editors have decided in favour of  $\beta$ , there are also a large number in which  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  exhibit different readings, each intrinsically unobjectionable, and in regard to which it appears extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a final decision. As Walther remarks (*De Caesaris codicibus interpolatis*, p. 2), 'nec mirum quod multis locis suae voluntati atque arbitrio inserviverunt editores.' It is true that, since the days of Nipperdey, criticism has made considerable progress, partly owing to the fact that the readings of  $\beta$  are better known to us than they were to him, and partly in consequence of the publication of Meusel's invaluable *Lexicon Caesarianum*. Fortunately, too, the great majority of the passages in which  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  differ are of such a kind that the various readings affect the sense very slightly or not at all. It is only from a linguistic and grammatical point of view that they are important. Thus again and again  $\alpha$  has *iis* and  $\beta$  *his*;  $\alpha$  *posset* and  $\beta$  *possit*; while very often the difference is not in words, but only in the order in which they are written.

Is there any hope that it will ever be possible, in regard to the passages in which editors have been guided simply by individual preference, to attain, or even to approximate to certainty? If so, there are only two ways in which the object can be attained,—by an elaborate study of Caesar's diction, and by definitely settling the question whether either of the two families of MSS. is, on the whole, so superior to the other as to justify us, on this ground alone, in accepting its authority.

Meusel tells us, in the preface to his

edition, that, in deciding between different readings, he has carefully considered which harmonises with Caesar's *consuetudo dicendi*; and there can be no doubt that he, if any scholar, is qualified to undertake such an investigation. There are, however, many cases, especially as regards the order of words, in which this method appears inconclusive. For instance, in *B.G.*, ii. 17, 1, Mr. Du Pontet reads *locum idoneum castris*, and Meusel *locum castris idoneum*: v. 9, 1, vii. 35, 5 support the latter, while in i. 49, 1, vi. 10, 2, we find *castris idoneum locum*. In i. 26, 1, we have *diu atque acriter pugnatum est*; in iii. 21, 1, *pugnatum est diu atque acriter*, with no appreciable difference of meaning. In iv. 13, 4, and vii. 43, 2, no study of Caesar's *consuetudo dicendi* will enable us (see *Lex. Caes.*, ii. 1298) to decide between *sui purgandi* (causa) and *purgandi sui*.

Kübler, remarking that Orosius, in the early part of the fifth century, used a copy belonging to the  $\beta$  group, argues that we have 'in recensione  $\beta$  veterem vulgatum, multis sane locis corruptum textum, in recensione  $\alpha$  novum quemdam, a grammaticis illis (Lupicinus and Celsus), doctis certe et prudentibus purgatum ac perpolitum.' On the other hand, he maintains that the errors in  $\beta$  have arisen 'neglegentia librariorum, numquam interpolatorum fraude.' Finally, he tells us that, if he has not always followed  $\beta$  in doubtful passages, it is partly because he is convinced that Lupicinus and Celsus did not rely solely on their own skill as emendators, but also had recourse to old MSS. To which Mr. Du Pontet not unnaturally retorts that there could not be a stronger argument in favour of  $\alpha$ .

Now I confess that, after a careful examination of those passages in which  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  differ, I am convinced that where, by common consent,  $\alpha$  is wrong and  $\beta$  right, the errors in  $\alpha$  are nearly always due simply to carelessness on the part of the scribe. And it seems to me not less evident that in a considerable number of passages in which  $\beta$  is admitted to be in fault, the error is due to deliberate emendation. I have not space to enlarge upon these points, but would refer to the lists of passages on pp. 5—6, 14—16 of Walther's Programm.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, then, it appears to me that, in those doubtful passages on which Caesar's *consuetudo dicendi* does not appear to throw light, there is a probability that  $\alpha$  has generally preserved the true reading. With

<sup>1</sup> I do not, however, think that all the passages which Walther quotes bear out his contention.

this qualification I am disposed to agree with Mr. Du Pontet. I will now proceed to indicate certain passages in which I think that he would have done well to have recourse to  $\beta$ .

In i. 40, 5, he reads (*factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina quae* (a nobis accepissent sublevarent). For *quae*  $\beta$  has *quam*, which seems preferable. Cf. C. Schneider, i. 87, and *Lex. Caes.*, ii. 1473.—i. 41, 3. Walther (pp. 16—17) gives a good reason for preferring *neque* (umquam) to *nec*.—i. 53, 6. *Videbat* is to be preferred to *viderat*, which is weak and pointless.—ii. 4, 7. *Summam totius belli* should be read instead of (suam,) *totius belli summam*, because (*Lex. Caes.*, ii. 71, 2046), *summa*, when used with *belli* and *imperii*, invariably precedes the genitive.—ii. 34. (In) *deditionem* (potestatemque populi Romani) should be rejected in favour of *dicionem*, because, as Walther (p. 19) points out, when words are closely connected by *que*, the genitive, if there is one, refers to them both.—In iii. 17, 2 (and various other passages) *eis*, as Walther (p. 19) remarks, ought surely to be *his*. The confusion is, of course, very common.—iii. 19, 5. *Caesar certior factus*. Here *a* omits *est*, which  $\beta$  supplies; and such an ellipsis occurs nowhere else in the *Commentaries*.—v. 1, 2. (*Ad onera*), *ad* (multitudinem) is surely wrong: for the second *ad*  $\beta$  has *ac*.—v. 8, 6. I find it difficult to believe that Caesar wrote (*magnae manus . . . multitudine navium perterritae, quae cum annotinis privatisque quas sui quisque commodi* (fecerat). Such a construction, often as it occurs in Tacitus, is found nowhere else in Caesar. I believe that *sui quisque commodi causa*,<sup>1</sup> which is supported by *Lex. Caes.*, i. 487—90, is the right reading.—v. 11, 4. Mr. Du Pontet is, I believe, alone in reading (Labieno scribit ut quam plurimas) *posset* (. . . naves instituat), instead of *possit*.—v. 15, 1, *Equites . . . in itinere conflixerunt, tamen ut nostri . . . superiores fuerint*. *Ita*, which  $\beta$  supplies, is, as C. Schneider shows (ii. 71), required before *tamen*.—v. 29, 7. I believe that Mr. Du Pontet is alone in reading *si praesens periculum non* instead of *si non praesens periculum*. The emphasis falls, not upon *non* but upon *praesens*.—*Postera die*, which Mr. Du Pontet reads in v. 49, 5, ought certainly to be *postero die*, as anyone may convince himself by studying *Lex. Caes.*, i. 891—904, and especially pp. 897—8.—vii. 35, 1. (*Cum uterque*) *utrique esset*

*exercitui* (in conspectu, fereque e regione castris castra poneret) is, I am convinced, preferable to *utrimque exisset exercitus*.—vii. 45, 7. A consideration of the circumstances of the case will lead us to prefer the reading of  $\beta$ , (*Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus, tectis insignibus suorum. . . raros milites* *ne* (ex oppido animadvertenter ex maioribus castris in minora traducit) *to qui*; for obviously Caesar's object was to prevent his soldiers from being noticed.—vii. 75, 1. In spite of Nipperdey's arguments, it is hard to believe that Caesar wrote (*non omnes. . . convocandos statuunt sed certum numerum cuique*) *ex civitate* (imperandum). Surely we should read *civitati*.—vii. 78, 2. Mr. Du Pontet reads (*illo tamen*) *tempore* (potius utendum consilio). I am convinced that *tempore* is an interpolation. Cf. Walther, p. 15.

Let me now call attention to a few passages in which there is no question of any difference between *a* and  $\beta$ .—iii. 21, 1. I have no doubt that for *tamen* we should read *tandem* (*confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere*), even though *tandem* is found only in one inferior MS. This I infer from the context and from *Lex. Caes.*, ii. 2114—5.—iv. 20, 4. (*Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus. . . neque qui essent ad*) *maiorum* (*navium multitudinem idonei portus reperire poterat* etc.). A moment's reflection on the circumstances of the case will show that we ought to read *maiozem*, even though there is no better authority for it than *E*. Caesar was not anxious to find out what harbours would accommodate a flotilla of large ships, but what harbours would accommodate a large flotilla. The ships were not large: their draught was so small that when they were aground, the men could jump overboard and wade ashore (iv. 24—5).—v. 49, 1. Is it credible that Caesar wrote (*Galli . . . ad Caesarem cum omnibus copiis contendunt*.) *Haec erant armatae* (circiter milia LX.)? Whether he wrote *hae*, which is found in  $\phi\pi$  (I use Meusel's symbols), and *armatae*, which is found in all the MSS., or *haec* and *armata* (Nipperdey's conjecture), I will not attempt to decide.—In vii. 11, 2, I believe that Mr. Du Pontet has adopted an unnatural punctuation. He reads *Ea qui conficeret C. Trebonium legatum relinquit, ipse ut quam primum iter faceret. Cenabum Carnutum proficiscitur; qui tum primum* etc. What could be more abrupt? Why not read with Meusel what the obvious sense dictates,—*Ea qui. . . relinquit. Ipse, ut quam primum iter faceret* (or *conficeret*), *Cenabum Carnutum proficiscitur* etc. ?—vii.

<sup>1</sup> The order in  $\beta$ ,—*sui commodi quisque causa*,—is evidently wrong.



24, 1. *aggerem latum pedes CCCXXX., altum pedes LXXX. extruxerunt.* Mr. Du Pontet unnecessarily obelises *latum*; and he would not have proposed to substitute *latum* for *altum*, if he had understood the conditions which made it necessary to have a very wide and (in front) very high *agger* at Avaricum.

Regarding proper names I shall say very little, having dealt fully with the subject in another place. I am inclined to think that, in one or two cases, Mr. Du Pontet has been more anxious to give the true Latin form of Celtic names than to ascertain what Caesar wrote.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in view of the consensus of the MSS., he would, I think, have done well to write *Haedui* rather than *Aedui*. Moreover, as *Diviciacus*,—the form generally found in *a*,—is attested by the coins, it would have been well to adopt it in preference to *Divitiacus*.<sup>2</sup> I hold, with C. Schneider and Meusel, for reasons which I have given elsewhere, that, in i. 31, 12, we should read, not *Admagetobrigae*, but *ad Magetobrigam*. In v. 20, 1, it is not easy to decide between *Trinobantes*, which Mr. Du Pontet adopts, and *Trinovantes*: but Professor Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 1884, p. 310) argues, rightly I believe, in favour of the latter. Again, in v. 24, 3, it is hard to say whether *Belgio* or *Belgis* is right; but the occurrence of the former in v. 25, 4, combined with various reasons which I have given in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 385–7, lead me to prefer it.

On other questions of orthography I have no room to do more than refer generally to Meusel's *Lexicon Caesarianum* and to Kübler's edition, pp. cxxi.–cxxx.

Mr. Du Pontet has shown his good sense by generally refusing to admit conjectural readings into his text without absolute necessity. Comparatively few of the passages in the *Gallic War* which it has been sought to amend really require emendation; and, for obvious reasons, the most skilful and ingenious emendator who goes to work upon the *Commentaries* can rarely hope to attain the certain, or morally certain, results that have rewarded the diligence of the best

scholars who have restored the text of, let us say, Plautus.<sup>3</sup>—In vii. 14, 5, Mr. Du Pontet adopts Madvig's simple, obvious, and almost convincing emendation, *ab via*, for *aboia* or *a boia*.—In vii. 35, 4, all critics agree that *captis* (quibusdam cohortibus) is nonsense. Between thirty and forty conjectures have been offered; in an exhaustive examination of the passage I have argued that only one of them, that of Wendel, *carptis* (quibusdam cohortibus), meets the case. Mr. Du Pontet, however, reads *apertis* (quibusdam cohortibus), which he attributes to Deiter: but what Deiter really wrote was *ita apertis*, etc. I may here remark that Mr. Du Pontet's *brevis adnotatio critica* appears to me rather too short. Readings from *β* are very often given silently; and this, in an edition in which the superiority of *a* is so emphatically insisted upon, is apt to mislead. I mention this because so many readings from *β* are given in the *adnotatio* that it is hard to understand on what principle others, equally important, have been omitted. To take one noteworthy instance, the reading *paene in eo* (vii. 21, 3) is left unrecorded.—In vii. 84, 1, Mr. Du Pontet is, I believe, mistaken in substituting *cratis*, the conjecture of Ursinus, for *castris*, the reading of *a*, and *a castris*, that of *β*. This point I have discussed on pp. 793–4 of my own book. But what surprises me is that Mr. Du Pontet, while adopting the conjectures which I have noted, rejects, alone among all the modern editors whom I have ever heard of, one of the very few absolutely certain emendations which are to be found in Meusel's *Tabula Coniecturarum*, and even omits to record it in his *adnotatio critica*. I refer to Nicasius's emendation,—*praeerat* for *praeerat* in i. 16, 5. It is true that M. Robert Mowat endeavoured, some years ago, to deduce from a coin of the Lexovii the conclusion that the MS. reading was correct: but his interpretation of the legend on the coin was demolished by MM. P. Ch. Robert, E. Ernault and other numismatists; and on pp. 517–9 of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* I have proved that only one Vergobret held office in each year, and that the true reading is *praeerat*.

T. RICE HOLMES.

<sup>1</sup> On this question the remarks of Kübler (pp. cxxi.–cxxi.) are worth reading.

<sup>2</sup> I have myself, like Mr. Du Pontet, adopted the form *Divitiacus*, and also *Aduatuci* and *Aduatuca*, instead of *Athuatuci* and *Athuatuca*: but, as I was not editing the *Commentaries*, I took these liberties, and in various other instances adopted the familiar instead of the correct forms of proper names, for a reason which I have explained on pp. 811–812 of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*.

<sup>3</sup> As some of my German reviewers, for whose informing and helpful criticisms of my own book I am not less grateful than for the favourable opinions which they have so generously expressed, have taken me to task for what I wrote on p. xviii. about conjectural emendation, I may be allowed to point out that my remarks were directed not against the use but against the abuse of conjecture.

LUCIAN MUELLER'S *ODES AND EPODES OF HORACE*.

*Q. Horatius Flaccus, Oden und Epoden*; erklärt von LUCIAN MUELLER. 2 vols. Pp. 319 and 497. Published by R. L. Ricker, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1900. M. 16.

THE eminent scholar, who by this work wins a fresh title to the respect of all students of Latin, died at St. Petersburg in April 1898 leaving his task incomplete. The present volumes consist (1) of the text, (2) of Introductions to each Ode, and (3) of Notes. They have been edited with great care by G. Goetz, who states that proofs of a considerable portion had already been revised by the author, while the MS of the remainder was ready for the press; but that the fourth part, which consisted of a general Introduction, was not in a sufficiently advanced state to admit of publication.

It may be said generally that the book is a notable addition to Horatian literature, and deserves a place in every classical library. Disputed points are lucidly dealt with; grammatical questions are well handled and without those terrible references to sections and sub-sections in the authorities which make some notes look like a Law Report; rare words are illustrated by short and effective quotations; the Greek sources of many phrases are indicated with great accuracy and learning, while almost everywhere the commentary exhibits taste, judgement, and originality of thought.

In 3, 4, 38, for instance, the editor reads *abdedit oppidis*, pointing out that there is no reference to any final settlement of dismissed veterans in military colonies (which is the assumption on which *addidit* is justified) but to the ordinary *retirement* of the troops into winter-quarters, while Augustus in consequence was able to devote himself to those literary studies for which—according to Horace—he so eagerly longed. “Think, for example, of Frederick the Great,” says the editor, and in half-a-dozen words throws more light on the point than all previous notes on the subject put together. On *unicis Sabinis* (2, 18, 14) he rightly rejects Haupt’s dictum that *a farm* in any district can be described by the name of the people of that district. Haupt, with apparent aptitude, quotes Mart. 10, 44, 9 *sed reddare tuis tandem mansure Sabinis*, but neglects to quote the first line *Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos*, which shews that Martial

reproaches Ovidius with leaving his ‘Sabine friends and neighbours’ to visit northern barbarians. Similarly he quotes Ovid Am. 2, 16, 37, *non ego Paelignos videor celebrare salubres*, as though *Pael. sal.* were = ‘my health-giving farm among the Paeligni,’ but does not quote line 39 *sed Scythiam Cilicasque feros viridesque Britannos*, where the last two words should on his theory = ‘a verdant estate in Britain.’ The fact is that a person may be said ‘to visit Britain’ or ‘the Britons,’ and an affected writer like Pliny says that he is going *in Tuscos meos* (Mayor on Pl. 3, 4, 2) when he merely means ‘to my Tuscan estate,’ but when a poet speaks of *unicis Sabinis* he can only mean ‘the Sabines who are all in all to him,’ so that he wants nothing more. Doubtless when Horace uses the phrase he refers to his Sabine farm, but he does so, as a poet should, by saying that he holds *the people* who live there very dear. Mueller unfortunately spoils his just criticism of Haupt by wishing to read *unico Sabino*, which is excellent prose but bad poetry.

On *fine destinata* (2, 18, 29) the agreement of *fine* and *destinata* is rightly regarded as certain, and a valuable reference given to Serv. on Aen. 6, 152 who explains *f. d.* of the tomb, though, as one good MS gives the quotation with *sede* for *fine*, while *tres codices Cruquiani* were also said to have *sede*, and *sede destinata* Tac. Ann. 1, 8 seems an echo of Horace, it is not improbable that *sede* should be read here. Anyhow either *sede* or *fine* is good, and ‘the destined dwelling’ or ‘goal of the grave’ is the clear meaning of a passage, about which commentators have created much needless trouble.

In 1, 1, 3 the odd phrase *curriculo pulverem collegisse* is rightly said to be used ‘ironically’ for *curru certare*, since irony is a distinct characteristic of Horace, and the recognition of it in 1, 6, 6 would have prevented the editor from accepting the censure which the grammarian Charisius passes on the rendering of *μῆνιν... Ἀχιλλῆος οἰλομένην* by *gravem Pelidae stomachum*. The repetition of *Telephi* 1, 13, 1, is provided with a close parallel from Archilochus 69 (*νῦν δὲ Λεωφίλος μὲν ἄρχει, Λεωφίλος δ’ ἐπικρατεῖ, Λεωφίλῳ δ’ ἐπ’ πάντα κείται, Λεωφίλου δ’ ἀκούεται*), but the exact point of the ‘special emphasis’ given to the name is not made clear as it should be. In 2, 1, 10 *desit theatris*: ein feines

Lob für Pollio' is excellent criticism, and so is that on *servare* 2, 3, 2, 'Man achte auf dies Wort, durch dessen Wahl Horaz den Verdacht des Moralpredigers vermeidet. Dellius besitzt schon die *mens aequa*, braucht sie nicht zu erwerben.' Or again on 3, 25, 2 *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus* the omission of the first *in* is excellently dealt with, while in the noted difficulty *inmunis aram*... 3, 23, 17-20 nothing could be better than the treatment. The word *inmunis* is the key to the problem, and my own rendering 'without a gift' is certainly wrong, for Phidyle had at least offered a pig. The word is used 'in a legal sense' (cf. *ager immunis, cives immunes*); Phidyle was not under any debt or obligation to the gods, but of her own free will makes her humble offering, which is for that reason more acceptable than the 'costly victims' of those who seek by such means to 'wheedle' (cf. *blandior*) forgiveness from the gods.

The point of the description *quae Liris quiescit* | *mordet aqua taciturnus amnis* (1, 31, 7), is justly indicated; it is the repose of the district which makes the weary business man long for it. Exception is taken to explaining *ne* in 1, 33, 1 *Albi, ne doleas* and 2, 4, 1 *ne sit ancillae*... as = 'lest,' for the result of doing so, in obedience to grammatical pedantry, produces 'eine ungeheuerliche Periode.' *Placare*... *deos* (1, 36, 2), which seems to us an odd phrase to use when celebrating a banquet for a soldier's safe return, is well referred to the ancient belief that it is in the hour of prosperity that the jealous gods specially need 'appeasing.'

The instances thus selected, somewhat at random, will suffice to shew the merits of the commentary; but, unhappily, an edition of this character raises other questions of such importance to the welfare of classical study that it is impossible not to consider them. 'With the dead,' doubtless, 'there is no controversy,' but I shall criticize the method rather than the man, and the present editor represents a body of scholars who are now so supreme that a simple schoolmaster who tilts against them need hardly fear the reproach of attacking the defenceless.

The mere notes, then, in this edition fill 497 pages, which, though slightly smaller than the pages of the *Classical Review*, yet probably, owing to the size of the type, contain considerably more matter. They are moreover not discursive but concise. It is impossible to skim them, and to read them through is a very lengthy process even for

one who is comparatively an expert in Horace. That any poet, who is worth reading, can need to be elucidated or obscured by such a mass of comment is *prima facie* absurd. Least of all can this be so in the case of a poet who is as transparently clear as Horace is in three-fourths of the Odes, while anyone who knows the editions of Nauck and Kiessling will be aware that practically all which is best worth knowing on the subject may be adequately represented in a very limited space. There are a certain number of difficulties which, except some new MS should be discovered, are likely to prove difficulties until the end of time. No one, for example, has as yet found any real solution of *iam virum expertus*... or of *venena magnum fas nefasque*... Commentators and emendators have merely made such puzzles more puzzling, and the best editor is the man who states the difficulty in its simplest form, quotes half-a-dozen conjectures in order to shew their absurdity, and then leaves the problem unsolved. Except as an amusement for specialists, such passages have little real interest, and do not concern ordinary readers more than the trisection of an angle does a boy learning Euclid.

Unfortunately, however, because in some places MSS are corrupt and unintelligible, and because a certain number of brilliant emendations have been made, it has become the fashion to examine the text of some ancient writers, if not with the view, at least with the hope of finding some novelty of reading or interpretation. In the case of Horace Bentley set a notable example. He did, indeed, much admirable work at a time when texts were generally bad, but he also did much which only deserves a kind oblivion. His emendations of Milton are a permanent proof of the difference which may exist between a critic and a poet, and his emendations of Horace are often no whit better. When he writes *capacis Orci* for *rapacis Orci* he merely makes a bad pun; when he alters *emirabitur insolens* into *ut mirabitur insolens* he stirs the open-mouthed wonder he objects to; when he proposes *postque equitem sedet atra Cura* adding '*mollius, opinor, fluet versus*,' you ask what his ideas of euphony were. Anybody might make such alterations, but it needs a certain self-confidence to publish them. Bentley, however, was Master of Trinity, a royal Chaplain, and Archdeacon of Ely, so that, along with his vast erudition, he overawed and still overawes the human mind. On the continent he reigns supreme; he is practically the one Englishman who a German editor will con-



descend to refer to. But his reputation has raised him up rivals, and Peerlkamp has notoriously outrun him in the attempt to re-write Horace. The consequence is that to arrive at the real Horace in an edition where the names of Bentley and Peerlkamp perpetually appear is an almost hopeless task. The simplest Odes become unintelligible, the plainest words dubious, and the happiest phrases corrupt.

To make such statements may seem the language of exaggeration, but at least some of the evidence shall be submitted. The ordinary reader, who merely enjoys Horace, will find that he has much to learn.

1, 12, 37-43 are marked as not genuine. Peerlkamp struck out 33-48, but M. Haupt and the editor are more modest. The words *animaeque magnae | prodigum Paulum superante Poeno* are apparently not good Latin. It is allowed to be 'scarcely disputable' that Juvenal 11, 90 refers to these stanzas, and that Claudian 'after the stanza by an unknown author had slipped into the text' imitates the use of *prodigum* by writing *intumuit virtus et lucis prodigum arsit | impetus*. The interpolator who could deceive Juvenal and Claudian must have been a remarkable man; but he could not deceive Peerlkamp.

1, 13, 2 for *cerea Telephi brachia* the reading *luctea* is given against all MSS evidence on the authority of *vetustissimus grammaticus Flavius Caper*, and thus one *grammaticus* repeats the errors of another *grammaticus* from age to age. Why Telephus should not have arms 'like wax' those who choose can see in Bentley, who playfully asks whether he had 'the jaundice.' That his beauty was of the 'wax doll' order is a suggestion from the nursery which may now be more intelligible at Cambridge.

1, 20, 5 for *care Maecenas eques* Bentley with some unknown MS of course reads *clare*, and *care eques* is declared by Mueller to be 'abgeschmackt.' This is one of those emendations which is sure to be made, and would not deserve mentioning did it not shew how the taste for this sort of thing grows. In Epod. 3, 20 Horace ventured to write *iocose Maecenas*, but now we have *iocosa, Maecenas, precor | munum puella savio opponat tuo*. 'After the pathetic though apparently satirical tone of what precedes' to call Maecenas *iocosus* would be out of place, and then follows proof of how well the epithet fits *puella*. Markland and Peerlkamp claim the credit of this discovery.

1, 24, 5 *cui Pudor et Justitiae soror | in-corrupta Fides*; so Horace, but this edition

has *et Justitia et soror* 'with Peerlkamp after Waddel,' for Justice is the chief of virtues and 'cannot possibly' be mentioned as it were 'casually' (beiläufig). Etiquette should come first and poetry afterwards.

1, 31, 5 the *grata Calabriae armenta* become *lata*. To speak of flocks or herds as *grata* = 'lieblich' is, it seems, 'bad taste.' Of course, too, in line 9 *Calenam* is read because the MSS evidence is wholly for *Calena*, while line 12 appears as *vina sua reparata merce*. It would be difficult to produce a worse adjective than *sua*, but then Peerlkamp and Meineke agree that stanzas 3 and 4 of this Ode are *omnis generis ineptiis repletas* and to save them they must be improved. The merchant who goes to the *aequor Atlanticum* 'three or four times a year' in line 14 cannot possibly drink wine 'bought in exchange for Syrian merchandise,' but to preserve his credit as an honest man it is fitting that we should know that the merchandise was 'his own.'

1, 37, 14 *mentemque lymphatam Mareotico* and 4, 17, 17 *spectandus in certamine Martio* are obelized as violating the laws of metre. They certainly do so, and are certainly right. The first reflects in its striking rhythm the haste and enthusiasm with which the splendid Ode where it occurs was thrown off. The second is as fine an instance of deliberate violation of rule in order to produce marked effect as can be found in any Latin poet—

'Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend  
And rise to faults true critics dare not mend.'

As, however, space is an object, I must be content with merely mentioning many other instances. In 2, 3, 7 *per dies festos* is obelized and so too *quo pinus . . . ?* 2, 5, 12 *purpureo varius* becomes *varios*; while *quos tibi dempserit apponet annos* becomes *quod . . . annus*. 2, 6, 18 *amicus Aulon* is of course turned into *amictus*. 2, 8, 2 poor *Barine* is obelized; her name is 'leider ebenso verderbt wie ihre Sitten'; *Barine, Barsine, Larine*, and *Carine* are suggested for her, and the wonderful stanza beginning *adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis* is mutilated into *adde quod pubes, ubi crescit, omnis*. 2, 11, 15 *canos odorati capillos* becomes *cinctos*, and 2, 13, 1 *ille et nefasto* appears as *vilem nefasto*. 2, 14, 6 *amice* is printed but in the notes Peerlkamp's view that it is 'superfluous' is approved and the editor suggests *iam rite*, adding the delicious comment 'hier wäre *iam* kein Flickwort (stopgap).' 2, 15, 8 *domino priori* is altered to *priorem*, which few will be able to construe; 2, 16, 29 in

*abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem* the last word is obelized, for what reason few will be able to guess. 3, 1, 33-40 are not genuine; so too 3, 21-24, 4, 69-72, while 3, 3, 18 *Ilion*, *Ilion* ought to be 'something like *Ilion inpium*.' In lines 37-40 of the same Ode there are two marks of obelization which any reader will find it a pretty puzzle to place correctly, and in line 46 *medius liquor* appears as *modicus liquor*. 3, 4, 46 *et urbes regnaque tristia* is *et umbras*; 3, 5, 8 *in armis* is *in arvis*; 3, 5, 17 *periret* is *perires*, while in 3, 6, 22 *matura virgo* turns up as *acerba virgo*! Even that flawless gem the amoebaeic ninth Ode is not sacred; the line *reiectaeque patet ianua Lydiae* is obelized. It appears that *Lydiae* is a genitive; decorum demands that Horace should call on Lydia, and not *vice versa*, and therefore, 'as the elder Burmann suggested,' we ought to read *si flava excutitur Chloe*, *reiectaene patet ianua Lydiae*? 'If I give up Chloe, is (hier steht ne in emphatischer Frage) Lydia willing to be "at home" when I call?'

But enough! I had collected 30 or 40 more similar instances; those, however, which I have referred to will satisfy all ordinary students. There are good emendations, of which Bentley's *dedicet Euro* (1, 25, 20) for *dedicet Hebro* is an excellent specimen. There are too plausible emendations like *vepris inhorrui ad ventum foliis* (1, 23, 5), or like *Mursi peditis* for *Mauri* (1, 2, 39), although personally I think that Horace is depicting a fierce-eyed blackamoor (some figure like 'the Turk's Head' which used to glare from sign-boards), and that all considerations of the Moors being horsemen and the Marsi famous warriors are beside the question. Again, to suggest *fama Marcellis* for the MS *fama Marcelli* or *maior an illa* for *maior an illi* is reasonable, but what can be said for printing (3, 14, 14)

*ego nunc tumultum  
nunc mori per vim metuum tenente  
Caesare terras*

or for stating that in *te duce Caesar*, the fine ending of 1, 2, the word *Caesar* is not genuine? In the last case the editor quietly says 'Doch ist die Besserung kaum möglich,' and indeed, if anyone will blot out *Caesar* and then try and 'find the missing word,' he will discover that he has entered upon a very difficult competition.

It is certainly time that this arbitrary criticism of Horace, which erases or emends whatever displeases the critic's taste, should be relegated to a secondary place in Horatian study. It is stifling real and

living acquaintance with him as a great poet. His text is buried under a mass of comment as effectively as the simple teaching of the Synoptic Gospels is entombed under a portentous pile of theological literature. The scholarship which is needed is that scholarship which is strong enough to relegate technicalities to their proper place and to devote itself to the real elucidation of a great writer.

At present, however, the only way to obtain any credit for classical learning is to study manuscripts, scholiasts and lexicographers; the sure road to immortality is to sit down and see whether some word, which is *prima facie* genuine, cannot be altered into some word which closely resembles it in appearance (e.g. *rapidus rabidus*, *totum tutum*, *atra arta*, *alto arto*, *puro duro*, *puellis duellis*). The editor, on the other hand, who merely tries to make clear what Horace meant is certain of oblivion. I might prove the point by referring to the total silence with which the work of a scholar so skilful and sympathetic as Dr. Wickham is passed over in the present edition, but I prefer to be egotistic, for, after all, to avoid the word 'I' in writing is a mere trick of style, and a man can only state what he knows himself, while 'The Confessions of a classical Editor' may at least provoke some interest on the ground of rarity.

It was my fortune, chiefly by accident, some twenty years ago to edit the Odes. At that time I was totally ignorant of Bentley; I knew absolutely nothing about MSS; about scholiasts, editors, and emendators I cared not one jot. My sole qualification for my task was that I knew the Odes thoroughly, admired them exceedingly, and could write a decent imitation of them with facility. Since then I have read and made notes on an enormous mass of Horatian literature, so that at the present time I am, in a muddled sort of way, what may be termed an expert on the subject. But in my own heart I am well aware that my real knowledge of Horace, my real power of understanding him is less now than it was in 1880. If I had to edit the Odes afresh to-day I am satisfied that the edition would be technically superior to what I produced long ago, and also intrinsically worse. It would have fewer blunders and fewer merits, because my mind is now so encumbered with a mass of miscellaneous information, mostly worthless, that it can no longer act with native and necessary freshness. My intimacy with Horace has ceased; my

intimacy with critics, who never could have written one of his Odes, has become a sad reality. I am becoming a 'scholar' in name exactly because I am ceasing to be so in fact.

Moreover, amid all the bulk of comment which I have now read, what excites surprise is the exceedingly minute proportion of anything which is really valuable. Book after book comes to me and I read it with a natural desire to find something which I may use to improve my own notes. Anything worth having I am selfishly eager to appropriate, but unfortunately I find very little that I care to steal. My edition remains a small book not because I could not long since have made it a large one, but because I cannot find anything more to put in it. 'This little School-book' is consequently the remark generally made about it by critics who weigh literature by pounds avoirdupois, while scholars agree that one who prefers Horace to what the *grammaticorum turba* has said about him is unworthy of serious discussion. Yet surely even German erudition might recognize a poor Englishman's work rather than assert that *tenebit* in 1, 7, 21, is 'corrupt' and suggest that *latebris* 'might do' in its place. Or again when it is said that *redemptor frequens cum famulis* 3, 1, cannot mean 'with a throng of workmen,' a reference which I give to Ter. Andria 1, 1, 81, *cum illis qui amabant Chrysidem una aderat frequens* might serve to prove the opposite. 'The use of *notus animi paterni* (2, 2, 5) as = 'noted for affection' is allowed to be unparalleled in Horace (for 4, 13, 21 is

rightly explained otherwise) but surely the explanation of *animi paterni* as a simple gen. of quality deserves notice. Macaulay's illustration of *incedis per ignes | suppositos cineri doloso* as an image drawn from walking 'on the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is still glowing' deserves a place in any notes. A knowledge of Wickham's school edition (p. 330) would make even a boy recognize the folly of altering 3, 4, 46 *urbes regnaque tristia into umbras*. The explanation of *tuis ignibus* 3, 7, 11 as = Gyges, though this use of *ignis* 'is not found elsewhere in Horace,' and the use of the plural seems altogether exceptional, would surely be modified by fuller acquaintance with the problem. A glance at Milton's phrase

'A multitude, like which the frozen North Poured never from her frozen loins,' might give a critic pause before he condemned *Germania quos horrida parturit fetus* as 'abgeschmackt,' so that *motus* is preferable, or indeed the whole stanza should be rejected.

There are numerous other instances where the editor might at least have learnt something from several English commentators on Horace. I do not for one moment maintain that their views or my own have any special merit, but I respectfully submit that they deserve consideration, and that the emendations, erasures and obelizations of Bentley, Peerlkamp and similar critics are not the only part of classical study which deserves to rank as real scholarship.

T. E. PAGE.

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Adversaria Critica in Sophoclem.* By F. H. M. BLAYDES. Halis Saxonum. 1900. 6 Mk.

THIS volume is a supplement to the author's edition of Sophocles and is similar in scope and character to his *Adversaria* on Aristophanes which were noticed recently in this *Review*. It contains a large number of fresh conjectures by Mr. Blaydes himself, together with a selection of conjectures made by others and readings from the Paris codices 2787, 2886, 2711. The notes are interesting and useful but the survey of the field of Sophoclean criticism is tantalisingly incomplete. Hardly any account is taken of Jebb's recently published editions.

F. W. HALL.

*Onomasticum Taciteum* composuit PHILIPPUS FABIA. Annales de l'Université de Lyon II. Droit, Lettres; fascicule 4. Paris: Fontemoing, 1900. Pp. 772. 8vo. 15 francs.

THIS handsomely printed volume is what it professes to be, neither more nor less. It contains all the proper names occurring in the works of Tacitus, with all the passages where they occur appended in full or nearly in full, and some brief footnotes exhibiting manuscript variants or conjectures of importance. It is therefore more than an index: on the other hand, it makes no attempt to give biographies of persons named or indications of books where bio-



ographies may be found, except an occasional reference to the 'Prosopographia.' It is simply a book which shews at a glance everything which can be learnt from Tacitus about any person or place, and it justifies its existence on the ground that such a book possesses an undoubted convenience in use. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it

has been compiled with great care and accuracy. In two cases, in respect to the forms of the names Decangi (Ceangi, Cang) and Trisantona (Antona, Avona), the author has somewhat overlooked the latest and best conclusions.

F. HAVERFIELD.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE ENGLISH PROSPECTUS OF THE THESAURUS LINGUAE LATINAE.

It is gratifying to find that Messrs. Teubner have taken in good part the criticisms passed here and elsewhere on the English Translation of the Prospectus of the New Thesaurus. They have gone to the trouble and expense of entirely rewriting it, and the result, with one or two exceptions,

is a piece of good printing and clear English. It is to be hoped that their promptness and enterprise will meet with the success they deserve, and that many copies of the Thesaurus will be sold in English-speaking countries.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

### SEATON'S APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

DR. PEILE, in his friendly notice of my text of Apollonius Rhodius, in the February number of the *Classical Review*, has somewhat misrepresented my meaning in the following passage, no doubt through a hasty perusal of one sentence in my preface. He writes of me, 'he says he assigns more weight than Merkel did to the two Vatican codices: but where he follows them in any

reading, Merkel (so far as I have observed) had done the same.' A reference however to the sentence in question will show that my remark applied not to two of the Vatican codices but to the five Parisian. Examples of what I state may be found *passim* and especially near the beginning of the fourth book.

R. C. SEATON.

## REPORTS.

### OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

On Thursday, January 24th, a paper was read by Mr. ARTHUR EVANS, the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, on the newly discovered Cretan Script. The writer showed how an original pictorial system of writing, which was in vogue in the island at a very early period, developed in Mycenaean times into an advanced linear alphabet of which some of the signs may throw light on the origin of some of the non-Phoenician letters in the Greek alphabet.

On Friday, February 8th, critical notes on Aristotle were read by Mr. GROSE of Queen's College, who (1) defended the mention of Phalaris in *Ar. Eth.* vii. 5, 7, against Mr. Burnet's comments by referring to

the citation from Clearchus in Athenaeus *θ* 396 E; (2) interpreted *παράδοξα ἐλέγχειν* in *Ar. Eth.* vii. 2, 8, from the view that *ἐλέγχειν* is here used in its ordinary Aristotelian sense, as the exposure of absurdities which necessarily follow from an opponent's theses. He referred to such passages as *Sophist.* *El. ec.* 3 and 12, and *Topics* viii. 4.

Notes were also read by Mr. J. A. SMITH of Balliol College on *Post. Anal.* I. i. § 4: *de Anim.* iii. x. (especially 433<sup>a</sup> 31 sequ.): *Poet.* iv. § 11, viii. § 3, ix. § 15: and on the term *μεσότης*.

On Friday, Feb. 15th, Mr. B. W. HENDERSON, of Merton College, read a paper on 'The site of

Tigranocerta." After presenting all the evidence on the controversy to be found in the ancient authorities, he concluded that these fell into two main classes, the one championing a site in Northern Mesopotamia, the other one in Armenia proper. The evidence for and against the four suggested sites of Diarbekr, Sert, Tel Abad, and Tel Ermen was then discussed, and the conclusion reached that Sachau's suggestion of Tel Ermen satisfies the superior class of the ancient authorities and is on many grounds definitely to be preferred to its three rivals.

On Feb. 22nd Mr. A. C. CLARK, of Queen's College, read a paper upon some fresh material for the criticism of the letters to Atticus obtained from marginalia found in two printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One of these contains the rough notes of Turnebus, afterwards published in his *Adversaria*, and a collection made by him of the Tornaesianus (z) for ad Atticum xiv.-xvi. The other contains an interesting statement by Baluze concerning the Crusellinus of Bosius. An article dealing with the subjects of the paper will appear in the *Philologus*.

Mr. F. MADAN, of B.N.C., read a paper on Dr. Thomas James's Canons of Textual Criticism, as printed in his *Explication of his Supplication* (Oxford, 1605, 4to.). Dr. James, who was the first Librarian of the Bodleian, and a considerable controversialist on the Protestant side, had petitioned the authorities of the Church for the establishment of a small College of Theological Students who should examine critically the texts of the Fathers. This 'Supplication' he explains and justifies in the treatise mentioned above, and incidentally draws out a code of critical rules, which are, if not the earliest, certainly a very early set of formulated canons. These were read out and commented on. The general impression left was that Palaeography in the modern sense, as concerned with the *ductus litterarum* and sequence of styles of writing, was almost entirely absent, and that there was no grasp of the sources of error in transcription, such as now supplies a basis for their correction. The remarks on the limits of conjectural emendation and on the weight rather than mere number of MSS. were sound. In the discussion which ensued some doubt was expressed as to whether the rules represented the whole of the intellectual equipment of the Textual Critic of the time.

On Friday, March 1st, a paper was read by Prof. MACDONELL 'On the Reciprocal Relations of Greece and India in Speculation and Culture.'—After comparing the far-reaching influence on civilisation of ancient Greece in the West and of ancient India in the Farther East, and mentioning some points in which the culture of mediaeval Europe had been affected by India, the paper proceeded to indicate the reciprocal influences of Greece and India during the six centuries before and the four centuries after Christ. Before the two peoples came into contact they had borrowed their writing from the same Semitic source. Intercourse first became possible during the Persian dominion (500–331 B.C.) in the north-west of India; then came the invasion of Alexander (327 B.C.), followed by the sway of Greek rulers in the North-West for nearly two centuries (200–20 B.C.); after this a lively trade was carried on between Alexandria and Barygaza on the West Coast of India during the first centuries of our era. It was pointed out that there are certain resemblances between the Greek and the Sanskrit Epics, but that the Greek influence which has been traced here by some scholars is an unproved assumption.—With regard to the drama, it was stated

that while its origin is almost undoubtedly indigenous, it may have adopted some elements from the new Attic Comedy. A certain number of Aesopian fables were indicated as so unmistakably allied to those of early Sanskrit literature, that borrowing must have taken place on one side or the other; but the question of priority appears to be by no means settled as yet. Again, Greek and Indian philosophy had many points in common. In the Vedānta system, developed before 500 B.C., were found some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics—that God and the universe are one, that the multiplicity of phenomena has no reality, that thinking and being are identical. Again, the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the eternity and indestructibility of matter were the exact counterpart of the doctrine of Empedocles. It was historically possible that the early Greek philosophers were influenced by Indian thought through Persia. Moreover, nearly all the doctrines attributed to Pythagoras, religious, philosophical, and mathematic, were known in India in the 6th century B.C., especially the doctrine of metempsychosis. Their dependence on Indian philosophy seemed highly probable.

There was, further, considerable similarity between the neo-Platonist philosophy of the 3rd century A.D. and the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya system. Prof. Garbe, the leading authority on the Sāṅkhya philosophy, considered Indian influence to be certain in this case; but some authorities on Greek philosophy thought that all the neo-Platonic doctrines could be explained as independently developed from purely Greek sources. The influence of Indian philosophy on Christian Gnosticism in the second and third centuries appeared to be undoubted.

The Indians, who were the great calculators of antiquity, the inventors of the numerical figures with which the whole world reckons, and of the decimal system, arrived at results in algebra, as well as arithmetic, beyond anything attempted by the Greeks; but they seem to have exercised no influence on the latter in this domain. On the other hand, the points of contact in geometry between the Greeks, the great geometers of antiquity, and the Indians, were so considerable that borrowing on the part of the Indians after 100 B.C. seemed likely. Astronomy was the only science in which strong Greek influence could be proved with certainty. Greek astronomy was introduced in the 4th century A.D. into India, and with it the naming of the days of the week after sun, moon, and planets, in the same order. Greek influence on Indian medical science was not improbable, as some close parallels had been discovered between the works of Hippocrates and Charaka (probably 1st century A.D.).

In the graphic and plastic arts influence was exercised from the Greek side only. The earlier Indian coins had consisted merely of punch-marked square pieces of metal; but after the 3rd century A.D. Indian coins artistically represented Zeus with aegis and thunderbolt, Heracles with club, Poseidon with trident, Athene with owl or eagle, and bore clear inscriptions in Greek as well as Indian characters. Greek art further left its mark on Indian Buddhist sculpture and architectural ornament, notably in the remains of the kingdom of Gandhāra (in the North-West), where its influence lasted from about 1–400 A.D.; but it might also be traced at Mathurā on the Jumna, at Buddha Gayā in Behar, and at Amarāvati on the Kistna river in the South-East. Through the example of the Greeks the Buddhists became the first builders in stone and brick in India. These structures imitated earlier wooden architecture and in plan retained an essentially national type throughout; it was only the ornamentation that was considerably affected by Greek influence.

On Friday, March 8th, a paper was read by Mr. FARNELL, of Exeter College, on the ethnographic problems presented by the Poseidon cults in Greece. If the name of the deity contains the root that appears in *ποτόν* and *πόσις*, a derivation that does not clash with any etymological law, then he may be regarded as one of the divinities brought into Greece by the earliest Aryan conquerors. At least, there is no clear trace of a non-Aryan element in his worship; for the occasional instances of female ministrations are of no value as proof of this. The earliest ethnography of Greece and the prehistoric movements of tribes can only be gathered from a critical estimate of the evidence from cult, legend, genealogies and place-names. The strongest evidence is that which is gathered from cult; the weakest is that which is derived from mere genealogies. The cumulative argument drawn from these four sources points to Thessaly as the earliest home of this worship, and to the Minyans and Ionians as the earliest Hellenic tribes that diffused it. Wherever we find the worship prominent, wherever Poseidon was connected with the tribal or political organisation as *φράτριος*, *Γενέθλιος* or *Βασιλεὺς*, we discover traces of Thessalian, Minyan or Ionic settlement or influence. The most important special cult for Greek ethnography is that of Poseidon-Hippios. Among the various suggested explanations, the most probable is that the horse was the embodiment of the water-spirit. The cult and the legend is specially prominent in Thessaly, and wherever we find it elsewhere in Greece we find also legends that seem to point back to Thessaly or Boeotia. And the cult acquired a new significance at an early time through the development of the art of horsemanship in Thessaly. It is probable that the Minyan settlements in Boeotia bordered on a very early Ionic. The worship of Poseidon *Ἐλικώνιος*, the political bond of the Ionic cities in Asia Minor, must have belonged to the Ionians before the migration. It is impossible to derive the title from Helike, or immediately from any other word but Helikon. And it is most natural to believe that this was the mountain (or stream) in Boeotia, especially as vestiges of Poseidon cult or legend survived in the vicinity. The great ethnographic importance of the worship of Helikonios, as supporting the hypothesis that Boeotia was an early home of the aboriginal Ionian stock, has hitherto been ignored. Possibly the 'Aeigidae,' 'the

sons of Aegeus' at Thebes belonged to an early Ionic settlement there. For Aegeus, the father of Theseus, is Poseidon himself, the title in all probability designating the God of Aegae. *Ποσειδῶν Πατὴρ* at Eleusis should be interpreted not as 'the Father of Artemis,' but, in accordance with the analogy of similar titles, as 'the Father' of a local clan: and certain Eleusinian legends associate the region with Boeotia and North Greece. Poseidon on the Isthmus is connected with Ionic and Boeotian legend. The Argolid worship belongs to the Ionic settlement that preceded the Dorian there, and is associated with the name of Theseus. The Amphictyony of Kalauria is partly Minyan and partly Ionic. In the Laconian worship the Minyan tradition is especially strong. Around the Arcadian Poseidon and the sites of his worship in that country cluster many legends that carry us back to Thessaly. The proof of Minyan migration to Elis is indubitable, the story of Salmoneus and his mimicry of thunder reminding us of a rite of rain-magic attested of Thessaly. The cult in Achaea is Ionian, and, though preserved, was shorn of its prestige after the invasion of the Achaeans from the north. The old Minyan cult at Pylos in Messene was utterly obliterated by the Dorians, who never showed any strong leaning to Poseidon-worship. The same ethnic affinities can be traced, as we follow the track of Poseidon across the Aegean and along the Asia Minor coast.

The study of the cult is of the greatest importance for the early ethnography of Attica. A review of all the evidence appears to lead to the conclusion—opposed to recent theories—that Athena-worship is the primary religious fact with which we have to reckon in the earliest period of the existence of Athens; that Erechtheus the 'ground-breaker' (*ἐρχιθόνιος* = *ἐρεχθιχθόνιος*) is an aboriginal agricultural hero, a buried ancestor, that the introduction of Poseidon-worship was the result of an early Ionic migration—probably from Troezen—associated with the names of Theseus and Aegeus; and that the cult may have received additional stimulus from a somewhat later settlement of Pylian Minyans; that by a fictitious arrangement for political purposes the God is blended with the primitive ancestor, with whose real nature he has little or no affinity; and that the cult-title of Poseidon-Erechtheus is of later growth, analogous to that of Zeus-Agamemnon, Apollo Sarpedonios.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### SOME RECENT WORKS ON CLASSICAL ART.

#### A.—GREEK SCULPTURE.

- (1) *Die Naturwiedergabe in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, von EMANUEL LOEWY. Rome 1900. (Loescher & Co.). 3 M. 60.
- (2) *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, von JULIUS LANGE. Aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von MATHILDE MANN. . . mit einem Vorwort von A. FURTWÄNGLER. Strassburg, 1900. (Heitz & Mündel). 20 M.

THESE two books, published with some eighteen months interval between them, are significant of the attempt which is being made to account for the causes that determine the aesthetic changes noted and, to a certain extent, classified by the historical method. Professor Loewy's book deals mainly with that three-dimensional problem in art, which has so exercised the ingenuity of art-critics since the publication of Hildebrand's masterly essay *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst*. All progress in the formative arts, whether painting proper, relief, or sculpture in the



round, is a progression from the simple flat presentment of the image to the discovery of how to render the third dimension or depth; at the same time, according to Prof. Loewy, the unconscious resistance offered at all times by the artist to the third-dimensional rendering explains most, or all, of the artistic conventions for which, so far, only partial or unsatisfactory solutions had been found. The primitive artist is unable to grasp more than one view of his subject—hence early painting remains a purely linear art, whether it appear as pure outline or filled in as silhouette. Hence, too, the flatness of early relief, with its incapacity for three-dimensional suggestion and absence of all plastic conception, the lingering effects of what were originally but artistic limitations making themselves still felt in such works as the grave reliefs of Philis and from Pella, and in the frieze of the Parthenon. It is Loewy's application of these theories to sculpture 'in the round' which is most interesting because most novel. The two arts—for relief and painting are inseparable—of painting and sculpture show a parallel development. The early sculptor as little grasps the third-dimensional quality as the early painter. Hence the earliest statues like the 'Nikandra' from Delos are strictly carved only in one view (p. 31); as art progresses, figures are sculptured, so to speak, in relief on their four faces, and though the corner angles are rounded off the figure has no organic depth, a defect acutely noted by Loewy even on so advanced, and in some ways perfect, a figure as the Apollo of Tenea (p. 32). A significant observation which needs insisting upon, is that the process, contrary to what we should expect, is the same for *bronze* work as for sculpture in stone. That a marble figure carved out of a plane-faced, four-sided block should technically favour the *one-view* process is obvious; what is not so clear is that the same peculiarities and conditions, based on the same visual limitations, obtain in bronze, where it might be supposed that dependence on the clay model or the mould would tend to make the rectangular structure soon retire before the real round. But original bronze masterpieces such as the Charioteer from Delphi or the Apollo of Piombino are a proof of the contrary; they are on the rectangular plan as much as any marble work of the same period; and in their presence it is impossible, as Loewy points out, to contend that the rectangular character, for example, of the Dresden copies of the 'Lemnian'

Athena, is due to 'schematizing' on the copyist's part; it obviously belonged to the original bronze. As a fact the efflorescence of Greek painting and sculpture took place while art had not yet thoroughly passed out of its linear and rectangular phase. In the statues of Praxiteles linger many traces thereof—and only at the close of the great period, in the art of Lysippos, may these primitive conditions be pronounced as altogether conquered, and the plastic arts to have become *in jedem Sinne körperlich*.

Professor Loewy is an experienced student and exponent of aesthetic theories. Some eight years ago, long before such problems had attained their present vogue it was he who in his treatise on Lysippos (*Lysipp u. seine Stellung in der griechischen Kunst*) first adumbrated the principle which was afterwards independently developed and definitely formulated as the 'frontal law' (*Gesetz der Frontalität*) by the Danish professor Julius Lange. It is a matter for regret that in the German translation of Lange's book before us the discussion of an aesthetic law which, at the time of its publication, was hailed by an eminent reviewer in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* as 'an art-historical result of the first rank, comparable to the discovery of a law of nature,' should appear only in the short French *résumé* that was appended to the Danish edition. Briefly stated, the 'frontal law' postulates that in the primitive sculpture of all peoples, the movement of figures 'in the round' is limited by the fact that whatever the pose, be it standing or sitting, bending forwards or backwards, riding, kneeling, lying on the face or on the back, *there is no lateral divergence from an imaginary axis that divides the body into two exact halves*. The observance of this law it was that imparted to early sculpture a special character, felt and appreciated by critics but hitherto left unexplained. How, in Greek sculpture, the frontal law gradually gives way before greater technical and artistic freedom is shown at length in the two later sections of Lange's work in its German dress. For instance—everyone has doubtless observed how rigid is the pose of the wounded warrior from the eastern pediment of the temple of Aegina, by comparison with that of the 'Ilissos' from the Parthenon. But till Lange pointed it out, and moreover, illustrated his reasoning by diagrams, it was not equally clear that this comparative rigidity is due to the fact that the Aeginetan sculptor, still under the ban of the 'frontal law,' has not understood how to connect the

lower torso with the legs, truthfully to nature, whereas the sculptor of the 'Ilissos' had completely discarded frontality. In standing statues the change from the frontal position took place gradually with the shifting of the weight of the body to the one or the other leg—the great innovation that marks the passage from primitive to perfected sculpture. In the *Discobolus*—for its period a real *tour de force*—the necessities imposed by the frontal law are only imperfectly overcome: hence the unpleasing contortions that called forth the criticism of Quintilian. Consonantly with the modification of posture comes a development in the expressiveness of the face...In a word 'All the changes in the posture of figures, brought about by the transition period, may be summed up by saying that the earlier frontal statue represented an external structure of the human form: upon two feet were placed two legs, above the legs a body, above the body a neck and head and so on—whereas the new statue is a representation of the human being in which everything is evolved from, and imposed by, an inner centre—an Ego.'

One important result of the wider knowledge thus secured by the scientific observation of the whole range of artistic phenomena, is that many a defect or a limitation once considered characteristic of some artist or school, now appears as the natural outcome of the phase reached in the aesthetic development at the period to which the work belongs. In the flat treatment of the 'Stele of two Maidens from Pharsalos' we shall no longer recognise with Brunn, because of the provenance of the stele, a technique wholly peculiar to the schools of Northern Greece (Loewy, p. 20)—any more than we shall attribute the still inaccurate articulation of the Aeginetan figures to the 'deficiencies of certain Aeginetan artists. For had this been the case, we should not have wasted our words upon the matter in this connection' (Lange, p. 71). I have dwelt upon what seemed to me the most characteristic part of Lange's book—but it touches upon a number of interesting subjects—such as the presentation of the figure on the plane surface, and the different level of artistic development reached in representations of animals and in those of the human figure; the author died before he could complete his researches beyond the first period of the efflorescence of Greek art, but he has left us a searching and—considering all that has been written before—an extraordinarily original and fresh examination of the Parthenon marbles, as well as some sound criticism on the Polykleitan school.

(3) S. REINACH: *Le type Féminin de Lysippe* (from *Revue Archéologique*, 1900).

Its seductive title gives all the importance of a monograph to this article. Like M. Reinach, many an archaeologist has been haunted by the idea that among the innumerable still unreclaimed copies of statues in our museums may be concealed female types referable to the Master of the Apoxyomenos, though the same method of recovery would not commend itself to all. In endeavouring to fill the gap, M. Reinach displays, as usual, a subtle power of criticism to which his unrivalled command of aesthetic vocabulary enables him to give the fullest and most telling expression; yet he strikes me as not altogether equal to himself in this his latest effort at attribution—nay, as being in danger of consecrating by his influence methods of research which the many students of his work know that he would have been the first to condemn or to ridicule only a while ago. To say that because Lysippus was a prolific artist, who is known to have made a great number of female statues, copies of these statues must survive, and then to set about to find them (*rechercher le type féminin qu'on est en droit de lui attribuer*) savours of an *a priori* method which obtained too long, and which we hoped was fast vanishing. M. Reinach himself has often taught us to work not from our preconceived notion to some statue which we force to fit it, but honestly—if sometimes wearily—from the statue itself to its school and its master. Be these things as they may, he does not seem to us to have altogether had *la main heureuse* in two, at any rate, of the three works which he here proposes as Lysippian. They are given on Plate xix. on either side of a dainty Praxitelean head at Dresden—originally published by M. Reinach himself—to which they are supposed to offer marked contrasts. The first, which is 'in the market' at Rome, was lately photographed for the *Einzelverkauf* series, and pronounced by Dr. Arndt in the text to the E. V. to be Praxitelean—an opinion which is confirmed rather than otherwise by its present juxtaposition with the Dresden head.<sup>1</sup> The second would be 'Lysippian' head, which belongs to the Hon. Ashley Ponsonby, has for upwards of twenty years been a loan in the South Kensington Museum,<sup>2</sup> where it was noted

<sup>1</sup> The head, which I knew only from the photograph, belongs most probably to a later development of the Praxitelean school.

<sup>2</sup> In saying that he ignores the present whereabouts of the head, M. Reinach's marvellous museographic



by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 484, No. 18). It is in a shocking condition, owing to a mixed coating of brown paint (*vide* Michaelis) and London dirt. The facial oval is long, differing therefore totally from the short, packed Lysippian oval as seen, not only in the Apoxyomenos, but in the fine replica in the British Museum of the 'Lansdowne Hermes' and in other works after Lysippus; the expression has the true Skopasian inwardness, of which the superficial, externalising Lysippus shows himself incapable. Not that I would refer the head to Skopas, the facial forms are reminiscent rather of later developments of his school in the direction perhaps of the Demeter of Knidos.

The third attempt at attribution which, as M. Reinach is careful to remind us, is not altogether novel, is somewhat happier, even if it rest at present on very slight proof. As we see them juxtaposed on Pl. xviii., certainly the head of the larger of the two female draped statues from Herculeaneum at Dresden offers analogies to the Apoxyomenos; though the analogy is greatly lessened if we look at the female head poised at the correct angle on the statue itself. This type of head, however, cannot be dissociated from one with which it is far more intimately connected than with the Apoxyomenos, namely from the lovely head in the Glyptothek at Munich (no. 89), and the kindred heads which are linked not only by affinities of style but by their peculiar rolled headdress. M. Reinach now dismisses, or rather ignores, a connection he had himself insisted upon in a previous paper on the 'Corinna' of Seilanian. Full of the idea that the Herculeaneum figure is Lysippian and therefore copied from bronze, he pronounces somewhat lightly that the hair is a further proof of bronze origin, since this treatment is peculiarly suitable to bronze technique. But does he forget that among those heads with rolled hair, which he himself had enumerated as 'congénères'<sup>1</sup> in his article on Seilanian, one is the marble head in Munich, certainly one of the most exquisite masterpieces of Greek or of any marble sculpture, where the hair is treated at once with tenderness and the utmost *maestria*. How noble is

the contour it imparts to the brow, yet how lifelike and dainty the delicate indication of the slight pull exerted by the roots of the hair upon the gently swelling temples, how soft and almost 'illusionist' is the ripple of the softly rolled waves. No sculptor or critic would, I think, be found to say that here was technique unsuited to marble. The little marble head from Corfu (Friedrichs-Wolters 1521) equally an original is, as Wolters saw long ago, inseparable from the Munich head. The same coiffure, though somewhat more closely waved or rolled, occurs again on the maid in the grave relief of Archestrata at Leiden; the head of this maid seems intimately connected with the Knidian head; the shape of the eye, and the general cast of the countenance point if not to a common at least to a very closely allied origin. Of marble too, and of the same period, if not of the same school, is the charming original head in high relief with an adaptation of the same headdress published by Professor Gardner (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* xv, 1895, Pl. 6), who not improbably surmises that it may have belonged to the sculptured decoration of the temple of Sunium. When the coiffure in question occurs in no less than four undoubted originals of the fourth century, what becomes of M. Reinach's contention that it is only suited to bronze technique? The fact is that M. Reinach in common with the majority of archaeologists misapprehends, under the influence of modern criticism, the true relation of bronze to marble technique in antiquity. The ancient sculptor aimed at definite optical effects which fluctuated in different periods and schools, but which remained but slightly if at all affected by considerations of material.<sup>2</sup> This is a point which cannot be developed here—but I doubt whether, without the texts to tell them that the original Apoxyomenos was bronze, archaeologists would be so sure that the exquisite lissom modelling of the Vatican statue *produit un effet de sécheresse toute métallique*. And would we have seen traces of marble technique in the hard copy of a female head in Berlin (Cat. No. 610), had not a fortunate discovery given us the marble original (E. Gardner, *Handbook*, Fig. 101)? It is disappointing to find that M. Reinach

memory has for once failed him; the head remains now, as for the last five or six years, where the present writer saw it again only a day or two ago—in an angle of the corridor outside the refreshment room.

<sup>1</sup> These heads clearly fall into groups within a group, though for the present purpose it suffices to consider them as a class. It seems uncertain whether the head on the Compiègne 'Corinna' really belongs to the statue,

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above I have found a striking confirmation of this view, in the finest of the bronzes recently recovered near Cythera—the life-size Hermes which is justly considered to resemble the Hermes of Olympia. The hair, although bronze, is as loosely modelled with a view to effect by means of alternating light and shadow, as is that of the Olympian statue. In the fifth century, on the other hand, wire-drawn hair is found both in marble and in bronze works.



is content to base his attempt at *rapprochement* of the Herculanean figure to the Apoxyomenos on the evidence of the heads alone, especially as in Lysippian statues, the head—generally of an eclectic type—is by no means the most interesting or characteristic part. It would be satisfactory to know what Lysippian character, if any, he finds in the body of the female figure. The present writer at least sees in it no attempt to solve the problems wherein lay the true greatness and the true innovation of Lysippus and his school. The way in which Lysippus elongates the forms so as to bring out the statal lines is quite beyond anything attempted by his predecessors—even by Praxiteles. In the Apoxyomenos the marvellous rotation of the limbs round the axis of the figure imparts an individual rhythm which is entirely new, which is the secret of its admirable mobility and which we find again in figures such as the 'Eros stringing his Bow,' the 'Hermes' of Lansdowne House, and its replicas (this quality of mobility indeed being that which above all distinguishes the Lysippian figures 'with a raised foot' from other statues with the same external motive such as the Poseidon of the Lateran and the Alexander Rondanini). All this we miss in the figure from Herculaneum; alike the simple grace of her pose and the flow of her draperies show that the current Praxitelean attribution is correct. To what master or modification of the Praxitelean school she exactly belongs is of course uncertain for the present.

A small error may be noted on p. 15. The replica found at Aegion of the smaller Herculanean figure was the pendant not to a replica of the 'Antinous Belvedere' but to a variant though kindred type of the Hermes known as of Aegion, a figure modified from some fifth century original (see Bulle in No. 631 and 632 of the E.V.) It is the Hermes found at Andros which is an exact copy of the Belvedere statue, and its feminine pendant was the exquisite replica, now in Athens, of the larger Herculanean statue.

I have ventured to attack the main thesis of a brilliant paper. Space fails me to dwell on minor points, such as *inter alia* the new contention that copies after bronze are more accurate than copies after marble; for of the former a mould can be taken, a process impossible in the case of marble statues by reason of their delicate colouring. This clever theory, however, is not altogether confirmed by a close study of copies. Think for instance of the marble head from the Acropolis mentioned above, and its mechani-

cally accurate copy in Berlin; and many other copies after marble might be cited, so accurate as to make us suspect that casts must have been taken of marble statues also, in spite of their colouring. That the larger Herculanean figure with her companions may be Mnemosyne with two of the Muses is an attractive if not a proven suggestion.

(4) *Strena Helbigiana*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900.

This book was offered to Professor Helbig for his sixtieth birthday by sixty of his students and friends varying in merit and celebrity from the great Theodor Mommsen to the writer of the present notice. To review the sixty essays which compose the volume is out of the question. For the history of art special interest attaches to the article by Paul Arndt showing that the so-called 'Alcibiades' of the Vatican belongs to the fourth century and has therefore been misnamed; a beautiful head of Helios from Rhodes is published by Botho Graef; L. Milani in an interesting article wishes to push back the original of the Medicean Venus to Praxiteles himself; a statue interpreted as Achilles belonging to the Naples Museum is published by B. Saucer; we welcome a terra-cotta head from Alexandria, published by Th. Schreiber as a portrait of Alexander, owing to its undoubted likeness to the Azara bust; in the exhaustive discussion we miss a reference to the beautiful portrait statuette after Lysippus belonging to His Excellency M. Nelidow, Russian Ambassador in Rome, the head of which, in spite of the small scale, is assuredly one of the most trustworthy portraits of the great king. W. Amelung publishes the interesting though hitherto neglected group of a Satyr riding upon a dolphin (Casino Borghese)—and shows its influence upon similar compositions in the Renaissance.

#### B.—GREEK VASES.

(1) '*Tyrrhenische*' Amphoren: eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Malerei. Von HERMANN THIERSCH (E. A. Seeman, Leipzig).

This excellent monograph deals with a small but difficult class of early Greek vases, once pronounced to be of Italic origin by Brunn and the Munich school, then gradually traced back to Attica and to Attic origins, and since the appearance of Holwerda's exhaustive essay in the *Jahrbuch* for 1890 accepted as 'Corintho-Attic.' Dr. Thiersch sets himself to prove by a searching comparison that the

first member of the double epithet 'Corintho-Attic' must be dropped; then, while maintaining a purely Attic origin for this ware, he prefers to retain for its products (amphoras exclusively) the distinctive, though once so widely misapplied, name of 'Tyrrhenian' which corresponds to the ultimate, if not to the original, region of their provenance. His contention, supported by ample proof, is briefly that these 'Tyrrhenian' amphoras were produced by Attic craftsmen working for Italic export. They mark a short episode not so much in the development as in the decay of Archaic Attic vase painting; their brief history is that of a decadence. Nay further, so closely similar are all the specimens—some eighty in number—preserved to us that Dr. Thiersch has little hesitation in tracing them back not only to one workshop but to one painter, whose death, then, would account for the abrupt disappearance of this class of ware. The little book is divided into sections dealing with the epigraphy, the subjects, the rendering of the nude or of the face, the costume, etc. At all points the author displays not only learning but acute understanding of artistic procedure and of the expressive limitations of archaic art. Mythologists should read the discussion of the art-type of the departure of Amphiaraus, as seen on a 'Tyrrhenian' amphora in Florence. The ancient vase painter lays stress on the *paternal* and not on the marital relation of Amphiaraus: the children crowd about him pathetically and try forcibly to keep back their father among them; Amphiaraus is seen endeavouring to free himself from Alkmaion's clinging embrace. If Eriphyle be there at all, it is without her fatal tokens and in a subordinate place among the other women. May it not be, asks Dr. Thiersch, that on the great Corinthian Krater in Berlin, the action of Amphiaraus has been misunderstood? Are not the hands of the children uplifted towards their father—not as generally supposed, to ask for their mother's life, but to pray their father not to forsake them? And further, 'need the hand be raised with murderous intent: may it not merely be the attribute of the warrior departing for the wars?' One is glad to note that Dr. Thiersch traces the mistake to Pausanias' erroneous interpretation of the same scene on the chest of Cypselus. What false notions of the ancient craftsmen or artists' attitude to their subjects may not the servile dependence of our modern mythologists on the pedantic and unscientific *periegete* be responsible for! Dr. Thiersch in his anxiety to be fair occa-

sionally loads his theme with irrelevancies, as for instance when he quotes, though only to discard it, the notion that the quaint fashion in which three men are carrying Polyxena to the sacrifice, horizontally like a log, on a 'Tyrrhenian' amphora in the British Museum, may be a reminiscence of the three companions of Odysseus carrying the beam wherewith to bore the Cyclops' eye on the vase signed by Aristonofos. This ridiculous system of 'typology' is now discarded by all serious scholars. Thus, in the *Strena Helbigiana* noted above, Dr. Bulle, in making known a new Odysseus vase, justly condemns my former theory of a *contaminatio* between the art-types of Odysseus and the Sirens and of Prometheus and the vulture.

### C.—ROMAN ART.

EDMOND COURBAUD: *Le Bas-Relief Romain à représentations historiques*. (Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome).

I have briefly stated elsewhere—in my preface to the English edition of Wickhoff's *Roman Art*—wherein consists the main value of this careful archaeological compilation. It is certainly an admirable *résumé* of the best that has been done for Roman art during the nineteenth century by the more conservative school of archaeology who insist on the complete dependence of Roman upon Greek art, a view for the rest advocated only lately by so great a connoisseur as Dr. Petersen in his handbook to Rome, where in the survey of the art treasures of Rome the glories of post-Augustan art are summarily dismissed as Hellenistic in character: 'What remains of the artistic decoration of the Forum of Nerva, of the balustrades, of the triumphal arches and columns, corresponds in the main to the Hellenistic art of which the most characteristic extant example is the sculpture from Pergamon.' This is a view which I have done my best to combat by translating a whole book on the subject. I therefore do not propose to enter upon it here. But since reading Dr. von Domaszewski's article in the *Strena Helbigiana* on the reliefs of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, it has occurred to me that perhaps some further light might be brought to bear to show that the kindred central reliefs of the 'Ara Pacis' of Augustus (Florence, given as head-piece in *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 171), which M. Courbaud, like Dr. Schreiber, insists on taking to be a copy from an Hellenistic composition, is after all of Augustan date, and that the slab from

Carthage in the Louvre is therefore the later and not the earlier work. In a remark which unfortunately is only made briefly in a footnote von Domascewski shows that the *Tellus* reclining with the two children at the lower edge of the breast-plate of Augustus is not exactly, as hitherto always said, merely the 'earth,' but rather the *Orbis Romanus*, and that accordingly (the suggestion, apparently, is Professor von Duhn's) the two babes are the divine twins. Then may we not suppose that the *Terra Mater* of the Augustan altar also, partakes of the nature of the *Orbis Romanus*, and that the children in this case again are the twins? How appropriate to the altar of the 'Pacis Augustae' would be this impersonation of the universal Roman sway—surrounded as on the breast-plate by the elements that minister to its prosperity. And as a sure sign of what the Romans understood by the allegory, the twins themselves play about the gracious woman. Should this suggestion turn out to be correct, the relief would become stamped with a distinctive Roman mark, and it would be impossible to date the composition earlier than the Augustan Age.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

January, 1901.

### MARATHON AND VRANA.

The suggestion that Marathon has become Vrana (p. 135) assumes two things: (1) that the accent of *Μαραθῶνα* could be transposed to the preceding syllable, *Μαράθωνα*; (2) that one of the unaccented short vowels has been dropped.

But (1) Modern Greek is very tenacious of the place of the ancient accent. The changes (except in one or two dialects, such as Crete) are very few, and indeed I cannot think of any except the class of words ending in -ία, which have all become -ιά with the consonantal ι. Here the principle seems to be the same as in *Μενέλαος*: *Μενέλεως*, and *εἶος*: *ἔως*, which began in ancient times. And (2) unaccented short syllables are always pronounced with great distinctness, except initial or final short vowels. Lastly, the very syllables in question appear unclipt in the village name *Μαραθόκαμπος* in Samos, derived no doubt from the same plant as the name of Marathon.

It is therefore highly unlikely that Marathon can have become Vrana, and in any case the guess must be rejected if no evidence to support it is forthcoming. It is conceivable, however, that the name may

have suffered some mutilation on the lips of Vlach or Albanian shepherds.

It does not follow, of course, that Vrana does not cover the site of the ancient village.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

### MONTHLY RECORD.

#### ITALY.

*Inola*.—Some fine Roman pavements have been discovered, with excellent designs; one has a pattern of hexagons in red with white centres and lozenges between: another, patterns of intersecting circles with flowers in the centres, in white on a black ground; and a third a somewhat complicated pattern of squares with borders of panels in which are lozenges, surrounded by guilloches and rosettes in circles, etc., all in black and white.<sup>1</sup>

*Todi*.—Remains of a building have come to light which appeared to have been destroyed by a landslide; it contained, besides marble slabs and pavements and a hypocaust, an onyx goblet, and a life-size statue of Greek marble representing a seated goddess (head wanting). The treatment of the drapery recalls the Hera Borghese of the Vatican and a Hera now in the Thermæ of Diocletian.<sup>1</sup>

*Naples*.—A marble block has been found with an inscription of the third century after Christ, which shews points of comparison with *C.I.L.* x. 1492. It runs as follows: LAV[CE]LARCH[ISANTI] IMITABILI DEMARCHO | PLVRIMISÆETIAM 'AT' Q' | INSIGNIBVS MERITIS | PRAECLARO ♀ FRETORES | EYBOIS VERE DIGNISSIMO. For the obscure magistrate *laucelarchus* see Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 47 and Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. u. Ital.* p. 191; for the form—*isanti* cf. the *demarchisanti* of *C.I.L.* x. 1491. *Fretores Eubois* is of course a transliteration of *φρήτορες Εὔβοις*.<sup>1</sup>

*Pompeii*.—A somewhat pathetic discovery has been made of the corpse of a man buried deep under lava; he had been carrying a bundle which contained the handle of a silver stew-pan (*trulla*?) ornamented with shell-fish, two spoons, two keys, and a silver denarius of Domitian. In the same spot were found 187 copper coins of various dates.<sup>2</sup>

*Rome*.—Further finds have been made on the site of the *Fons Iuturnæ*, including a sarcophagus of Proconnesian marble with reliefs of the third century after Christ: along the front a bust of a woman within a *clipeus*, supported by two winged deities; below, two Cupids in a boat, one fishing, flanked by a River-god on the l. and *Tellus* with cornucopia on the right. At either end is a winged Genius; also a boy carrying a stick and basket, and a man beating a tree(?). To this may be added: an archaistic torso of Apollo, a bust of Jupiter, and fragments of a group of the Dioscuri leading their horses to the spring, a genuine Greek fifth century work. [A more detailed account of these discoveries was given by Mr. Ashby in the March number of the *C.R.* p. 139.]<sup>3</sup>

Below the pedestal of Maxentius (see *C.R.* 1900, p. 237, 1901, p. 86), among the deposits ranging from the seventh to the first century B.C., has been found a terracotta antefix in the form of a female

<sup>1</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, July 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenacum*, 9 March.

<sup>3</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, August 1900



head, of archaic style, with remains of red colour [cf. the series from Capua in the B.M.].<sup>3, 4</sup>

On the slope below the arch of Septimius Severus five fragments of a long inscription of the Republican period have come to light, cut on a slab of travertine; there are remains of red paint in the letters, which are ranged in two columns. It appears to be a sort of advertisement for an additional contract for street operations.<sup>5</sup>

A new fragment of the marble plan of Rome has been found near the Basilica Julia. That it is certainly earlier than the plan made by Septimius Severus in 211 is shown by the plan of the Pantheon thereon, which is evidently previous to the reconstruction by Hadrian. It must therefore belong to the plan made in A.D. 73, destroyed by fire in 191 and restored by Severus. It also shews the *Thermae* (ΤΗΓΕΡΜΑΙ[ΑΓΡΙΠ]ΑΕ) adjoining the Pantheon. In a tunnel now being bored under the Quirinal was found a statue of a magistrate, also torsos of *Silvanus* and a youth, a fountain-god reclining, an alabaster Ionic capital, and brick stamps from the kilns of *Tonneius*, as well as a large mosaic pavement of the third century with Christian symbols.<sup>2</sup>

## SICILY.

*Syracuse*.—Dr. Orsi has been investigating the two grottoes of the *Scala Greca*, and proves that they represent a sanctuary of *Artemis*. Numerous objects were found in them, especially terracottas, which were nearly all female heads, mostly with the hair in a high knot, some wearing a cap or a *κάλαθος*. Besides these may be mentioned a torso of *Artemis* with bow, and other torsos clearly representing the same goddess, sometimes with a palm tree in the background; also figures of *Artemis* accompanied by a lion, kid, or deer (Πόντια θηρῶν), and others with lance, axe, or torch. All seem to be of rather late date.<sup>3</sup>

*Gela*.—In a building known as the *Heroön* of *Antiphemos* has been found a cup of Attic make with archaic *graffito* inscriptions: ΜΝΑΣΙΘΑΥΕΞ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΑΝΤΙΦΑΜΟΙ. The Θ is rhomboidal in form. The name of *Mnasithales* seems to connect the inscription with *Orchomenos* in *Boeotia*; *Antiphamos* was the Rhodian *οικιστής* of *Gela* (see *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v.). Also a fragment of a large r.f. kotyle inscribed with the names of *Harmodios* (. . . ΟΔΙΟΣ and *Hipparchos* (ΙΠΠ. . . ΧΟΣ), clearly from a representation of the well-known subject (cf. *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr.* iii. pl. 6, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 pl. 12). The action of *Harmodios* corresponds closely to the vase published in the *Arch. Zeit.*, and also to the famous group in *Naples*.<sup>1</sup>

## GREECE.

*Kythera*.—The important discovery of a series of Greek statues dredged up by sponge-divers off the island of *Kythera* (*Cerigo*), or more strictly speaking off *Antikythera*, is now a matter of history, and probably familiar to most readers of the *C.R.* It may however be worth while to insert a brief record of the finds here. It is evident that they went down in a vessel which was conveying to Italy the spoils carried off by some Roman general from Greece and foundered while rounding *Cape Malea*. Portions of the fittings and furniture of the ship were found, as well as objects which had been used by the sailors. It seems highly probable that the general in question

was *Sulla*, as we know from *Lucian* (*Zeuxis*, 3) that one of his ships was wrecked in this way.

The statues and fragments have been brought to *Athens*, and are now at the Ministry of Public Instruction; they number in all five bronzes and eight marble figures, together with sundry fragments. The bronzes in particular are much corroded by the salt water. Photographs of the most important will be shortly published in the *Hellenic Journal* by the kindness of M. Kavvadias.

(1) Bronze life-size male figure, of which the upper part is well preserved, the rest only in fragments, resembling in general characteristics the *Hermes* of *Praxiteles*, but more probably from the school of *Lysippos*. The figure is poised on the left foot, the right hand extended with the fingers downwards, an action the object of which is at present disputed; the best suggestion seems to be that he is aiming at an object with a ball.

(2) Two smaller bronze figures of athletes, practically perfect; both are of the muscular type of the *Argive* and *Sicyonian* schools. The larger resembles the *Idolino* of the *Uffizi*, and is of the latter half of the fifth century; it is interesting to notice that the lips are wanting, and had been supplied in another material and colour. The other is smaller and is also *Polykleitan* in type, recalling the pose of the *Doryphoros*, but is of later date. It may be compared with the *Payne-Knight Hermes* in the *British Museum* (*Cat.* 825).

(3) Draped bronze figure of the fifth century; feet and part of head wanting.

(4) Head and arm of bronze boxer with truculent expression, bushy hair, and disfigured nose, wearing the *caestus* on his forearm.

(5) Crouching figure in marble, bending on the right knee and gazing forward keenly, with the right arm preparing to deliver a blow, while the left is raised on guard. Probably a *pancratiast* awaiting his adversary's onslaught; the style is that of the *Rhodian* school (beginning of second century B.C.) and recalls with its realism the *British Museum* group of boys quarrelling over a game of knucklebones.

(6) Six marble statues much corroded, and torso of large marble *Centaur*.

(7) Various detached fragments (hands, feet, &c.).<sup>5</sup>

A later telegram speaks of the finding of four more marble statues, badly damaged, one being a colossal figure of *Herakles* like that in the *Naples Museum* (by *Glykon*?).<sup>6</sup>

*Mycenae*.—M. Tsountas has found two plain rectangular graves to the south of the treasury of *Atreus*, containing numerous objects: two alabaster vases, two stone candelabra, a sword-handle, and sundry small ornaments in glass; objects in gold, including twelve figures of birds, butterflies, the *nautilus*, and models of *oinochoae*; a bronze knife and spear-heads; and four gems, with a lion and human figures as subjects.<sup>7</sup>

## ASIA MINOR.

*Konieh* (*Iconium*). A huge sarcophagus of marble has come to light, sculptured with hunting and battle scenes like the famous one of *Alexander the Great* from *Sidon*. On the alternate sides are groups of people carrying dishes of fruit, groups of children, etc., and on the roof, a man of sorrowful aspect and a woman.<sup>7</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

<sup>5</sup> *Times*, February 26; *Athenaeum*, March 9; see also *Ἀσπίς*, January 30 (old style), 1901.

<sup>6</sup> *Standard*, March 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, February 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Athenaeum*, 9 February.

# The Classical Review

MAY 1901.

## HOMERICA QUAEDAM.

*ἱερός.*

THIS epithet is applied in the Homeric poems to a miscellaneous variety of substantives: to take alone the instances from the *Iliad* given in Dr. Leaf's Index, we have *ἱερὴ πόλις* *Ἡετίωνος* i. 366, *ἱερὸν ἦμαρ* viii. 66, *κνέφας ἱερὸν* xi. 194, *φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος* x. 56, *ἱερός ἰχθύς* xvi. 407, *ἱερός δίφρος* xvii. 464, *ἱερός κύκλος* (place of justice) xviii. 504. It is of course far from easy to see why several of these things should be called in any real sense sacred or holy,—granting that the poet really intended the epithet to bear a serious meaning,—and attempts have been made, as is well known, to connect *ἱερός* now with *ἴς*, now with *ἦμι*, so as to give it the primary signification of nimbleness or strength: from which in some not very intelligible way the idea of sanctity may have been developed. Possibly philologists are right in this: but I cannot believe that when the Homeric poets came to use *ἱερός* the notion of 'strong' or 'active' was present to their minds. If it was so present, then it is curious that the epithet should be so seldom employed precisely on those occasions when epithets of strength seem to be especially required,—in describing the vigour of the warrior, the force of the blow,—in short, why it should so seldom be found in the thousand cases where ideas of force and activity are most emphasised. As far as I know the only Homeric hero who is described as *ἱερός* is Telemachus, in the phrase *ἱερὴ ἴς Τηλεμάχοιο*—a collocation which does not, of course, preclude the

primary connection of the adjective with the *origines* of *ἴς*, but which at the same time certainly does not render such a connection more probable.

I would suggest that (whatever its antecedent history) *ἱερός* has never in classical literature meant anything to the poet or hearer but 'holy' or 'sacred,' and that, bearing this meaning in itself, it has been frequently used as a purely conventional epithet under circumstances which deprive it of all real signification. In this respect it has a rather striking parallel in the English word 'sely' (selig, *blessed*), so often found in Chaucer and Middle English generally. There seems to be a tendency, more especially in the earlier stages of the development of a literature (and in simple speech always) to use some adjectives so as to emphasise and adorn rather than to convey a really explainable meaning. So when we find that 'sely' is used by Chaucer in such a variety of contexts that Professor Skeat's Glossarial Index assigns to it the miscellaneous meanings 'happy, kind, good, holy, innocent, simple, poor, pitiable, wretched, foolish,' here, surely, is a word which is employed without any definite signification at all: and a tolerably exact parallel to Homer's way of using 'sacred' in *ἱερός δίφρος*, *ἱερός ἰχθύς*, even to his *ἱερὸν ἦμαρ*. I do not exactly propose to render the latter phrase by 'the whole blessed day': still, slang may serve (indeed, nothing serves better) to illustrate a tendency in language: and other slang epithets used in a similar way will doubtless occur to the student. The

day is not really blessed, any more than it is really 'dear' in the phrase 'the live-long day' (Den lieben langen Tag Hab' ich nur Schmerz und Plag'): nor is Homer's *ἡμαρ* in any intended sense *ιερόν*: it is only called so by a peculiar convention, easier to illustrate than to explain.

### Σμινθεύς.

Mr. Lang accounts for this epithet of Apollo by supposing that the mouse was a tribal totem, and that a mouse-cult was eventually superseded by and merged in the Apollo-worship. The history of religion and especially of Greek religion of course, supplies many instances of this kind of amalgamation: but it would be satisfactory if we could somehow account for this rather surprising association of mice with gods. Personally I should like to suggest the hypothesis that Apollo is the Mouse-god—called *Smintheus* in *Iliad* i. and represented on coins of the Troad with a mouse in his hand, in his temple at Chryse with a mouse under his foot (*Strabo* xiii.)—simply because he is the sender and healer of disease: if it be not extravagant to suppose that antiquity may have recognised the possible transmission of disease by mice, just as modern medical science associates infection with rats. Not to mention that nowhere else in Homer than in the story of the Greek plague is Apollo addressed as 'Mouse-god,' it is surely of the highest significance that the two accounts of the misfortune to Sennacherib's invading army attribute the disaster respectively to pestilence and mice. The Egyptian story, as given by Herodotus (ii. 141), is that a multitude of field-mice devoured the quivers, bow-strings, and shield-handles of the enemy: while the Jewish authorities (differing indeed from the Egyptian as to the locality of the occurrence) certainly imply a pestilence: 'the angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and eighty and five thousand men' (ii. Kings 19, 35). Is it possible that Homer's pestilence and the story quoted by *Strabo* of an army overthrown by mice at *Hamaxitus* in the Troad are really two narratives of the same occurrence? At any rate the epithet *Smintheus* and the story of Sennacherib, taken together, seem to point to something more than a mere coincidence. It is also worth noting that the mouse and bowstring theory of Sennacherib's misfortune is of Egyptian origin, and that Egypt indeed seems to have been particularly given to mouse-worship (see *Custom and Myth*, to go

no farther). Now Egypt in antiquity was the home of medical science:

ἡτηρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστήμων περὶ πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων· ἥ γὰρ Παιήονος εἰσι γενέθλης.—*Od.*  
iv. 231.

### λαβρεύομαι.

The verb *λαβρεύομαι* is practically *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, occurring only in Homer and then twice in one passage (*Il.* xxiii. 474 and 478). Here, as will be remembered, Aias the son of Oileus is rebuking Idomeneus the Cretan for presuming to 'spot the winner' in the Greek chariot-race. The chariots have apparently rounded the turning-point, and are coming back at speed towards the assembled spectators: while they are still a long way off, Idomeneus, who has special advantages as sitting *ὑπέρτατος ἐν περιωπῇ*, tells the Greeks that as far as he can see *Diomedes* is leading. Aias, who thinks differently, is very angry, and commands Idomeneus not to *λαβρεύεσθαι*,—that is, according to the ordinary interpretation, which connects *λαβρεύεσθαι* with *λαβρός*, to brag, to talk rashly or boisterously.

Now I submit that Idomeneus has expressed himself with most commendable caution and deference to adverse opinion (*ἀλλὰ ἴδεσθε καὶ ὑμμες ἀνασταδόν' οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε εἶ διαγιγνώσκω δοκέει δέ μοι*) and that it is absurd to accuse him, as Aias is supposed to do, of bragging or hectoring or forcing his belief down the spectators' throats. Messrs. Lang, Leaf, and Myers (no doubt, recognising this) render Aias' words *τί πάρος λαβρεύει* 'why *pratest* thou untimely?' and this, I have no doubt, is something like the right sense,—except that *πάρος* surely means 'still,' 'now as before.' But if *λαβρεύομαι* were derived from *λαβρός*, it would certainly mean something much more forceful and violent than mere prating or talking nonsense. Wherever *λαβρός* occurs in Homer, it has the meaning of boisterous, turbulent, violent, greedy: the idea of mere idle talk is nowhere as far as I know present. Is it fanciful to dis sever *λαβρεύομαι* altogether from *λαβρός*, and to see in this verb a reference to the *λάβρυς*, the Cretan axe, special symbol of the Cretan Zeus, of which Messrs. Evans and Hogarth have discovered so many models and representations in the country of Idomeneus: and which may be supposed to have been the crest as it were and national emblem of Crete? *τί πάρος λαβρεύει* would then mean, Do not be always lying like a Cretan. We do not know at how early a period the stigma



of habitual mendacity, alluded to by Epimenides, may have begun to attach to Idomeneus' countrymen. But it is perhaps not without significance that when Odysseus is inventing a story about his antecedents,

he poses as a Cretan: and the poet calls attention to the artistic perfection of the falsehood: ἵσκει ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτυμοῖσιν ὁμοῖα (Od. xix. 203).

A. D. GODLEY.

## NOTES ON THE NEMEANS OF PINDAR.

Nem. 3, 29 (Christ's numeration is followed for the Nemeans).

ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας ἄωτος ἐσλὸς αἰνεῖν.

Prof. Bury has well pointed out the antithesis in the last two words. There is only one way of avoiding this, viz. by giving them a special reference to the victor. Now in vv. 15 and 83 we have a play on the name Κλειώ the muse, and Ἀριστο-κλείδας, the victor whom she favours. I propose to introduce this conception here also. 'The flower of justice goes with reason, i.e. the omen in the name, (bidding us) praise the noble.' So in Ol. 6, 56 τὸ καὶ κατεφάμμεν καλεῖσθαι νυν τοῖτ' ὄνερ' ἀνάμμεν (sc. ἱερὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱόν). λόγος is capable of a variety of interpretations<sup>1</sup>: 'reason' as in Isth. 8, 61 καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον will satisfy the conditions best: for the omen in the name is to a Greek a determining factor in his career. I take then δίκας ἄωτος to be a different thing from λόγος. 'To praise the noble' is at all times δίκας ἄωτος: while on this occasion the name Ἀριστο-κλείδας makes it eminently 'reasonable.'

Nem. 3, 47

σώματα δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδα

Κένταυρον ἀσθμαίνοντα κόμειν.

The exploits of Achilles while still a boy are described. It has been observed that Pindar's description of Achilles is intended as a parallel to the labours of the pancratiast. This comparison is brought out better by the reading σώματι than by σώματα. For the pancratiast uses his arms in boxing, and the strength of his whole body in wrestling. Now Achilles trains his hands and arms by the use of the javelin (v. 44), where χερσὶ is emphatic by position. σώματι then is needed in v. 48. It is hardly necessary perhaps to change ἀσθμαίνοντα of B to ἀσθμαίνοντι with Triclinius. The neuter is possible (sc. θηρία or the like) and the cor-

rector of B who changed the Dat. to the Accus. (by γρ. a perhaps, whence the conflated reading σωματια) has left the Accus. ἀσθμαίνοντα untouched.

Nem. 4, 90.

The only change necessary is the transposition of παῖ thus: ὁ σὸς, παῖ, αἰεῖσται, which gives complete correspondence (v. 91 begins ἄλλοισι) with, say, ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενός of v. 82. The editors confidently assert that the tense is wrong: in the teeth of the scholia which have ἄσεται καὶ ὕμνήσει (cf. on Ol. 1. 103 above). As the scholia rightly say, Euphanes will sing of Callicles δηλαδὴ ὡς ἀποθανόντα ἀποθανών. Why should the action be limited to the past? To limit it thus is quite gratuitous, while we have even if driven from that position the alternative that Pindar meant by αἰεῖσται 'must sing of': that is, if the praises of Callicles are to be declaimed in the future it must be done by Euphanes, not by Pindar. That some such meaning is intended by the poet seems clear from vv. 91-2:

ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχη  
ἔλπεται τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.

In other words, Pindar declines to celebrate the victory of Callicles on the ground that he knows nothing of the special features of that event. It must be left to Euphanes to fulfil the task. That there was hereditary talent in this direction in Timasarchus' family is clear from v. 14 of this ode.

Nem. 7, 60.

τόλμαν δὲ καλῶν ἀρομένῳ  
σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.

So nearly all editors for the MS. σύνεσις. Christ forms an exception: but I cannot divine the relation to the Greek original of his version 'prudētia mentis cavet ne avulsiō stolidā ab honestis depelleretur.' To mention only one point: what has become of ἀρομένῳ? It is almost as difficult however to see why σύνεσιν should have displaced σύνεσις. The

<sup>1</sup> 'The maxim, saying,' *Rede*, has been suggested. We might then compare Frag. 216 (235) σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἰνῆσαν περισσῶς.

latter gives perfect sense: 'prudence does not diminish the zest for adventure upon which you have embarked.' I take *σύνεσις φρενῶν* together, though comparing Ol. 7, 46 we might press the *ἀπο-* of the vb. into our service to govern *φρενῶν*. Editors however take *ἀποβλάπτει* as *laedo, pessumdo* (Dissen). I give Dissen's version as the conventional one: '*non laedit eripitque vim mentis, hoc est conservat mentis vigorem.*' He adds *senex est enim Thearion* referring to the scholia on v. 99 (146) which is concerned with Sogenes alone. But even granted that Thearion was *senex* it is more natural to say that his wisdom did not drive from him the spirit of adventure than vice versa. But Dissen himself takes the words to refer to victories won long since by Thearion: in which case I fail to see what *vigor mentis* has to do with the matter. Perhaps the sense intended by Dissen is: as a youth you had *τόλμα καλῶν*, now in your old age you have not lost *σύνεσις*. The comparative simplicity of my version is a recommendation in itself besides the retention of the MS. reading.

Nem. 7, 70 sqq.

Εὐξένηδα πάτραθε Σώγεγες, ἀπομνύω  
μὴ τέρμα προβάς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραιον ὄρσαι  
θοῶν γλώσσαν, ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων  
αἰχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντον, αἰθωνι πρὶν ἄλιφ  
γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.

It may seem hazardous to attempt a complete readjustment of the prevailing views about this well-known passage. It is generally assumed that there is in Pindar's simile some reference to the part which the victory with the *ἄκων* played in the *πένταθλον* as a whole. 'Some think that Sogenes' victory with the *ἄκων* excused him *legally* from the remaining contest, the *πάλη* (Christ): others again that such was not the legal or normal practice, but that Sogenes' rivals gave way voluntarily so that, he had in the parlance of our day 'a walk-over' (Scholiast on 72, Dissen): while Bergk, followed by Bury, has excogitated a theory which reads into the lines a misdeemeanour on the part of one of those rivals who by crossing the line traced for the throwers of javelins thus disqualified himself for the final contest, and so made the wrestling-match an easy triumph for Sogenes. Nearly all adopt the reading *ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν* or unimportant deviations from it.

Undoubtedly *τέρμα προβάς* must mean 'crossing the line' not 'shooting beyond the goal': the word *προβαίνω* and the aorist are both against the latter meaning. But

is there any certainty that the whole clause *μὴ—γλώσσαν* is anything more than an expansion of some such sense as this 'I vow I have not gone too far in praising you'? If there were any doubt that the words could mean this, Pindar himself would seem to have solved them by anticipation. The language of Pyth. 1, 43 sq. is very closely parallel

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κείνον  
αἰνῆται μειαινῶν ἔλπομαι  
μὴ χαλκοπάραιον ἄκονθ' ὥσειτ' ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν  
ἔξω παλάμα δονέων.

Here *ἔξω ἀγῶνος* corresponds to *τέρμα προβάς*, though not identical with it. The first is 'outside the lists,' not going straight to the mark: the latter is 'crossing the line': both signifying a violation of the rules, i.e. unfairness and partiality when transferred to the sphere of encomium. The 1st Pythian is addressed to Hiero, who won *ἄρματι*. What then can be clearer than that the words in Nem. 7 are merely a poetical amplification of the sense suggested above, and cannot be pressed into the service of any theory as to the rules of the *πένταθλον*? *χαλκοπάραιον* in both passages is chosen with intent for the sake of the comparison of the tongue to a javelin, on which v. Gildersleeve to Ol. 6, 82. If the poet had intended us to think of the special circumstances of Sogenes' victory, would he have used *ὥτε*, which at once makes the reference general?

But granted that Sogenes won by the infringing of the rules by his opponent, whether intentional or not, is it natural that Pindar should lay such stress on the importance to Sogenes of this piece of luck? In one passage it is true he does introduce this idea (Nem. 6, 71): but there the luck was the *adverse* fortune of the lot, which prevented a victory, not as here gave the advantage to the victor. At Ol. 8, 67 there is no reason for supposing with Christ that *τύχῃ δαίμονος* means 'the luck which made him *ἐφεδρος*.' As we should expect, Pindar does not diminish the merit of his patrons by such suggestions. In comparison with the admission of this, the question whether Sogenes without entering for the *πάλη* became *πένταθλος*, or entered as a certain victor when his most formidable (*ex hypothesis*) rival was removed by this lucky accident, becomes insignificant. I agree, however, with those scholars who maintain that the words *εἰ πόνος ἦν* (74) make it practically certain that Sogenes *did* enter for the *πάλη*.

Having now made it probable that the *ἄκων* in this passage has no bearing on Sogenes' victory, I have to suggest the new interpretation. The reading which must be—not changed but—retained is in my opinion *ὁς ἐξέπεμψας*, read by Christ in his earlier text: his interpretation, however, (*v. above*) I cannot accept. Of the two MSS. which have this portion of Pindar, B and D, the former is beyond all question the better. D is a MS. of very small value: it is written with extreme carelessness by a scribe who apparently knew no Greek, as the readings (taking this ode alone) *ποτίφρος* (63) *φιμίσαν'* (for *φιλήσαν'*: 88) *ἀνρόπαι* (103) seem to prove. This is not the place in which to discuss the question fully: but any one who compares B and D must at

least acknowledge that B is as good as D. Now the reading  $\sigma\varsigma$  ἐξέπεμψας has, far above the other, marks of genuineness when we consider the remoteness of the vocative Σώγενης. It is moreover virtually supported by one Scholion to v. 76.  $\sigma\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ , ὁ Σωγένης, τῶν τοῦ πεντάθλου ἀγωνισμάτων ἐξέπεμψεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ γυῖον ἄνευ ἰδρώτος: for few will maintain the 3rd person to be anything more than a variation on the 2nd due to that remoteness of which I just now spoke. The application of  $\sigma\varsigma$  to Sogenes is to my mind correct: and is, after all, the main point. Pindar then says: I vow, Sogenes, that I am not exaggerating the praises of one who achieved victory in the πάλη before noontide: v. Pausanias vi. 24, § 1.

J. A. NAIRN.

AN EMENDATION OF EURIPIDES *FRAG.* 222, ED. DINDORF.

IN Dr. Rhys Roberts' interesting edition of the treatise 'On the Sublime,' I find what is apparently a slip on p. 146. A fragment of the *Antiope* of Euripides is there printed as follows :

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου Δίρκης,  
εἰ δέ που  
τίχου περίξ ἐλίξας, εἰλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν  
γυναικα πέτραν δρῶν μεταλλάσσωσιν αἰεί,  
ἔστι μὲν γενναῖον καὶ τὸ λῆμμα κ.τ.λ.

It is true that according to Nauck (*Trag. Gr. Frag.* p. 338) some think that Euripides was 'capable of shortening the syllable -as, but is there any certain parallel to such a licence in Tragedy? Dindorf and Nauck give the fragment thus :

εἰ δέ που τύχοι  
 πέριξ ἐλίξας — εἰλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν  
 γυναῖκα πέτραν δρῦν μεταλλάσσων αἰεί.

Valekenauer wished to insert *ταῦπος*. That a trochee is missing after *ἐλέας* is obvious, and *ταῦπος* may of course be the word. In view, however, of Euripides' fondness for rhetorical repetition, I venture to think that we should read

εἰ δέ που τύχοι,  
 πέριξ ἐλίξας, <εἵλκεν> εἵλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν  
 γυναῖκα πέτραν δρῦν μεταλλάσσων ἀεὶ,

comparing the line in the *Bacchae*  
κατῆγεν, ἦγεν ἦγεν ἐς μέλαν πῆδον (1065).

The word εἶλκεν is much more likely to have fallen out than ταῦρος. J. ADAM.

## THE HELLENICS OF XENOPHON.

Critics have been inclined for some time past to divide the *Hellenics* into three parts, and to hold that these were composed at considerable intervals of time. This is due partly to considerations of a linguistic kind, partly to other matters of internal evidence.<sup>1</sup> The division now in favour is (A) 1. 1. 1.—2. 3. 10; (B) 2. 3. 11—5. 1. 36; (C) 5. 2. 1.

<sup>1</sup> For a statement of the reasons see Mr. Underhill's recent commentary.

—end: but it may be a question whether the latter part of the Second Book should be put in *B* or *A*. It is also held that the first division of the *Hellenics*, whatever its precise extent, must come very early, if not absolutely first, in the list of X.'s writings. Dittenberger and Roquette couple it with the *Cynegeticus*, though the latter at any rate thinks that to be some eight or ten years the earlier of the two. In a previous



volume of this Review I have analysed the language of the *Cynegeticus*, and it has occurred to me now that there may be some use in doing the same thing, more fully than it has been done yet, for the first two books of the *Hellenics*. Such an examination may help us on the one hand to conclusions as to comparative dates, and on the other may throw light on the many peculiarities of X.'s language. It is interesting to see to what extent these peculiarities appear in his earliest writings, if only we can be sure which his earliest writings are.

Dividing the two books at 2. 3. 10, and taking the two divisions separately—I shall call them *a* and *b*—I will first briefly indicate anything in the Greek that from this point of view seems noticeable. Perhaps I may venture to refer to my former articles as dealing more fully with several of the matters of idiom which I just mention here.

(a) 1. 1. 1—2. 3. 10.

1. X.'s characteristic use of *σύν* instead of *μετά* appears about ten times (1. 1. 11 and 32 : 3. 13 and 15 &c. : 2. 1. 7, 10 : 2. 21). Ὅμα used as a preposition, with the dative of a person, rare and Xenophontean, is found 1. 1. 26. 1. 2. 18 gives us in *πρός* *ἑπτακοσίους* amounting to 700, about 700, a very unusual use of *πρός* (usually *εἰς*), for which L. and S. refer only to Polybius; and in 1. 4. 15 *παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν* is equally unusual for *καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν*. The characteristic uses of *ὥς* = *ὥστε* and *ὥς* final are represented by at least one instance apiece, 1. 6. 20 *ὥς μή...καταδήλους εἶναι* and *ib.* 28 *ἀνήγετο...ὥς...προσπίπτει*. According to Weber final *ὥς* occurs five times as against three instances of *ἵνα*. Temporal *ἐπεὶ*, for which the orators use *ἐπειδή*, is quite frequent (1. 2. 5 &c.). Ἐπὶ (1. 1. 29 : 2. 1. 27?) is not common in prose. Μέχρι used as a conjunction, decidedly rare in Attic, is found half a dozen times in Book I (1. 3, 6, and 27 : 2. 16 : 3. 6, 11), but nowhere else (I think) in *Hell.* though it appears in various parts of *Anab.* : μέχρι οὖν, which seems even less Attic, occurs 1. 5, 1 and 14. In 2. 1. 2 *μή* seems not purely final (Weber's *paratactic* use) but dependent on *σφαλερόν*. The single connecting *τε* and the double *τε-τε* are used a few times (according to Roquette *τε* 6 and *τε-τε* 7 times). X.'s rather favourite *ἦ* occurs 1. 7. 28. *ὥσεί* with numbers (1. 2. 9) is unusual; so is *ἐφ'* *ᾧ* for *ἐφ' ᾧ* (2. 2. 20) and *ὅσα* for *ὅσάκις* (1. 1. 28). The very frequent use of *ἐντέθεν* in narrative (1. 1. 6, 8, &c. : cf. Ar.

*Ach.* 528, 530, 535, 539) strikes us, and the tmesis in *πρός δ' ἔτι* (1. 7. 27). Cf. *ὥς δ' αὐτως* 2. 2. 9. In 1. 2. 8 *σφίσιν*, if right, = simply *αὐτοῖς* and has no reflexive meaning. This is a use regarded as purely poetical (Kühner-Blass 1. 593. 5) but seems to recur 7. 5, and 6. 5. 35. We notice *σφᾶς αὐτοῖς* (not *ἐαυτοῖς*) 1. 3. 21 : 7. 8, and the same words meaning *ἑμᾶς αὐτοῖς* 1. 7. 19.

2. Unusual forms of words. *Δυνασθεῖς* (1. 4. 16) is a form of the aorist used by X. alone of Attic prose-writers. Very similar is the surprising Ionic *φάμενος* (1. 6. 3) which he does not seem to use elsewhere. *Ἀῤῥω* (1. 4. 13) is a form (Ionic? semi-poetical) often used by him for *αὔξανω*. Ἀπελογήθη (1. 4. 13), if = *ἀπελογήσατο*, has to be illustrated from the old Attic of Antiphon, and from a grammarian's statement that Alexis once used it. It occurs here in a hopeless sentence, but the rarity of the form is in favour of its being really Xenophontean. Ἔδωκαν (1. 2. 10) barely deserves mention (*ἔδωσαν* Cobet).

3. Rare words. In Book I we notice 1. 27 *προηγῶ* (cf. 2. 2. 22) : 1. 30 *κοιότης* : 1. 32 *καταιτιαθεῖς* ; 1. 33 *προνομή foraging*, a very Xn. word not in Herodotus or Thucydides : 3. 7 *στενοπορία* (doubtful, cf. 3. 5. 20) : 3. 19 *εἰσέσθαι* from *εἰσιέναι* (Cobet *εἰσφρέσθαι*) : 4. 3 *κάρανος* : 4. 12 *ἔδος statue* (Isocr. 15. 2) and *οἰωνίζομαι* : 6. 4 *διαβροῦ* and *παρὰπῖτω* : 6. 5 and 12 *αἰτιάζομαι* : 6. 12 *ἐφοδιάζομαι* : 6. 13 *ἔμφρονος* : 7. 20 *ἀποδικῶ* : 7. 30 *συμμορία*. We must add, if the text is right, the very odd use of *ἀνοίγω* 1. 1. 2 : 5. 13 : 6. 21.<sup>1</sup>

4. Words either distinctly poetical or belonging to the vocabulary of such writers as Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, not to that of the orators. Such are 1. 5 *ῥών* : 1. 30 (*συν*)*αλίζω* : 1. 37 &c. *λήγω* : 4. 15 *ἀμυχανία* : 4. 17 *παροιχώμενος* : 4. 20 *λεχθεῖς* and 7. 16 *ἐλεξέν* instead of *ῥηθεῖς* and *εἶπεν* or *ἔλεγεν* : 5. 4 *μείων* : 6. 27 and 2. 1. 21 *ἀντίον* : 6. 28 *ἐξαπινάως* (so *de Re. Eq.* 9. 5 : *ἐξαπίνης* several times in *Anab.*) : 7. 33 *γεραίρω* : Book II. 1. 24 and 27 *ἔπομαι* : 2. 3 *κοιῶμαι* : 2. 9 *ὥσαυτως*. Of these *λήγω*, *λεχθεῖς* and

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that in the three passages we should read *ὥς ἦνυτον* &c. for *ὥς ἦνοιγον* &c., and this gives us just the right sense, *as best they could*, &c. In Ar. *Rhct.* 3. 9. 1409 b 4, the best MS. has by a blunder *ἀνοίγειν* for *ἀνύπειν*, and in Plut. *Mor.* 130 D *ἀνοιστόν* is a blunder for *ἀνυστόν* (*ὥς ἀνυστόν ἐστι*). We have *Anab.* 1. 8. 11 *ὥς ἀνυστόν* and *R. L.* 1. 3 *ἦ ἀνυστόν*; and, if *ὥς ἦνυτον* does not occur elsewhere in X., neither does *ὥς ἦνοιγον*. But it would be strange for the same mistake to occur in three successive places.

ἐλεξεν, μείων, ἀντίον, κοιμῶμαι may be called distinctly Xenophontean. If ἐθέλοντος in 1. 4. 14 means *wishing* and not *being ready*, it should be added to the list.

5. Words in unusual sense: unusual phrases. 1. 1. 13 διώκω simply *follow*: *ibid.* and 2. 1 ἄλλος *next* (τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ as in *Cyr.* 2. 3. 24 and τῷ ἄλλῳ ἔτει: L. and S. omit the use); 4. 13 τὸ τῆς πόλεως δυνατόν *means*, with 6. 7 κατὰ γε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δυνατόν and 14 εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν *rouver*: 4. 16 καὶνὰ (= νεώτερα) πράγματα: 5. 16 and 7. 1 οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ *those at home*: 5. 17 πονηρῶς φέρεσθαι *be ill spoken of* and 2. 1. 6 εὖ φέρεσθαι (3. 4. 25 κακῶς φέρεσθαι in the commoner sense): 6. 20 ἀνέχω *continue* (so Thuc.): 6. 29 ναύαρχος *not Spartan* (cf. 5. 1. 5): 7. 12 παράνομα συγγεγραφέναι (Cobet γεγραφέναι): 7. 14 καλεῖν *prosecute*: 7. 34 ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυππολέμου and ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς *voted for*, *carried a resolution*: Book II. 1. 1 ὥρα = τὰ ὥραϊα: 1. 14 and 3. 8 παραδεικνύναι φόρους in the sense of *paying over*, *accounting for*: 2. 20 καθιέναι *φυγάδας restore exiles* (usually κατάγειν).

6. There remain a few points of grammar or expression that deserve notice. 1. 1. 2 μετ' ὀλίγον τούτων *a little after this*. Cobet omitted τούτων. This might be right, though in dealing with such a writer as X. very risky, if the construction were only known from late Greek, e.g. Paus. 4. 29. 1 μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου and *ib.* 8. 5. 5: [Lucian] 73. 31 μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς συκοφαντίας: Diod. 13. 84. 5 apparently. But Herodotus, with whom X. has many little things in common, writes 6. 40. 2 τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων and *ib.* 46. 1 δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων. In 1. 1. 23 γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἔαλωσαν the plural verb is distinctly a Xn. habit. Δέκα μυριάδες στρατιᾶς (1. 1. 37), the genitive depending on μυριάδες, is an unusual turn of phrase; it recurs 5. 21 and *Anab.* 1. 4. 5. In 1. 4. 16 τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς we notice the unusual position of αὐτοῦ. A few more instances of this may be gathered from X., e.g. 7. 1. 20 οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι. In 1. 4. 17 τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι the government of γενέσθαι by φ. δ. is remarkable. Κατηγορεῖν κατὰ τινας (1. 7. 9) is not quoted from any other place. The imperfect indicative in 2. 1. 14 ἀναμνήσας ὥς εἶχε φιλίας (not ἔχει or ἔχοι) is a construction found with special frequency in Xenophon.

(b) 2. 3. 10—end of book 2.

1. σύν ten or twelve times (3. 25, 48, 49, 54 etc.) and 3. 46 the very Xn. preposition

ἀμφί. Final ὥς 3. 14 and 33. Final ὅπως 3. 21, 28, 41 and 4. 3. Temporal ἐπεὶ 3. 38, 42 etc. Ἄτε, almost unknown in the orators, fairly common in Thucydides Xenophon Plato, occurs 3. 15. The characteristic ἐνθα *where* 3. 31 and the unusual ἐκείνῃ *there* 3. 34. In 4. 39 a demonstrative use of ἐνθα (δῆ), which is of frequent occurrence in *Anab.* and *Cyr.*, as it is in Herodotus, but otherwise quite rare in Attic prose or poetry (*Phaedrus* 247 v: *Rep.* 618 v): usually temporal, occasionally local. (Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle have ἐνθα μέν...ἐνθα δέ...demonstratively a few times: cf. Thuc. 6. 45). Πρόσθεν, not ἔμπροσθεν, 3. 48 twice. Πῇ 4. 31 and ὅπῃ 4. 38 where most Attic prose would have had ὅπου and ὅπως. The γε μὴν of which X. is so fond appears first in *Hell.* in 3. 33 and 42 and ἀλλὰ μὴν *ib.* 40: καὶ...δέ, also a favourite phrase, 4. 15 and answering τε in 4. 6: τε-τε 3. 12: anaphora with μέν and δέ, very common in X., 3. 21, 25, 28, 29 etc.: τῷ παντί with a comparative 3. 22. The indirect reflexive σφίσι etc. rare in orators, 3. 13: 4. 8 twice and 35: σφᾶς αὐτούς, not ἑαυτούς, 4. 37. Ἐκ τούτου *after this* (4. 2, 10) is I think unusual elsewhere but frequent in parts at any rate of Xenophon.

2. Unusual forms of words: the aorist δυνασθῆν 3. 33 and the uncontracted genitive plural κερδέων 4. 21, 40, both Xn.: also ἐλᾶν for ἐλαύνειν, like ἀπέλα *Cyr.* 8. 3. 32, and perhaps συνέθηκαν 3. 20.

3. Words more or less rare. In Ch. 3 such are—14 συνεθέλω: 15 ὁμογνώμων, several times in X.: *ibid.* and twice in 31 ἀντικώπτω: *ibid.* and 51 θανατῶ: 25, 32, 41 περισφύζω: 33 ἐντρέπομαι *regard*, perhaps rather poetical: 38 βουλεία: 41 εὐδηλος quite Xn.: 44 γνωστός: 50 ἀναφεύγω: 56 ἀγαστός. probably in no prose but X.'s.

Ch. 4. 8 ἐξιδιοῦμαι: 10 ἀρεστός, half a dozen times in X.: 13 ἀποσημαίνομαι: 20 κατασιωπῶ: 24 ἐκκαθεύδω and ἐφοδεύω: 32 συνέπομαι, rare or non-existent in oratorical prose: 34 ἐπιχωρῶ: 38 ἐκκλητοί.

We may add the phrases 3. 36 ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν *when these things were taking place*, and 50 τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενοι: 4. 37 οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

4. Words of a slightly poetical nature: ἐλεξεν (3. 24, 35: 4. 9, 12, 20, 39): δυσμενής (3. 39, 42) and εὐμενής (3. 43, 50: 4. 31): προσφιλῶς (3. 44): λιτανεύω (4. 26). The first four of these are all Xn. words. Εὐνή (4. 6) may probably be added.

5. The following words appear in more or less unusual senses: 4. 1 ἄγω *evict* twice: 4. 25 πιττά *pledges* several times in X.,

though not in him only: and three compounds of *ἵεναι*, viz. 4. 11 *ἀνιέναι* *admit, allow to pass* (?) as in 7. 2. 12: 4. 32 *ἐνιέναι* *shoot*: 4. 39 *δυσιέναι* *disband*.

6. In point of syntax we may notice 3. 30 *προπετής* with infinitive: 3. 55, 56 the imperfects indicative in *oratio obliqua*: 4. 2 *μάλ' εὐημερίας οὐσης*, in which it is not clear whether *μάλα* goes with *εὐημερίας, οὐσης*, or both (cf. 5. 4. 14 *μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος*: 6. 2. 39 *μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον*): 4. 7 *τροπαῖον στήσασθαι*, which X. prefers to *τ. στήσαι*: 4. 42 the Xn. substantival use of *καλά* in *τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς*.

So far as the above observations go, it appears that there is no marked difference between the two parts. Probably the only points of distinction worth noticing—and they will seem extremely small—are that in *b* there appear for the first time the very Xn. *ἐνθα* *where*, *ἀμφί*, and *μὴν* (*γε μὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴν*). On the other hand the conjunction *μέχρι* and *ὥς* = *ὥστε* occur in *a* and not in *b*. The proportion of Xn. peculiarities cannot be called greater in the later composition, if 2. 3. 10—end is later, than in the earlier. There is however one significant difference which my statements above do not bring out, but which Roquette (*De Vita X.* pp. 40–46, 54–55) very rightly dwells on, and of which the appearance of *μὴν* is one and an important example. As compared with most of X.'s work, *a* like *Cynegeticus* is conspicuously deficient in *particles*, whereas in *b* they certainly begin to appear, and they continue to appear (I am speaking now from a general impression) more and more frequently in the remaining books. The difference which they make does seem to me sufficient, when one has formed a habit of noticing such things, to establish a presumption of later date, though it is strange that in other respects no greater difference of diction manifests itself. But even in Books iii. and iv. the number of Xn. peculiarities seems to increase but slowly, and except in particles I should say there was very little distinction to be drawn, though no doubt there is some. I have however shrunk from the labour, which alone would enable anyone to speak with confidence, of examining those books and also the three last with equal minuteness.

There remains the second point. What light, if any, on the origin and history of X.'s departures from ordinary Attic idiom do we gain from the study of a composition generally and reasonably agreed to be early? We find him already using such words and

forms, notable in various ways, as (1) *σύν*, *ὥς, μέχρι*: (2) *ἔλεξεν, ἀντίος, μείων*: (3) *φάμενος, δυνασθείς*. Touching only the fringe of a somewhat extensive enquiry, we may therefore say that in an early work he is already using a diction which distinguishes him from all other Attic prose-writers without exception, and that these peculiarities can hardly have been acquired by him on Attic soil. I do not think it is really arguing in a circle to say that they point to his having already had much intercourse with non-Attic Greeks and that his notorious intercourse with such Greeks goes with other things to show that these peculiarities are not simply 'old Attic.' We should therefore be led, even on grounds of language alone, to conclude that *a* was at any rate not written before the expedition of Cyrus and probably not for some little time after his return from it.

I append some critical notes on passages of all seven books.

1. 2. 8 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν σφίσιν.

Perhaps a participle has fallen out before *σφίσιν*, e.g. *προσπεσούμενοι* or *ἐπιχειρήσοντες*. X. uses the pronoun now and then, e.g. 1. 7. 5, with no reflexive sense.

1. 4. 6 ὥς μηδὲν μέμψησθε. Such a sudden transition into *oratio recta* is certainly found occasionally, but it would hardly be made here for the sake of two or three words and the various readings point to something wrong. Read rather *μέμψασθαι*, comparing 1. 6. 20.

ib. 16 τοιοῦτος δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοιπερ πρότερον. The ordinary correction *τοιούτοις οἷοιπερ* fails to give any satisfactory sense. The meaning required seems to me something like *τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοιπερ ἦσαν πρότερον*, or (less ambiguously) *πρότερον μὲν δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοιπερ καὶ ἦσαν*.

ib. 17 The aorist *κινδυνεύσαι* should, I think, be the future *κινδυνεύσοι* or *κινδυνεύσει*. Cf. 4. 4. 2 *γνόντες...ὥς...κινδυνεύσει* πάλιν ἡ πόλις *λακωνίσει*: *Cyr.* 1. 5. 3 *λέγων ὥς...κινδυνεύσοιεν...καταστρέψασθαι*. The aorist would refer to the past. *Γενέσθαι* seems to depend on *φοβερῶν ὄντων*, as it might on *ἐπιδόξων ὄντων*, but the construction is unusual.

1. 6. 32 *εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος*.

*Οἰκεῖται*, for which one inferior MS. and the Aldine text have *οἰκίεται*, often adopted by editors, is impossible. Mr. Marchant mentions the modern conjectures *οἰκῆται, οἰκήσει, οἰκῇ, οἰκτιέται*, of which the last



scarcely deserved mention. Οικιέται 'will be founded, settled' is quite unsuitable in sense. Further the future with οὐ μή in a negative statement, though established for verse and even comic verse, must, I think, be regarded as questionable in prose. The regular prose use is the aorist subjunctive, the present subjunctive occurring very seldom, though it does occur (Goodwin *M.T.* 295), in any verb that has an aorist available. The use of some part of οἰκῶ in the passage before us may seem supported by such expressions as those of Aeschines 1. 180 οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὴν Σπάρτην ἀπόρθητον οἰκήσουσιν: 2. 182 οἰδεῖς ἡμῶν διὰ τὰς ἡμὰς ἡδονὰς κάκιον οἰκεῖ, but that part would naturally be the aorist active or passive, οἰκήσῃ (neuter) or οἰκηθῇ. The MS. readings οἰκεῖται and οικιέται (though the latter may probably be no more than a guess) might be better accounted for, if we supposed X. to have written διακέηται, *will be no worse off*. This perfect, practically a present, would be admissible in default of an aorist. The version of Callicratidas' words in Plut. *Mor.* 222 F οὐ παρ' ἑνα τὰ Σπάρτας ἀποθανόντος γάρ μου οὐδὲν ἢ πατρὶς ἐλαττωθήσεται proves nothing either way. For the supposed confusion of δια and οι cf. the suggestion on 4. 1. 24.

ib. 35 ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις κ.τ.λ. As the words stand, we could only take it that Theramenes and Thrasybulus were to rescue the survivors and collect the dead with 37 ships and also to conduct the rest against Eteonicus. But this is evidently not the meaning: cf. 7. 31. Some words have dropped out to the effect that 'they should themselves sail' against Eteonicus.

1. 7. 17. Much difficulty has been found in ἔπεισαν κ.τ.λ., nor is this, I think, surprising. It is surely clear on an examination of the passage that there is here a considerable hiatus. Euryptolemus rises to do three things: τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων...τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσών. We have the κατηγορῶ μὲν at the beginning of 17, the συμβουλευῶ δέ in the middle of 19, but the defence has disappeared, or rather is confused in 17-18 with the accusation, for no intelligible ground of blame is stated at all. What seems to have happened is that after κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι a passage of indeterminate length has been lost, in which the speaker first censured Pericles and Diomedes and then went on to his second point, what he had to say in their favour. The ἔπεισαν κ.τ.λ. belongs to this second head, as the context shows: he lays stress on the kindly feeling which made them

persuade their colleagues to do something else than what was proposed. The infinitive governed by ἔπεισαν is lost. What we really have therefore in these two §§ is the defence, or some of it, not the accusation, which is never given at all.

ib. 24 καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. Ἀδικοῦντες has given much trouble. I take it to be an instance of what we find apparently recurring in several other passages of the *Hellenics*: see on 2. 3. 48. A word that is in the copyist's mind as having already occurred or being about to occur is inadvertently substituted for the word that he ought to write. We all make this mistake ourselves in writing and in copying. Ἀδικοῦντες has occurred two lines previously and stands here by this mental trick for some other word or words. To the genuine word we have no particular clue.

ib. 29. Perhaps <ἐπὲρ> ἐαντῶν ὄντας.

ib. 32. ὦν <ἦν> εἰς, as in 31?

2. 3. 14. Should not οὓς ἐβούλοντο be ὅσους ἐβούλοντο? In 4. 10. the MSS. vary between οἷς and ὅσοις. Cf. τοσούτους in 3. 42.

ib. 47. It is natural to conjecture that πάντως should be πάντων, as in the next line.

ib. 48. οἱ δὲ ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμνοι τὴν πόλιν δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν. This seems a clear case of the error spoken of above on 1. 7. 24. The second δραχμῆς is ludicrously inappropriate, some word expressive of *power*, *affairs*, etc., being clearly wanted. A like error, it seems to me, is to be found in the second ἱππέισι of 2. 4. 8, the second ἐποίησε of 6. 3. 10, the second πορίζοντας of 7. 2. 17, and possibly the second λόγοι of 4. 8. 15. Scholars do not always sufficiently appreciate (1) that errors are apt to arise from this cause: (2) that, when they do, the lost word may bear little or no resemblance to the word that has taken its place. Of course the error is easier if the two words are, for instance, of the same number of syllables, but there is no necessity in the matter, and therefore conjectural restoration has, as a rule, nothing to go by beyond the general sense required.

2. 4. 14. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθίσταμεν. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ κ.τ.λ. Unless something (e.g. ἄλγος) has been lost before μέν, that word is out of its place. Put it after ἐναντίοι, comparing the notes below on 4. 1. 6. and 4. 3. 13.

ib. 38. αὐτοῖς should perhaps be αὐτοῦς, and ib. 40. πλουσιώτεροι would naturally be a superlative.

3. 2. 1. τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκήσει Φρυγίᾳ. Οἰκήσει

perhaps a gloss. Cf. 4. 26. τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν and 4. 1. 1. The reference is to the distinction of the two Phrygias, Greater and Less.

ib. 28. περιεβλήθη?

3. 3. 2. εἰ δὲ υἱὸς κ.τ.λ. Do not these words belong to Agesilaus as a rejoinder? If so, Cobet's ἐμὲ ὦν ἄν would still be necessary, unless we read ἐμὲ δὴ δει. In Doric ἄν is unsuitable.

ib. 8. Is τὴν right with γυναικα? Perhaps τινά. For λυμαίνεσθαι ἑώρακε Cobet conjectured λ. ἐδόκει, and ἑώρακε does seem odd. Perhaps λυμαίνεσθαι ἑώρακε, which would be more ordinary.

ib. 10. πρῶτον...πρίν κ.τ.λ. The phrase is unusual and πρῶτον is liable to be confused with πρότερον. Should we read πρότερον here?

3. 4. 23. ἐπομένον. The future seems needed.

ib. 27. For εἶναι read εἶη. So perhaps in 5. 4. 35. we should read ἀντίποι.

4. 1. 6. ποῖον τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σ.; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Probably ἐνδεεστέρον.

ib. τούτου μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλ-  
λίονα εἶναι.

There is nothing to explain the μὲν after τούτου. Perhaps τούτου μέντοι, but I incline rather to φασὶ μὲν.

ib. 24. πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα.

Οἷα does not seem very natural. Is it an error for ἴδια? The σκεύη and ὑποζύγια belong to the army. Cf. the suggestion on 1. 6. 32. above.

ib. 36. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μὲν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι. Logic requires the reverse order, ἐλεύθερον μὲν, πένητα δέ.

ib. 37. No doubt ἀποκρίνομαι is wrong, but ἀποκρinoῦμαι is at least as likely as ἀποκρίνομαι.

4. 3. 13. ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Π. τετελευτηκώς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. A false antithesis. One could understand νικῶν, or ἀγγέλλοιτο μὲν..., νικῶν δέ. Cf. the note on μὲν above in 4. 1. 6.

4. 4. 6. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς τυραννεύοντας. A predicate seems missing, e.g. ξένους: the tyrants were not even Corinthians.

4. 8. 5. φίλως ἐδέχοντο· φιλίως, as in *Cyr.* 6. 3. 13.? or φιλικῶς, as in 7. 2. 23.?

ib. 38. τοῖς πολέμοις should, I think, be τοὺς πολέμοις. It is the enemy that are moving.

5. 1. 31. ὅσοι μὴ δέχονται. The future δέξονται is required. In 4. 2. 5. the present

tenses πέμποι, συστρατεύοιτο, παρέχοιτο may be right, but it is not unlikely that X. wrote futures. There is only the difference of a letter in each case, and no mistake is commoner.

5. 2. 4. τάφρον ὠρυττε., τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅλοις τῶν ταφρενόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένοις. When an instrumental dative of person is attached to a verb, as τοῖς ἡ. to ὠρυττε here, no participle can very well be joined to the dative. If we want a participle, the phrase then goes into the genitive absolute and X. would have written here τῶν ἡμισέων προκαθημένων..., τῶν δ' ἡ. ἐργαζομένων. It seems to me clear that he really wrote here the nominatives προκαθημένος and ἐργαζόμενος. The general is said to do with, or by means of, his men what in reality they do. This is indeed the sense in which he τάφρον ὠρυττε and in which generals are constantly said τευχίζειν etc., in Greek as in all languages. For an exactly parallel use of a verb with an instrumental personal dative cf. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 11. ἔχων ἐργάτας οἷς ἂν ἐργάζοιτο. Herod. 2. 14. 4. has a very similar turn of phrase, though the dative in this case expresses animals, not men: ἐπεὶ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑπὸ τὸ σπέρμα. In this book of the *Hellenics* 1. 19. τότε μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τότε δὲ κόπαις προσκομιζόμενος I am not sure that we should not read προσκείμενος, but it is hardly necessary to change.

ib. 39. ἔχειν should be ἔξειν. The thing is distinctly in the future.

5. 4. 30. οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο, Perhaps <ἐν> οἷς, ἐν having dropped out after εἰν.

6. 1. 15. ὅταν σπειδῇ, ἄριστον καὶ δειπνον ποιησάμενος ἅμα πονεῖσθαι. I should conjecture ποιήσασθαι ἅμα πονοῦμενος or πονοῦμενος ἅμα ποιήσασθαι, meaning that he worked even at meals. The middle πονεῖσθαι does not seem to occur elsewhere in X., but in him it need not be questioned.

ib. 17. συντίθεσθαι.. τὰ ἑαυτοῦ is hardly Greek for τίθεσθαι or διατίθεσθαι. So in 4. 8. 20. συνθεμένους cannot mean *having got together* and has been altered.

6. 2. 32. ἡῦρετο ὅπως μῆτε.. εἶναι μῆτε.. ἀφίκεσθαι. Can X. have turned out such an anacoluthon all within half a dozen words? Is it not more likely that something is lost, e.g. ὅπως <δεοί> μῆτε? The middle ἡῦρετο is stranger than πονεῖσθαι in 6. 1. 15. above, but apparently right. Cf. the middle voice of συνῶρᾶν in 6. 5. 23.

6. 4. 23. We should get fair sense, if we might read something like καὶ Α. ἂν περιγενέσθαι, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιτο τοῦ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντες

διαμάχεσθαι. Cf. Isocr. 6. 75. ἀπονεινομημόνως δὲ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν διακείμενον.

ib. 24. βούλεσθε <πάντας> or <τοὺς ἀνθρώπους>?

6. 5. 23. συνιδόμενον?

ib. 42. ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρὴ ὡς ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς .. γενήσεσθαι. Another almost inconceivable anacoluthon like that in 2. 32. Perhaps ὡς should be καί.

7. 1. 2. δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη μάλλον ἢ θεῖα φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. A strange use of φύσει. Should we read θέσει? τιθέναι is used of the ordinances of heaven.

ib. 38. τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσὴν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν. 'An gives a wrong sense. He did not say it would not be capable: he said it was not capable. Expressions like λεγόμενος, ὑμνού-

μενος etc., referring to some well-known name, phrase, story, very frequently have a δὴ added to them. Δὴ is very liable to be confused with ἄν. We may therefore read here τὴν ὑμνουμένην δὴ. Cf. 6. 3. 20. ὡς νῦν Θηβαίοις τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπίς εἶη: *Anab.* 1. 8. 10. τὰ δὲ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα: *Ar. Av.* 652. ἔστιν λεγόμενον δὴ τι: *Plat. Symp.* 221 b.: *Gorg.* 514 e.: *Soph.* 241 d.: *Phil.* 46 c.; *Menand. fragm. incert.* 221 (Meineke).

7. 4. 11. μένειν ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας does not seem Greek. Some word has been omitted that went with ἔχοντας. It may have been such as ἡσυχίαν or ἡσυχως, or something quite different.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

### ADVERSARIA BIBLICA.

1. SS. Mark, 11 § 3, Matt. 21 § 3, Luke 19 § 31, 34, ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν) χρειαν ἔχει. Some years ago I noted that to me the natural translation would be 'Its (their) owner needs (it or them).' Since then I have asked a number of scholars, and all have told me that, though the question had never occurred to them, their answer would be the same as mine, with perhaps an alternative translation, 'Their owner has a job on.' I remark (1) our duty is first to translate naturally, then to comment, *e.g.* that the words seem an untruth, or that the owner may have been a disciple then with our Lord, or that it is assertion that Our Lord is the owner of the world ('all the beasts of the forest are mine, etc.'): (2) it is significant that the order is kept the same in all the synoptists. (3) *τις, τινες* τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων are used in SS. Mark and Matt. for the objectors to the taking of the animals: St. Luke complicates the matter by saying οἱ κύριοι αὐτοῦ.<sup>1</sup> (4) St. Mark never uses ὁ Κύριος as a variant for Jesus: *a fortiori* in what is in the Triple Tradition, the words cannot be so used. St. Luke, who does so use them as a variant, may have mistaken the sentence, and his use of οἱ κύριοι may be due to this. More probably it is carelessness of possible misunderstanding: cf. 16 § 8. (5) Oddly enough we

can parallel our requirement that in order to get the ordinary translation, αὐτοῦ must be after χρειαν. St. Paul writes, 1 Cor. 12 § 21 (*bis*), χρειαν σου (ὑμῶν) οὐκ ἔχω (cf. St. Mark 14 § 63).

2. It has been attempted to show that the fragment of [St. Peter's] gospel is in its origin heretical from the fact that in it the mis-translation Ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ Θεός μου, εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλιπες; is not committed, but the correct ἡ δύναμις given, and from the fact that ἀνελήφθη is used of Our Lord's Death. But we have in St. Luke evidence that this attempt goes too far, and that we should rather suppose that this gospel was placed outside the Canon because it gave a handle to Gnostic dissidence from the Apostolic simple tradition by its indiscreet or naive lack of precision in dogmatic language—when weighed by the disputants in the refining discussions of the 2nd century. In 5 § 17 St. Luke writes δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν, which, however we interpret Κυρίου, has not the theological exactness of definition that we find later; and 9 § 51 we have ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ. The use in St. John of ὑψωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς γῆς suggests the possibility that this union in one view of the Passion and Triumph may come from the Lord Himself.

3. St. Paul in *Rom.* 13 § 8 writes ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκε. Are not these words to be translated 'He that loves has fulfilled the second commandment (second

<sup>1</sup> St. Mark's continuation καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει πάλιν ἔδε probably will support our interpretation: St. Matt. has lost πάλιν and so makes the bystander the subject.



table of the law)? In this case they supply another particular in which the Apostle reproduces Our Lord's answer to the lawyer (St. Mark 12 § 31). Not only, then, does he quote ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἐαυτὸν, but refers to it as a second commandment. This view is supported by the circumstance

that St. Paul himself uses τὸν πλησίον in § 10 for 'neighbour'; he does not only quote it: and in § 9 has εἰ τις ἐτέρα ἐντολή, where he is summing up the commandments that come in the Second Table.

T. NICKLIN.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS IN ARMENIA, A.D. 51—63.

### II.—A.D. 54—60.

THE first few years of this period give us very little difficulty: the last are the most perplexing of this whole period A.D. 51—63.

A.D. 54 (Dec.) —57.

*Tacitus' Order of Events:—*

A.D. 54. Dec. Nero has to determine on an Armenian policy.—xiii. 6. (Cf. previous paper).

„ 54. Dec.—55 init. Nero makes preparations for war: viz., orders new enrolments for Eastern legions: mobilisation of troops: construction of bridges over the Euphrates. Corbulo is appointed 'retinendae Armeniae' &c., xiii. 7. 8.

„ 55. (? spring) Corbulo hurries to the East to take over the command in Cappadocia (while Quadratus remains in command in Syria), and meets Quadratus at Aegeae in Cilicia, who hands over to him half his forces as directed by Nero.

Consequent division of forces:

In Syria with Quadratus: 2 legions (viz. X Fretensis and XII Fulminata) and part of auxiliaries.

In Cappadocia with Corbulo: 2 legions (viz. III Gallica and VI Ferrata): part

of auxiliaries, sent him by Quadratus from Syria: and all cohorts and alae then in Cappadocia. The client kings of Lesser Armenia, Commagene, &c., are ordered to assist either Corbulo or Quadratus as seems advisable. Most choose the former. xiii. 7. 8.

Meantime: 'Exortusque in tempore aemulus Vologesi filius Vardanes; et abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam different bellum.' xiii. 7. 2.

Coins date this revolt of Vardanes as lasting at least from November 55 to June 58. (Gardner 'Parthian Coinage,' pp. 13, 51.) The revolt may easily have begun some months earlier, and the news of it seems to have reached Rome after Corbulo's appointment: whether or no before his departure for the East cannot be told. Hence we may continue:—

A.D. 55 (? summer). Revolt of Vardanes. The Parthians evacuate Armenia.

Corbulo arrives in Cappadocia.

„ 55.

Messages sent to Vologeses by both Corbulo and Quadratus, demanding 'pacem quam bellum mallet datisque obsidibus

solitam prioribus reverentiam in populum Romanum continuaret.' xiii. 9, 1.

Vologeses hands over as hostages 'nobilissimos ex familia Arsacidarum,' either 'quo bellum ex com-modo pararet an ut aemulationis suspectos per nomen obsidum amoveret.' xiii. 9, 2.

Corbulo and Quadratus quarrel at length as to which deserves the credit for making Vologeses give hostages. Nero seeks to heal the breach. xiii. 9.

Vologeses evidently did not desire war at once on Corbulo's arrival. When he gave the hostages the revolt of Vardanes probably had already broken out and gave him cause to be suspicious of his nobles (xiii. 9. 2). Otherwise there existed no reason for his desire to postpone the war, a desire distinctly to his foe's advantage. As the envoy from Syria reached him before the envoy from Cappadocia, he was probably in the S. of Armenia, engaged in withdrawing his troops who had accompanied Tiridates on his last seizure of the throne (cf. previous paper).

Tacitus tells us nothing more of Armenian affairs until under the year A.D. 58 he resumes the subject thus:—

'Eius anni principio mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter resumitur, quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridatem datia se regni expertem esse aut alienae id potentiae donum habere, et Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta olim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere.' xiii. 34, 4.

The position of Tiridates in this interval A.D. 55–58 thus becomes of interest. After Corbulo's first campaign he sends to ask indignantly

'Cur datis nuper obsidibus redinte-

grataque amicitia . . . vetere Armeniae possessione depelleretur.' (xiii. 37, 4.)

To which Corbulo answers as follows:—

'Suadet Tiridati precibus Caesarem adgredi: posse illi regnum stabile et res incruentas contingere, si omissa spe longinqua et sera praesentem potior-emque sequeretur.' (xiii. 37, 6.)

From these passages it appears that the giving of hostages in A.D. 55 amounted to a 'redintegrata amicitia': that in A.D. 58 Tiridates can talk of a *vetus possessio* of Armenia: and that Corbulo practically admits his previous 'regnum' in denying its stability under existing conditions.

Tiridates, that is, must have remained in possession of the throne of Armenia in A.D. 55 despite the withdrawal of Vologeses and his Parthian troops. But it seems he never acknowledged the Roman suzerainty. The question now at issue between Rome and Parthia was the right of 'bestowing that throne as a gift,' as Tacitus puts it. Tiridates may be *de facto* recipient of the *donum*. Who is to be recognised as lawful donor, *i.e.*, as suzerain?

Tiridates, remaining in possession of the Armenian throne, does not, despite Vologeses' giving of hostages, recognise the Roman claim to suzerainty. At a time then when Vologeses has got the better of Vardanes' revolt and has his hands free again, it is important for Corbulo to bestir himself and impress upon Tiridates the uncertainty of his tenure, somewhat to Tiridates' surprise and indignation. To 'recover Armenia' in Roman official language need not mean more than the obtaining of this recognition of Roman suzerainty. And of course if the Vologeses who is King of Parthia after 58 A.D. is not Rome's old opponent but a new king, the need and opportunity for Roman action are alike emphasized. But on the whole the numismatic evidence in favour of this supposition seems to me outweighed by the historic evidence against it. (Cf. Gardner 'Parthian Coinage,' p. 52).

Thus far we therefore obtain these results:—

A.D. 55. Revolt of Vardanes. Vologeses evacuates Armenia. Corbulo arrives in Cappadocia. Agreement between Vologeses and Corbulo.

„ 55–58. Tiridates in possession of Armenia.

„ 58. End of Vardanes' revolt. Be-

ginning of war 'keenly' in Armenia.

At this point the chief chronological difficulty begins.

A.D. 57-60.

A. *Order of Events in Tacitus* :—

- A. 'Eius anni principio (viz: 58 A.D.) mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter resumitur.' *i.e.* Active hostilities begin.—xiii. 34. 4.
- B. Corbulo's chief difficulty is the lack of discipline &c. in his army, especially in the Syrian legions sent him (in 55 A.D.) by Quadratus. Many unfit are discharged. Hence new levies in Galatia and Cappadocia. A legion summoned from Germany.—35. 1-3. [This was probably Leg. IV Scythica : and as in xiii. 40. 3 Corbulo has under his command part at least if not all the Leg. X Fretensis, which in the original division remained in Syria with Quadratus (cf. *supra*), it is possible that the new legion's arrival in Syria caused the transfer of Leg. X to Corbulo].
- C. Winter : Corbulo, despite the fierce cold, keeps his troops under canvas 'donec veradolesceret.' The auxiliary cohorts are sent on garrison duty to fit spots under supervision of Paccius Orfitus ; strict orders are given against engaging the enemy. Orfitus disobeys these and suffers a reverse. 35. 5-36. 5. [Corbulo evidently winters in hostile territory, viz. Armenia. The severity of the winter agrees with this].
- D. Spring : Beginning of active hostilities. Tiridates with the aid of troops sent him by Vologeses carries on an active guerilla warfare, always eluding Corbulo's attempts to catch him, his forces being 'equestres copiae' (xiii. 40. 1.). This continues a long while '*diu*.'—37. 1. 2. [*i.e.* Corbulo's first plan of campaign consists of a general pursuit of the Armenian De Wet].
- E. Corbulo borrows a leaf from his enemy's book and sends out several detached columns to attack different places at one and the same time. Antiochus of Commagene is ordered to co-operate. Pharasmanes and the Moschi also make incursions into Armenia in the Roman interest. Vologeses cannot come to the aid of Tiridates, because himself detained by the Hyrcanian revolt.—37. 2-4. [*i.e.* Corbulo's second plan of campaign consists of pursuit &c. by flying columns. This is so far successful that—]
- F. Tiridates makes overtures to Corbulo and proposes an interview. Corbulo assents, but (cf. Caesar and Ariovistus) takes such precautions that Tiridates' intended treachery fails and the interview is a fiasco.—37. 4-38. 7.
- G. Renewal of hostilities. Tiridates fails in an attempt to intercept Corbulo's convoys coming from Trapezus and thus cut his line of communication.—39. 1. 2.
- H. Corbulo—to put an end to the war—determines to attack Armenian forts [*i.e.* his third plan of campaign], thus abandoning his direct pursuit of Tiridates. Three main divisions of the Roman army are constituted for this purpose, under Corbulo himself, Cornelius Flaccus legate, and Instaeius Capito, camp-prefect.—xiii. 39. 2.
- I. Storming of Volandum by Corbulo's division, and taking of smaller forts by the other two. 'Unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata adgrediendi.'—39. 2-7.
- J. March to Artaxata. Tiridates makes a vain demonstration *en route* and then flees away to Media.—39. 7-41. 2.
- K. Surrender (next day) of Artaxata.—41. 3.
- L. Burning of Artaxata to the ground by Corbulo, as he had not enough men both to garrison the city and to prosecute the war, and if evacuated its capture would have been worthless. 'Adicitur miraculum velut numine oblatum : nam cuncta Artaxatis tenus sole inlustrata fuere ; quod moenibus cingebatur repente ita atra nube coopertum fulguribusque discretum est ut quasi infensantibus deis exitio tradi crederetur.'—41. 4.
- M. News of the fall of Artaxata reaches Rome. Public rejoicings and senatorial debate and decrees.—41. 5.



[*After which*—‘*Deinde*’—Suillius is condemned at Rome and Tacitus relates various other events of the year A.D. 58. He then narrates events of the years 59 and 60 A.D. resuming his narrative of Eastern warfare in his annals of this year 60 A.D. with the words:]

N. ‘At Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti terrore ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta...illuc pergit.’—xiv. 23. 1.

March from Artaxata to Tigranocerta in ‘*glowing summer time*,’ the army harassed by the Mardi *en route* and very greatly suffering for lack of water and grain until its arrival in ‘*loci culti*.’ Two forts are taken, one by storm, one by blockade. Continued march through ‘*regio Tauraunitium*’ to Tigranocerta.—23. 1–24. 5.

O. Surrender of Tigranocerta without resistance.—24. 6. 7.

P. Defence of and storming of the fort Legerda.—25. 1.

[NOTE.—Vologeses is still detained by the Hyrcanian revolt. Envoys from the Hyrcanians to Nero had before these last events been sent to Rome and now on their return are by Corbulo sent round by a long and circuitous route to reach their own land, lest the Parthians should capture them.—xiv. 25. 2. 3].

Q. Tiridates invades Armenia again from Media.—xiv. 26. 1.

R. Corbulo despatches Verulanus, legate, with advanced guard, and follows himself with the legions by forced marches.—26. 1.

S. Tiridates is thus forced to flee far away and give up all hopes of war.—26. 1.

T. Corbulo ravages and burns the unfriendly districts of Armenia. He is making effective his occupation of Armenia when—26. 1.

U. Tigranes, sent by Nero to take over the kingdom, arrives at this juncture.—26. 1.

V. Tigranes is accepted as king by the majority of Armenians.—26. 2.

W. Corbulo makes arrangements for his security. He leaves a garrison for him in Armenia and makes various frontier readjustments in order to enlist the neighbouring client-kings in his support.—26. 3.

X. Corbulo retires into Syria, then left vacant by the recent death of Quadratus and therefore assigned to him.—26. 4.

[This is definitely assigned by the ‘*eodem anno*’ following to the year A.D. 60].

A'. *Points of Time etc. here to be observed :*

Certain preliminary points in the Tacitus narrative suggesting definite times, seasons, and dates, must here be noted :—

1. Corbulo winters in Armenia (C).
2. Active hostilities begin in Spring (D)—viz. : acc. to xiii. 34, 1 that of 58 A.D. (A).
3. Corbulo's first plan of campaign is tried ‘a long time’ (D).
4. Corbulo marches on Artaxata immediately it seems after the capture of Volandum and the other forts. (I, J).
5. News of the fall of Artaxata reaches Rome, according to the ‘*Deinde*’ of xiii. 42, 1 in 58 A.D. (M).
6. The burning of Artaxata is spoken of by Tacitus in one and the same breath as its surrender. The language entirely fails to suggest that any interval of time separated the capture of the city, the destruction of the city, and the resumed march to Tigranocerta. (K, L, N). Entirely consistent with this is Tacitus' statement that
7. While terror at the news of Artaxata's destruction is still ‘fresh’ Corbulo marches for Tigranocerta (N).
8. The march to Tigranocerta must have taken place in hot summer—the arrival there in late autumn. Thus the crops are ripe in ‘*loci culti*’ near Tauraunitis, and it is no uncommon thing for the corn to be still unripe in Southern Armenia even in the beginning of August (cf. Egli, p. 288). The march, too, must have taken some time. The distance—some 500 kil. as the crow flies—through rough country with fighting on the way, the taking of one fort by storm, another by blockade, etc., all this necessitates the conclusion that Tigranocerta cannot have surrendered before September (N, O).
9. Tigranocerta surrenders at once : but Legerda has to be taken by storm (P).
10. The campaigning season in Armenia ends in October at latest.
11. Corbulo finally retires into Syria in A.D. 60 (X).

12. Thus there are three campaigns among which all the events must be in some manner or other distributed, viz: those of the three years 58, 59, 60 A.D.

*A". The 'Miraculum' at Artaxata :—*

One other preliminary question must be considered at somewhat greater length.

Egli (p. 285) identifies the 'miraculum' which preceded the destruction of Artaxata (L) with an eclipse of the sun which occurred on April 30th, A.D. 59. According to Pliny (N. H. ii. 70. 72, 180), Corbulo in Armenia saw this eclipse 'inter horam diei decimam et undecimam.'

The identification of this eclipse of the sun with the Artaxata miraculum leads Egli to give to the capture of the city the very precise date mentioned, viz: April 30th A.D. 59.

Certainly could this be accepted it would form an excellent starting point for chronological considerations both backwards and forwards. But it is entirely impossible to accept this identification. Tacitus, who himself knows of this eclipse (xiv. 12, 3) entirely fails to identify his 'miraculum' with it, and his description of the latter is decisive :

*B. The Schemes proposed :—*

| I. EGLI. (P. 282-290).<br>[Adopted by Schiller without criticism or discussion]                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | II. MOMMSEN (E.T. II. P. 53, 54).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | III. FURNEAUX (II. P. 111-115 ETC.)<br>[Following Nipperdey, who however does not divide up A.D. 59, 60 so precisely].                                                                                                                                                                                             | IV. 'COMPROMISE.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. Q-X are all closely connected and thus must be in same year—viz.: A.D. 60.<br>ii. P and Q must belong to different years, as P is late in the year [A' 8].<br>And insisting on A' 6, L and O-P must be in the same year. Thus the break in Tac. narrative between M-N does not imply a break in time. | i. The account in Tac. Bk. XIV. 'evidently describes merely one single campaign.'<br><i>i.e.</i> N-X=A.D. 60.<br>ii. As Corbulo sees the eclipse of 59 A.D. on Armenian soil the account in Tac. Bk. XIII. embraces 2 campaigns separated by the winter C.<br>Thus A-C=58 A.D.<br>D-K=59 A.D. | i. Insisting on A'S, there must be a break between P-Q.<br><i>i.e.</i> Q-X=A.D. 60.<br>ii. The break in Tac. narrative between M-N implies a break in time.<br><i>i.e.</i> P'-A.D. 59.<br>iii. Insisting on A' 5, K must have occurred in A.D. 58.<br>And besides to couple D-P together is too much for one year. | i. Insisting on A' 5, viz.: L=58 A.D.<br>A' 2, viz.: D=58 A.D.<br>A' 6, viz.: L, N, O, P, all are in same year, we get necessarily D-P=58 A.D.<br>ii. Thus leaving Q-X for 2 years A.D. 59-60.<br>Of this 2 arrangements are possible.<br>(1) A.D. 59. no events.<br>A.D. 60. Q-X. |

<sup>1</sup> If Pliny's words 'circuitu globi alia aliis detegente et occultante' are to be taken to refer to the same phenomenon as that which Tacitus thus describes, we must credit Pliny with the mistake of identifying Corbulo's miraculum with the eclipse, supposing it probable that Tacitus reproduces Corbulo's own accurate description. For the shadow

'While the whole space outside the town up to its buildings was bright with sunlight, the enclosure within the walls was suddenly shrouded in a black cloud, seamed with lightning flashes.' (Church and Brodribb)

This description of a cloud-sunlight effect, however curiously regarded as a 'miracle,' must necessarily, *if we hold to the description*, be regarded as inconsistent with any possible effect of an eclipse of the sun, however partial. To follow Egli (p. 334, 340 etc.) and proceed to reproach the unlucky Corbulo for being 'strangely ignorant, and not knowing an eclipse of the sun when he saw it' seems to me an indulgence in a perversely topsy-turvy argument. Corbulo may have been 'child of his age' (the age be it noted of Pliny), but if he saw no eclipse of the sun at Artaxata, the probability is that there was no eclipse of the sun to see. If he saw a novel effect of cloud, sunshine and storm, he described it, clearly and well.<sup>1</sup>

We must, however reluctantly, abandon the precise date for the capture of Artaxata, April 30th, A.D. 59.

of an eclipse could hardly be confined within the small circuit of a city wall. But as Corbulo certainly was in Armenia when the eclipse occurred, and Pliny, however distant, would scarcely have made the error, it is better to dissociate the Pliny and Tacitus passages entirely.

I. EGLI. (P. 282-290).  
[Adopted by Schiller without criticism or discussion].

II. MOMMSEN (E.T. II. P. 53, 54).

III. FURNEAUX (II. P. 111-115 ETC.)  
[Following Nipperdey, who however does not divide up A.D. 59, 60 so precisely].

IV. 'COMPROMISE.'

iii. But D to P is too much for one year and D is 58 A.D. And the winter being a natural time for the negotiations of F—hence divide D-F. 58 A.D. G-P. 59 A.D.  
iv. K-L = April 30. 59 A.D.

iii. Corbulo then must have wintered in Artaxata, marching for Tigranocerta in the spring of A.D. 60.

Thus L and N-P = A.D. 59. and D-K + M = A.D. 58.  
iv. The winter C is thus that of A.D. 57-58, as suits A' 2.  
v. Corbulo then must have wintered in Artaxata.

or (2) A.D. 59. Q-U. A.D. 60. V-X.  
iii. The winter C is that of A.D. 57-58, as suits A' 2.

#### I. SUMMARY.

#### II. SUMMARY.

#### III. SUMMARY.

#### IV. SUMMARY.

|              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| A.D. 57      | A-B |
| Winter 57-58 | C   |
| 58           | D-E |
| Winter 58-59 | F   |
| 59           | G-P |
| 60           | Q-X |

|  |       |
|--|-------|
|  | A-B   |
|  | C     |
|  | D-K   |
|  | L+N-X |

|       |
|-------|
| A-B   |
| C     |
| D-K+M |
| L+N-P |
| Q-X   |

|          |            |
|----------|------------|
| A-B      |            |
| C        |            |
| D-P      |            |
| (1)<br>— | (2)<br>Q-U |
| Q-X      | V-X        |

#### OBJECTIONS.

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Main:—  
Entire neglect of A' 5.  
Minor:—  
1. ? Neglect of the Break in Tac. narrative between L-N. But Tac. himself in N closely connects the two (A' 6).  
2. The miraculum-eclipse identification (cf. *supra*).  
But the rejection of this leaves the general scheme untouched, if depriving it of a positive argument in its favour.  
3. See III.

Main:—  
1. Entire neglect of A' 2.  
2. Ditto of A' 5.  
3. Ditto of A' 6.  
4. Ditto of A' 8.  
5. Ditto of A' 10.  
For  
1. B can hardly satisfy the *acriter bellum resumitur*.  
2. For ex hyp. Artaxata falls in A.D. 59.  
3. For ex hyp. Corbulo winters in Artaxata.  
4. To allow time for all events Q-X in same year Tigranocerta must surrender at least in early summer.

Main:—  
Entire neglect of A' 6.  
Minor:—  
1. ? Too few events are ascribed to 59 A.D.  
2. 'Tacitus where he condenses as a rule anticipates' (Momm- sen.)  
But ex hyp. N-P belong to 59 A.D. *i.e.* the year before that under which Tac. in xiv. 23 seems to place them.  
Applies also to I.

Main:—  
Entire neglect of A' 10.  
For ex hyp. there is far too much for A.D. 58.  
Minor:—  
To (1): The break in events does not correspond with any break in the narrative.  
To (2): A forced solution of which there is no hint in Tac. And the 'Anticipation Rule' throughout is hopelessly broken.

#### C. Consideration of the Rival Views:—

##### I. Egli's View:

In itself this scheme is very attractive. The events are well and probably distributed among the years. Active hostilities begin, as Tacitus says, in A.D. 58. That year is filled up with Corbulo's first plan of campaign, which we are expressly told was tried for 'a long time,' and his

distributed among the years. Active hostilities begin, as Tacitus says, in A.D. 58. That year is filled up with Corbulo's first plan of campaign, which we are expressly told was tried for 'a long time,' and his



second plan which involved certainly great preparations and organisation, &c., *i.e.*, much time. And we must always remember that the Armenian campaigning season hardly exceeds four (acc. to Mommsen), or at the most five months. Then comes the 'unmentioned winter.' One such winter at least has on every scheme to be inserted into the Tacitus narrative. Negotiations between Tiridates and Corbulo very conveniently occupy it, on the temporary cessation of warfare enforced by it.

These failing, the year 59 opens with Corbulo's third plan of campaign. The capture of Volandum encourages him to proceed at once to Artaxata. Capturing the city he at once destroys it, as Tacitus' narrative irresistibly implies, because he cannot hold it, and marches for Tigranocerta. Naturally therefore he arrives here only in autumn, as Tacitus obviously implies. And the capture of Legerda closes the campaigning year—59—a full year, but not too full if we begin it with the third plan of campaign.

Then Tiridates' last attempt, Tigranes' arrival, and Corbulo's withdrawal to Syria, fall naturally into the year A.D. 60: events implying much duration of time, however compressed the account of them in Tacitus.

Thus the scheme as a whole is feasible and attractive. We are bound to reject Egli's 'miraculum-eclipse' identification, it is true. But in reality this is to the advantage of the scheme. For the capture of Artaxata on April 30—the result of the identification—certainly would make the campaign of A.D. 59 in the north of Armenia begin much too early. But rejecting the identification and thus the precise date, we can place the fall of Artaxata, *e.g.*, two months later, and thus be rid entirely of this objection which Furneaux brings against the scheme.

The objection against the scheme which remains and cannot be denied is that it places Artaxata's capture in 59 A.D. while Tacitus by his 'deinde' of xiii. 42, 1, clearly implies that the news of this reached Rome in the preceding year.

## II. Mommsen's View :

This scheme is hopeless: there is practically nothing to be said for it. It combines all the main objections which can be urged against any scheme, and departs altogether from Tacitus. Tacitus says the war begins actively in 58 A.D. The scheme sets the first operations to which this description could possibly be applied in 59 A.D. Tacitus implies that the news of Artaxata's fall

reached Rome in 58 A.D. The scheme puts the fall of the city in 59 A.D. There is neither word nor hint in Tacitus to imply that an interval of six months at least intervened between the capture and the burning of Artaxata, during which interval Corbulo wintered in the captured town. All this is supposed by the scheme. On the contrary Tacitus speaks of the capture and the burning in one and the same sentence, they making part of one and the same impression on the mind of the reader. And if any one certain fact is suggested by Tacitus' narrative, it is that Tigranocerta fell in the autumn. Yet the scheme is bound to set this in the spring, as so many events remain yet to be inserted into this same year.

The scheme indeed seems to be based on two generally enunciated Tacitean principles, viz.

- (1) That a break in the Tacitus narrative implies a break in time; but where there is no break in the narrative the events belong to one and the same year unless the change of year is directly stated or obviously implied.
- (2) That where Tacitus combines in one narrative-section events of two years he prefers to anticipate the coming, rather than hark back to the past, year.

Such general principles, however, are scarcely safe guides if they lead, as in this case, to the rejection of well-nigh every particular piece of evidence. This should rather lead us to modify our general conclusions, however painful the sacrifice. It cannot *e.g.* be seriously doubted that in this case the events from the return of Tiridates from Media to Corbulo's withdrawal into Syria cannot belong to the same year as that in the autumn of which Legerda fell.

The Mommsen scheme is distinctly inferior to Egli's when we consider the evidence.

## III. Furneaux's View :

This view is also attractive and possible in itself. 58 A.D. is its full year, while perhaps there is not quite enough left for 59 A.D. which the march from Artaxata to Tigranocerta and the capture of Legerda are supposed entirely to occupy. In its account of A.D. 57–58 (spring) and A.D. 60 it is identical with Egli's scheme. True it supposes that Tacitus, writing annals of A.D. 60,

harks back to include those of A.D. 59. But if this be a blemish, it is common also to Egli's scheme as well.

Looking at the matter from the standpoint of the distribution of events among the years it is slightly inferior to the first scheme. From the more important standpoint of the evidence it is precisely on a level with this in so far as it satisfies all the ten criteria save one only. The great difficulty in this scheme is that it makes Corbulo winter at Artaxata, a fact of which, as has already been pointed out, Tacitus seems entirely ignorant. The 'utendum recenti terrore' passage will, it is true, square with this view as well as with Egli's, inasmuch as the terror is caused by the 'destruction' of Artaxata, which *ex hyp.* takes place in the spring of the year 59 just before Corbulo's march to Tigranocerta. And as a whole year is devoted to this march, Corbulo can be made to arrive at the latter city in the autumn, as required. But the one difficulty remains—that to separate the capture from the burning of Artaxata by six months runs counter to the general impression produced by the narrative.

#### IV. 'Compromise':

As then the first view is opposed to one, and the third view to another, of the main Tacitean criteria, I devise this fourth scheme as an example of an attempt to reconcile these criteria, viz: to allow the news of Artaxata's fall to reach Rome in 58 and set the march to Tigranocerta in this same year.

The result, it must be admitted, is not very happy. By it we get a really impossibly full year of events for 58 A.D., considering the brief campaigning season in Armenia, and then are left with two years on our hands with not enough events for them both: with the result that we must either make one completely blank year, which is historically impossible, or spread the butter very thinly over the two years' slice, making an arbitrary division somewhere or other. It seems hardly possible that this can have been Tacitus' own idea of the division of the years, viz: that xiii. 37-41+xiv. 23-25 belong all to one year while two years' events are compressed into xiv. 26, 1-4: and thus the sole justification for some such compromise-view, viz: fidelity to Tacitus, vanishes away, leaving us with an impossibly full year to face.

#### D. Conclusion:

Other rearrangements besides this suggested 'Compromise' can be made. But no one that I have devised but presents one or other of the difficulties named and added evils besides.

We may therefore confine our attention to the four schemes set forth above. And now we may reject the second and fourth views as distinctly inferior to the first and third.

Therefore we are compelled to make our choice between the first and third, viz: Egli's and Furneaux's. Each is attended by one great difficulty, involving a contradiction of one point of time suggested by Tacitus. That is, it is impossible to devise a scheme satisfying all ten Tacitean criteria. At least some one of these must be rejected.

Either Tacitus is mistaken when he declares that the news of the fall of Artaxata reached Rome in 58 A.D., or when he implies that Corbulo burnt Artaxata immediately after its capture and marched forthwith for Tigranocerta.

Thus (1) following Egli, we must believe that Tacitus ascribes to A.D. 58 proceedings in the Senate really belonging to A.D. 59.

or (2) following Furneaux, we must believe that Tacitus is ignorant of the fact that Corbulo winters in Artaxata after capturing that city in A.D. 58.

Which of these is more probable?

Considering Tacitus' probable sources, (1) for the proceedings in the Senate (2) for Corbulo's campaigns, I accept with small hesitation the first alternative.

For Senatorial proceedings Tacitus doubtless used the records of the Senate. And in view of the whole tenor of the narrative a mistakenly implied date is here not very unlikely. Having inserted in his *Annals* in its right place, under the year 58 A.D., the beginning of active hostilities and Corbulo's pursuit after Tiridates, Tacitus both harks back a little to explain Corbulo's previous preparations, and then carries the narrative forward to the next year to embrace Corbulo's first great and notable success, viz. the Artaxata capture, without a break. Naturally there follows on this an account of the reception of the news in Rome, wherein he 'anticipates' (cf. Mommsen's 'general rule') events of A.D. 59. The 'Deinde' with which afterwards he resumes the tale of events in Rome of 58 A.D. may

be regarded as a mere literary connecting particle, or a pure slip of the pen.

This supposition presents no very great inherent improbability. But such an improbability *does* seem involved in the only alternative to it, viz. Furneaux's view that Tacitus is ignorant that Corbulo wintered in Artaxata.

For his account of Corbulo's campaigns it seems clear that Tacitus consulted Corbulo's own despatches from the seat of war. Such a sentence as 'Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti terrore ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta' goes straight back to those despatches and reveals the general's hopes and strategy. Now had Corbulo wintered in Artaxata after taking the town and not burnt it until his evacuation (ex hyp.) in the following spring, it is hardly possible that this fact would not have appeared with some prominence in his despatches. It is impossible surely that Tacitus should have summarised them in so misleading or ignorant a manner, omitting entirely to notice the use to which Corbulo put the captured city. Strategically again, in view of the general's hopes and intentions, it was not only better for Corbulo to winter near his base of operations, the Cappadocian frontier, at Tigranocerta than far away in the inclement North at Artaxata, but also it is far less probable that his march from the Armenian Bloemfontein to the Armenian Pretoria was resumed only after a six months' interval of inactivity than that he destroyed the former at once for very excellent strategic considerations. These considerations duly make their appearance in Tacitus' narrative, albeit Tacitus is far removed as the poles asunder from being in any sense a strategist or military historian. Nor could any delay be caused to Corbulo's intentions to finish the war by a rapid advance by commissariat troubles or the thought of his lines of communication. For his army, as we are expressly told, lived on the country as it marched through it, however scanty the provender in consequence, and Corbulo in his dash from Artaxata sundered his force from his line of communications to open a new line in the south by his occupation of Tigranocerta.

This rapid and immediate advance from the one city to the other is as irresistibly implied throughout Tacitus' narrative as it is strategically far more probable than the opponent view. It is implied alike by the details he gives of Artaxata's treatment as by the obvious fact (though so curiously neglected by Mommsen) that he reached

Tigranocerta only late in the year's campaign. It is Corbulo's own account which penetrates to the surface through and despite of Tacitus' unmilitary narrative, and herein lies its value and its strength as evidence.

Somewhere or another Tacitus omits to mention the passing of a winter. It is far more probable to suppose with Egli that this was a winter occupied by negotiations than with Furneaux that this was a winter during which Corbulo's army rusted inactively at distant Artaxata, if we consider the sources of Tacitus' account.

Hence I reject the third view and choose the first. Rejecting of course the positive date, April 30th, it champions, as based on Egli's untenable identification of the Artaxata miraculum with the eclipse, and thus securing, as I have suggested above, an additional advantage for the very scheme itself, I propose, following Egli otherwise, this scheme for the most probable chronology of the years A.D. 57-60:—

- |       |               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A, B. | A.D. 57.      | Corbulo's preparations for war.                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| C.    | winter 57-58. | Corbulo winters under canvas in Armenia.                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| D-E.  | 58.           | The first year's campaign, in which Corbulo tries two plans of action, neither with great success, save that Tiridates enters into negotiations.                                                                            |
| F.    | winter 58-59. | The negotiations — with no result.                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| G-P.  | 59.           | Hostilities resumed. Corbulo's new plan of campaign. Capture of Volandum and the forts. Surrender and destruction of Artaxata. Corbulo's rapid march to Tigranocerta. Surrender of the city in autumn. Storming of Legerda. |
|       | winter 59-60. | Corbulo winters in Tigranocerta.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Q-X.  | 60.           | Invasion of Tiridates from Media. Corbulo's march to meet him and his enforced retreat.                                                                                                                                     |



- Q-X. 60. Corbulo over-runs Armenia. Arrival of Tigranes. Settlement of the country. Corbulo withdraws to Syria. winter 60-61. Corbulo in Syria. Tigranes in Armenia. Tiridates in Parthia.
- BERNARD W. HENDERSON.  
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- (To be concluded.)

## SOME SUGGESTIONS ON CALPURNIUS SICULUS.

## I. 73-76.

Exsultet quaecumque Notum gens ima  
iacentem  
erectumue colit Boream, quaecumque uel  
ortu  
uel patet occasu medioe sub aethere feruit.

These lines mean that every inhabitant of the world's five zones must rejoice in the new accession and the era of peace and prosperity which it is to usher in. The turn of the first of the clauses introduced by *quaecumque* is obviously antithetical, 'iacentem erectumue' (so Baehrens, the MSS -que). But there is no antithesis in the second. For *patet* we must read *tepet* which is properly opposed to *feruit*. So at v. 41 for '*patenti*', preserved in one family of the inferior MSS (*w*), the other family (*v*) writes *tepeti*.

It is possible that the same change should be made at Tibullus 2. 5, 59 in the very difficult, and perhaps unexampled 'patent ortus.'

## II. 51 sqq.

O si quis Crocalen deus afferat! hunc ego  
terris,  
hunc ego sideribus solus regnare fatebor  
secernamque nemus dicamque 'sub arbore  
numen  
hac erit; ite procul (sacer est locus) ite  
profani.'

For *erit* Maehly proposed *est*, but a more pertinent and an easier correction would be *erat*. The sense is that 'the place is sacred because once a deity was there.' Confusion of the terminations -it, -at, and the like, is common enough; e.g. at v. 31, the MSS vary between 'crescit' and 'crescat.'

Among the marvellous beasts, snow-white hares, boars with horns and so forth, exhibited in the games given by the young emperor of Eclogue VII. the rustic Corydon tells us he saw the elk:

uidi genus omne ferarum,  
hic niueos lepores et non sine cornibus  
apros,  
hic raram siluis etiam quibus editur alcen.  
(vii. 57-59).

The description of this animal 'as rare even in its native forests' might be thought insufficiently distinctive. But in itself that would be no reason for doubting the *Hic raram* of the vulgate in view of the passage of Pausanias ix. 21. 3, which I transcribe in Dr. Frazer's translation.

'There is a beast called the elk, in appearance between a stag and a camel; it is a native of the land of the Celts. It is the only beast we know of that cannot be tracked or seen afar off by man; but sometimes when men have gone out to hunt other game, chance throws an elk in their way. It smells man, they say, while it is still a great way off, and plunges into gullies and the deepest caverns. So the hunters surround the plain or mountain in a circle of at least a thousand furlongs, and taking care not to break the circle, they gradually close in, and so catch the animals inside the circle, the elks among the rest. But if the elk happens not to have its lair there, there is no other way of catching it.'

More ground for suspicion is, however, to be found in the strange variants of some of the MSS. The lost *Codex Ugoleti* (Schenkl's A) had side by side with *Hic raram* the name of the fabulous wild animal *Mantichoram* (μαντιχώρας or μαντιχώρας) while *Nicticanam* or *Nocticanam* is in the inferior MSS (Schenkl's V). The divergent *nicticanam*, *mantic(h)oram*, *hicraram* may well have come from *adclinem*; which was first written *inclinem* by a common confusion of prepositions (as at line 26 of this poem '*in sedes*' the Gudianus, '*ad sedes*' the rest) and was then further corrupted through such letter changes as are observable at v. 15 '*montibus*' the Gudianus for '*mollibus*,' vi. 29 '*insta nunc*'

V for 'inflatis' of the better MSS.<sup>1</sup> ii. 97 'sacientes' the Neapolitanus for 'sitientes,' iv. 112 'ramuna' the same for 'numina.' ii. 54 'dicannamque' V for 'secernamque.' And, so far as 'Hic raram' goes, it will not escape the attentive that the previous line begins with *Hic*.<sup>2</sup>

The elk 'leaning against its native trees' was a piece of local colouring which might be expected to be reproduced in the exhibition of an emperor and the compliments of a court poet. Caesar *B.G.* 6. 27, 1 sqq. 'Crura sine nodis articulisque habent neque quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo afflictae casu conciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. his sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt. quarum ex uestigiis cum est animaduersum a uenatoribus quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores tantum ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. huc cum se consuetudine reclinauerunt infirmas arbores pondere affligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.'

Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 8 § 39 and the later writer Solinus 20 §§ 6, 7 tell the same story but of the *achlis*, which they distinguish from the *alces* or *alce*. The agreements and the differences in the two accounts may excuse us for setting them out in full.

Pliny: 'Septentrio fert—et *alcen* iuuenio similem ni proceritas aurum et ceruicis distinguat, item natam in Scadinavia insula nec umquam uisam in hac urbe multis tamen narratam *achlin*, haud dissimilem illi sed nullo suffraginum flexu ideoque non cubantem sed *adclinem arbori* in somno eaque incisa ad insidias capi; alias uelocitatis memoratae. labrum ei superius praegrande. ob id retrograditur in pascendo ne in priora tendens inuoluatur.'

'Solinus: est et *alce* mulis comparanda, adeo propenso labro superiore ut nisi recedens in posteriora pasci non queat. Gangauia insula e regione Germaniae mittit animal quale *alce* sed cuius suffragines, ut

<sup>1</sup> The corruption arose thus: 'inflat' was mistaken for 'infat' and the abbreviation of *tunc* confused with that of *nunc* (n°).

<sup>2</sup> I have said that 'hic raram' and 'manticoram' may well have come from 'adclinem' by the route of ordinary corruptions, because it is by no means certain that these readings have not been patched up out of some MS gibberish by the aid of Pausanias. It is odd at the least that the very next section to the one I have quoted describes the *Mantichoras*.

elephantis, flecti nequeunt. propterea non cubat cum dormiendum est, tamen semnulenta arbor sustinet quae prope casuram secatur ut fera, dum adsuētis fulmentis innititur, faciat ruinam; ita capitur. alioquin difficile est eam mancipari, nam in illo rigore poplitum incomprehensibili fuga pollet.'

Notwithstanding the differences in these accounts, it is plain that they are both derived ultimately from a common source. The distinction, however, which they draw in common between the *alce* and the *achlis* is, as my friend, the eminent zoologist, Professor Alfred Newton, assures me, destitute of foundation in fact. And we may give up our quest for the *achlis* until we have found the island Scadinavia, Gangauia or Codan-nouia (? Mela) 'opposite to Germany,' which it haunted. But that does not excuse us from seeking an explanation of the fable. The elk's long legs which 'in confinement are moved slowly and with apparent difficulty' (Prof. Newton) might easily give rise to 'the belief that it could not bend its joints.' The glimpses caught of the creature in the forest browsing on the leaves of trees with its antlers framed in a screen of interlacing greenery through which it was not easy to divine that a path could be found, naturally suggested that it was leaning on their trunks. Again, between its long upper lip and its 'feeding backwards' there is a most obvious connection. But why should it have duplicated itself as *alce* and *achlis*? The solution of the mystery seems to be this: *alce(s)* and *achlis* are words belonging to different Teutonic dialects. When the habits of the elk of ancient Gaul and Germany became better known than they were in Caesar's times, this fable of the *alce* did not die but migrated, and attached itself to the *achlis* of a different dialect and unexplored districts. When Pliny wrote his *Natural History* this curious transference had been effected. But we may well suppose that at the beginning of the reign of Nero when, in spite of Dr. Garnett's doubts, this eclogue was composed, the account of the divine Julius still held the popular belief. And anyhow on actual matters of fact there is no contradiction between Pliny and Calpurnius. For the animal which the youthful Nero exhibited was undoubtedly an *alce* for both.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## CATULLUS AND FURIUS BIBACULUS.

IN his *Prolegomena ad Catullum*, p. 24, Baehrens says: '*Una Gallia Transpadana tum Romam misit Cornelium Nepotem, Ualerium Catonem, Furium Bibaculum, Quintilium Uarum, Cornificium; quos praeter Bibaculum omnes utpote conterraneos inter Catulli nostri amicos fuisse eius carmina testantur.*' A statement as dogmatic as this is calculated, it would seem, to challenge thought and lead one to inquire whether it represents the fact. Catullus and A. Furius Bibaculus, of Cremona, are almost constantly named together by the ancients as pursuing like aims and employing similar literary forms. It seems incredible that they should not have known each other at Rome, if not in the province. It is probable that the Alfenus of Catullus, c. xxx., was Alfenus Varus, a fellow-townsmen of Furius Bibaculus. Assuming as certain the acquaintance of these two poets, it is difficult to believe that in the keen literary life of the *Cantores Euphorionis* they should not have been thrown into such personal relations as would leave some sort of memorial in their writings. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the literary remains of Bibaculus are so very few in number. Owing to these limitations, we shall have to depend chiefly on the poems of Catullus if we are to find any clue to the relations of these two men.

Jerome gives the year 103 B.C. as that in which Bibaculus was born. But his relations with Orbilius (? 113-13 B.C.) and Valerius Cato (b. ca. 100 B.C.), evidently those of a junior with his seniors, have led Teuffel, Schanz, and others to believe that the date of his birth is to be set much later, presumably not earlier than 90 B.C. This would make him practically of an age with Catullus, whom he must have outlived by many years. It seems necessary to conclude from Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 34 (*Carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur; sed ipse diuus Iulius, ipse diuus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere*) that Furius Bibaculus in his poems assailed Octavian. This he would hardly have had occasion to do before 44 B.C., and probably he would not have dared to do so much later.

Now Catullus makes mention of a certain Furius in a number of his poems (xi., xvi., xxiii., xxiv., xxvi.). There is no sure clue by which to identify this Furius. Baehrens and Couat, pitching upon the phrase *bellus*

*homo* (lxxxi. 2), maintain that the *hospes ab sede Pisauri* of that poem is the Furius of xxiv. 7. Since we know that Furius Bibaculus was born at Cremona, if we grant their position, the presumption is undoubtedly against identifying this Furius with the poet Bibaculus. But still it is not impossible that a man who was born at Cremona should be called, for some unknown reason, *hospes ab sede Pisauri*. The probabilities are, moreover, against the conclusion drawn from the passage by Couat and Baehrens. One of the most noteworthy things in Catullus' treatment of Furius, is that he and Aurelius are almost always associated as a *par nobile fratrum*. This relation is especially evident in xvi. Again, Aurelius, as *pater esuritionum*, is but the double of Furius, the beggar and starveling. Hence Bruner, B. Schmidt and Ellis seem to be clearly right in identifying the *bellus homo* and *hospes ab sede Pisauri*, of lxxxi., with Aurelius, who was in fact the host of Juventius (cf. xv.). In support of such a reference Bruner's suggestion that *inaurata* (lxxxi. 4) possibly glances at the name of Aurelius, also deserves to receive some consideration.

The Furius mentioned by Catullus is thus still unknown, but there is no reason to connect him with Pisaurum. It may result in some slight gain to our inquiry if we consider briefly his character as it is sketched in Catullus. In xi. he is represented as the satellite of Catullus and as the ambassador of Lesbia. *Comes* here may denote nothing more than the (momentary) patronizing air which Catullus assumes towards his officious comrades. On the other hand, it may be intended to characterize Furius as one whose expectations depend for their fulfilment upon our poet's favour. Such favour, however, could scarcely be shown otherwise than as between men of letters. In xvi. Furius is seen to be a critic of the verses of Catullus, who feels himself called upon to give account of his views touching the relation of morality to art. It seems natural to infer from xxiii. that Furius is going the rounds of his circle of acquaintances, applying for a loan, and approaches Catullus with that object in view. It is, of course, conceivable that the situation is itself a fiction of the poet. In xxvi. Catullus addresses to Furius a slight skit on the subject of a villa that is mortgaged for a certain sum. If



now one attempts to gather from these poems who this *Furius* may have been, it seems not unnatural to suppose that he belonged to the literary set of starvelings in which were numbered *Orbilius* and *Valerius Cato*. No one would be so well suited, apparently, for the purposes of *Lesbia's* commission in xi. as a fellow-poet who was on intimate terms with her *Catullus*. There is nothing in this poem to indicate that their relations were not of the best. It is common to assert the contrary, but I can detect no trace of serious displeasure on the part of *Catullus* toward the ambassadors of *Lesbia*. The estrangement of these friends—and the seriousness of even this difference must not be exaggerated, as is commonly done—seems to have dated from the *Juventius* episode. I think one would not go too far if one concluded from xvi. that *Furius* belonged to the literary set.

Thus far, then, our conclusion would be that the *Furius* so often mentioned by *Catullus* might well be *Furius Bibaculus*. *Ribbeck* (*Röm. Dichtung*, I.<sup>2</sup> p. 346) indeed, curiously enough suggests *A. Furius Antias*. The suggestion is so ill-considered that it may at once be dismissed. *Ribbeck* also thought it strange that *Catullus* did not mention *Furius Bibaculus*. He believes *Catullus's* scorn (which he greatly over-values) ill-bestowed on such a man of the world as *Bibaculus* evidently was. It should be evident that *Ribbeck's* premises are based on a misconception. In trying to reach a more positive result one may readily seem to contend for more than can with certainty be granted; for this is obviously not a case where definite proof can be adduced. To make the thesis seem probable is the most that may be hoped for or reasonably expected.

In l. *Catullus* draws a charming picture of his rivalry with his friend *Calvus*:—

Scribens uersiculos uterque nostrum  
ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc  
reddens mutua per iocum atque uinum.

Other poems give ample illustration of the manner in which he paid his respects to literary friends and foes. Thus *Muretus* saw that *Catullus* had written xvi. (in elegiac distichs) with reference to the elegy of *Calvus* in which he lamented the death of *Quintilia* (cp. *Propertius*, iii. 34, 90), of which poem we still possess a fragment (16, *Baehrens*),

forsitan hoc etiam gaudeat ipsa cinis.

Now there is extant a very interesting skit at the expense of *Valerius Cato* written by *Furius Bibaculus* (*Suetonius, de Gram.* xi., *Baehrens, fr.* 2),

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum  
tota creditor urbe uenditabat.  
Mirati sumus unicum magistrum,  
summum grammaticum, optimum poetam  
omnes soluere posse quaestiones,  
unum deficere expedire nomen;  
en cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis!

It may be of interest to consider in connection with this poem *Catullus's* c. xxvi.,

Furi, uillula nostra [uestra?] non ad Austri  
flatus opposita est neque ad Fauoni  
nec saeui Boreae aut Apeliotae,  
uerum ad milia quindecim et ducentos.  
O uentum horribilem atque pestilentem!

Here we have two short poems written in the same metre on the same subject, to wit, a mortgaged villa. Each turns upon the point of a pun, the former on *nomen*, the latter on *opposita*. One was written by *Catullus* to a certain *Furius*, the other was written by *Furius Bibaculus*. Certainly the spirit of the poems is very much alike, and the exclamation at the close of each seems to add to the impression of their similarity. I do not find it difficult to assume that one of these pieces was called forth by the other. But even if one does take so much for granted, there still remain a number of points to be settled. First of all, the MS. authority for the reading in *Catullus* xxvi. l. 1 is equally divided between *nostra* and *uostrea*. If we read *uostrea* (rather *uestra*) the suggestion would perhaps seem natural that after *Furius* had written his gibe at the expense of *Cato*, *Catullus* retorted, in a spirit of raillery, reflecting upon the financial embarrassment of his fellow satirist. Even if this were true, we need not assume that there was any hostility between the poets. But it is perhaps more probable, palaeographically considered, that *Catullus* wrote *nostra*. In that case it would be more likely that *Catullus* was the first to write, playfully jesting at his own expense. This would lead us to suppose that *Furius Bibaculus* wrote his imitation (if we may so call it) of the poem addressed to him by *Catullus* at a somewhat later date. This latter view would be practically assured as the more probable one if it were sure that the *Gallus* to whom *Bibaculus* addressed his verses was the poet *Cornelius Gallus*, as has been conjectured by *Schanz* (*Röm. Literatur-*

*gesch.* ii. i. p. 142). As Cornelius Gallus was born in 69 B.C., he would have been a mere lad at the time of Catullus' death. We saw above that Bibaculus must be assumed to have attacked Octavian about 44 B.C.: Gallus would then have been twenty-five years of age.

Having made this venturesome guess, I may be permitted to make one more that is perhaps even more hazardous. Among the *Catalepta* attributed to Vergil there are a number of satirical poems which are hardly to be considered as composed in the spirit of the gentle Mantuan. Among these one would naturally include nos. vi. (iii.), x. (viii.), xii. (iv.), and xiii. (v.) Considering the characters of the two poets, as they are known to us from other sources, I suppose it would be granted that, MS. testimony apart, it is more probable that these verses were written by Bibaculus than by Vergil. Of the other poems I shall not speak at this time, but I should like to add a word about *Catal.* x. (viii.). Scholars will recall it as the clever parody on Catullus' c. iv. in which P. Ventidius Bassus is scourged. This Ventidius was born in Picenum (cf. Aul. Gell. xv. 4), and had been a *mulio*; but rose to distinction through the favour of Julius

Caesar. On the death of his patron he joined Antony, but later went over to Octavian and was made *praetor* in 44 (and it is to this fact that the poem refers, showing that it was written in that year) and *consul suffectus* in 43. We have just seen that Bibaculus assailed Octavian about this time, and it would be natural that he should attack Ventidius also. While it is possible to regard the mention of Mantua in v. 4,—

sive Mantuam  
opus foret uolare sive Brixiam,—

as an indication of Vergilian authorship, it is perhaps equally possible to find a reference to the birthplace of Furius in the mention of Cremona at v. 12,—

Cremona frigida et lutosa Gallia,  
tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima  
ait Sabinus.

But Cremona and Mantua are so near together, and both towns are so intimately associated with the life of Vergil, that these references will not serve to prove anything either way.

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#### NOTES ON SOME MOOT QUESTIONS OF THE LATIN ALPHABET.

THE questions which appertain to the function and history of the Z of the ancient alphabets form such a tangled skein that our best hope of attaining any conclusion is in the separate treatment of anything that can be treated separately; and in the present paper which I hope to follow up with a sequel, I confine myself to a couple of disputed points.

##### I.—C, G, K, and Z.

In a paper published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Society* for 1899 (pp. 24 *sqq.*), Prof. G. Hempl of the University of Michigan has discussed 'The origin of the Latin letters G and Z.' He contests, not without justice, some points in the current accounts of the genesis of G; viz. that at an early period of Latin the sound represented by Γ or rather < in the Western Greek alphabet adopted by the Romans, later rounded to C, that is the 'hard'

g-sound, was confused with the k-sound represented by K; that this confusion of the sounds induced a confusion of the signs, C being used more and more for both g- and k-sounds, while K was gradually disused; and that at a later date by means of a diacritic added to C a new symbol G was formed to re-express the sound g, C being now confined to the k-sound.

Prof. Hempl holds that the confusion in ancient Roman writing between these two consonants is not phonological but purely graphic, K and < being interchanged and < gradually driving out K. Further he urges that it is highly improbable that a new sign, as G is supposed to have been, should have been placed in the middle of the alphabet instead of at the end, as was the case with Y and Z, or at least 'next to the letter out of which it was supposed to be evolved,' and accordingly that G is nothing but the old symbol for *zeta* in whose place

it stands. This symbol, developed out of  $\Gamma$ , the original form retained (with the value *ts*) in Oscan, Prof. Hempl finds with the value *g* in a Marrucian inscription in which the Latin alphabet is used. This is the celebrated bronze of Rapino, assigned approximately to 250 B.C. (Conway, *Italic Dialects*, pp. 253 and 467). It occurs there four times, each time in a slightly different shape, one of them closely resembling a shape of  $\mathbf{K}$ . So far all seems in order: but now perplexing questions begin to arise. 'One naturally asks,' says Prof. Hempl, 'how did it come about that the letter *zeta* should stand for the sound *g*?' 'The answer is very simple . . . There was a *ts* in Oscan and Umbrian to be represented by *zeta*, but none in Latin. The character  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  was, therefore, in Latin an idle letter.' And as to the course of change he says: 'In shape it resembled one form of *kappa* as *gamma* ( $\mathbf{\Gamma}$ ) resembled another. That  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  and  $\mathbf{K}$  became confused we all know: that the forms of *zeta* should also become confused with those of *kappa* was but natural.' . . . 'There was thus a period of confusion during which the sounds *g* and *k* were represented by' the three symbols in question. 'And for that matter *koppa* sometimes entered the competition . . . In the course of time there developed out of the chaos more or less order. Thus the complicated characters  $\mathbf{K}$  and  $\mathbf{Q}$  or  $\mathbf{Q}$  became restricted to special and limited use . . . and the letters  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{C}$  and  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{G}$  which could easily be scratched without using the stylus were most generally employed and became differentiated into  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{C} = k$  and  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{G} = g$ .'

Thus in brief Prof. Hempl. He omits however to explain why this useless letter was taken into the Latin alphabet at all. He does not tell us how it was that this 'accommodating old *zeta*' (I borrow the phrase from him) idled among the other symbols until it was wanted to be confused with *kappa*. It is much more reasonable, surely, to suppose that it was taken into the Latin alphabet because it had an actual value, and that confusion did not begin until that value had been lost or, to put it in another way, that the loss of its original function preceded by a space, but only by a brief space, its apparent use in a new capacity. I say *apparent*, because it would seem more probable that the new letter was really a *kappa*, in the place of a *zeta*, not a *zeta* at all: and that

the history of the signs as given by Prof. Hempl might be re-written thus.

$\mathbf{\Gamma}$  developed from  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  and  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  developed from  $\mathbf{K}$  for convenience of writing were, for a time, written indiscriminately for *k* and *g*; but subsequently were differentiated gradually, with the result that  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  (i.e.  $\mathbf{C}$ ) was used for *k* and  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  for *g*, they thus interchanging their original functions. About the time that this change was completed the special sound (or combination of sounds) which was represented by the true  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  (the old *zeta*) disappeared from the spoken language; and the room lay open for the false  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  to stand in the place of *zeta* with the value of *g*.

The facts which Prof. Hempl's research has placed in a clearer light compel us then to maintain that the *zeta* of the old Latin alphabet was *not* an 'idle' letter, whether we are able to determine its function or not.

In the course of Prof. Hempl's polemic against the theory, which I, like himself, held to be mistaken, that the *zeta*-symbol was used in old Latin to represent the voiced *s* (Eng. *z*) which later became *r*, he deals with a question which must occupy our attention next.

## II.—Why did Appius Claudius abominate $\mathbf{Z}$ ?

The abhorrence which the great censor of morals and letters expressed for this letter rests upon the evidence of Martianus Capella, who concludes his account of the alphabet with the words ' $\mathbf{Z}$  uero idcirco Appius Claudius detestatur quod *dentes mortui dum exprimitur imitatur*' (III. 261 Eyssenhardt). The treatment which this witness has received exemplifies only too well the spirit in which the statements of ancient grammarians are often approached by their successors in modern times. Th. Mommsen in his *Römische Forschungen*, I. p. 304, proposed to alter *dentes mortui* into *dentis morsus*, although the removal of *mortui* deprives *detestatur* of its significance and although there is no known consonantal sound except *f* that can be described as copying a tooth bite.<sup>2</sup> But the levity of this proposal, which is half acknowledged, and indeed tempered by a 'vielleicht,' seems almost excusable when we read in Prof. Hempl that 'It is impossible to take the statement as it

<sup>1</sup> This form is a *pis aller*, used for typographical convenience.

<sup>2</sup> And least of all the voiced *s* which the writer seems to have in mind.



stands.<sup>1</sup> The story, as it appears in Martianus Capella, is a very stupid one. Its basis is evidently an older story of Claudius's conceit that the *letter* resembled the jagged teeth of a skull; and in all probability it was first said of the  $\zeta$  still in use in the time of Claudius but which the medieval Martianus, who knew only the round S, took to be a Z. This fits perfectly with the statement in the Digest 1. 2. 2. 36 that Appius Claudius "invented" the letter R in place of older  $\zeta$  or S where the sound had undergone the changes  $s > z > r$ . *R litteram inuenit ut pro Valesiis Valerii essent et pro Fusiis Furiis ib. p. 25.*<sup>2</sup>

The words which I have printed in spaced type show a confidence which it may be difficult to shake. Prof. Hempl makes no attempt to take the statement as it stands. Possessed with the idea that it must refer to the letter alone, although in such connexions the 'letter' is never distinguished by the ancient grammarians from the 'sound,'<sup>2</sup> and adopting from Mr. Lindsay (who by the way is reprehended for indulging in 'guesswork') the translation of *mortui* by 'skull,' he never stops to reflect that, in order to be of any use for his own comparison, the skull has to be provided with the 'jagged' teeth of a shark or a saw.

Apart from prepossessions there is no difficulty in interpreting the passage. Appius Claudius expressed abhorrence for the sound or sounds which were associated for him with the letter Z, because he saw in its articulation (*dum exprimitur*) a funest resemblance to the teeth of the 'dead.' Now at the time of Martianus Capella Z, Greek and Latin, had only one sound, the sound of the voiced  $s$  ( $z$  in *zeal*) and in the pronunciation of this sound there is nothing, as in fact Mommsen saw, for the odd fancy to rest upon. So far then from imputing to him a clumsy and indeed fatuous perversion, we must acknowledge ourselves his debtors for the preservation of a genuine relic of antiquity in a notice the force of which he may not have himself comprehended. Whether by *dentes mortui* Appius meant the teeth of a skull or whether he supposed, with insufficient warrant in fact, that a common

effect of death was to uncover the 'teeth,' is, fortunately for our purpose here, a question that need not be determined.<sup>3</sup> In either case the point of the comparison is the same, viz. that when Z was pronounced the *teeth* were *uncovered*. The only possible sounds which satisfy this condition are the labiodental 'spirant'  $f$  (the Latin F), the corresponding voiced 'spirant'  $v$  (the English *v*) and the two *th*'s,  $\beta$  breathed in Eng. '*thin*,'  $\delta$  voiced in '*then*.' F and V, in which the upper teeth are pressed on the lower lip, are of course out of the question; accordingly it is either to  $\beta$  or to  $\delta$  that Claudius' description must apply.<sup>4</sup> Now one of these sounds, the breathed  $\beta$ , may be dismissed from our consideration. For there is one thing certain about Z; it always had, whether compound or single, a voiced value. We may conclude then, that the voiced *th* in '*then*' entered into the composition of the Z which the Censor abominated.<sup>5</sup>

There is another doubt overhanging this Claudian Z. It has been held and, as Prof. Hempl says, it is a 'natural inference' that Appius Claudius made this repugnance of his own the ground for banishing the objectionable 'letter' '*aus Sprache und Schrift*' (Mommsen *l.c.*). But though a natural inference, it may be a precipitate one: for we do not know the context of Claudius' remark, and he may have been criticising a sound of the Greek 'foreign devils.' There is nothing that I can see against this hypothesis. The Greek  $\zeta$  is admitted on all hands to have been at least at some time a compound of  $\sigma$  (*i.e.*  $z$ ) and  $\delta$ , whatever the order of these con-

<sup>3</sup> In Shakespeare, *King Henry VI.*, Second Part, III. iii. 24 (of Cardinal Beaufort on his death-bed), 'See how the pangs of death do make him grin'; and in Lucretius, (6. 1195) grinning is a sign of a patient being in *extremis*. But these parallels are not near enough. On the other hand in Persius, Sat. 3, 101, '*dentes crepuere relecti*'; *uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris*' (as a medical friend suggests), the doomed glutton is attacked by a fit, and would not die for two or three days after.

<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to pronounce either  $\beta$  or  $\delta$  without baring the teeth, at least partially, as any one can convince himself.

<sup>1</sup> I omit two sentences in which Professor Hempl contends quite correctly that the reference cannot be to a Latin Z representing the voiced sibilant  $s$ .

<sup>2</sup> This often produces an indistinctness in the expression, as in the passage quoted from the Digest. The confusion of 'letter' and 'sound' has by no means been yet eradicated, as every teacher of Comparative Philology knows.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. Havet, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, iii. p. 195, supplies me with an argument as excellent against the hypothesis that the 'Claudian Z' was  $dz$  or  $zd$  as against the hypothesis that it was  $ts$ , which is the object for which he uses it. 'Si Appius ne trouvait sinistre ni le son simple du  $t$  ni le son simple de  $l's$  il ne devait pas trouver sinistre le son du groupe  $ts$ .' Quite so. And similarly he would not have found the sound of the groups  $dz$  or  $zd$  'sinistre' either: for the enunciation of  $le s$  sonore only differs from that of  $le s$  sourd in the action of the unseen vocal chords.

stituents. Now  $\delta$  has the value of  $\delta$  in modern Greek and must have acquired this value at some period in the history of the Greek language; and it is significant that Elean uses  $\Sigma$  to express a sound which must have been  $\delta$  as in  $\zeta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$  (=  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ )  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}$  (=  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ).

It is quite possible that before the two elements in  $\zeta$  were reduced to the single  $z$  (voiced  $s$ ) which is the modern sound of  $\zeta$ , one of them was, at least in certain dialects, a  $\delta$ .

J. P. POSTGATE.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'ARTS' IN 'BACHELOR OF ARTS,' ETC.

It is well known that the use of the word 'Arts' in our expression 'Bachelor of Arts,' etc. is an inheritance from the *quadrivium* and *trivium* which together formed the curriculum of the universities throughout the middle ages. In his well known work 'The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,' vol. i. p. 33 *nn.*, Mr. Rashdall traces the popularity of the seven so-called liberal 'Arts' to the 'De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii' of Martianus Capella, and Mr. H. Parker in the *Historical Review*, v. pp. 418 ff. endeavours to show that Martianus Capella based his work upon 'a treatise on the Novem Disciplinae by Varro, omitting architecture and medicine.' Neither of these writers seems to be aware, and I have not hitherto seen it pointed out, that the term 'Arts' was already applied *κατ' ἐξοχήν* to the *quadrivium* in the time of Plato. The medieval *quadrivium*, as every one knows, consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. Now in the *Protagoras* of Plato, Protagoras makes the following remarks (318 D, E):—

Ἰπποκράτης γὰρ παρ' ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενος οὐ πείσεται ἅπερ ἂν ἐπαθεν ἄλλω τῷ συγγενόμενος τῶν σοφιστῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι λωβῶνται τοὺς νέους· τὰς γὰρ τέχνας αὐτοὺς πεφευγότας ἀκοντάς πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀγόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τέχνας, λογισμούς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν διδάσκοντες—καὶ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Ἰππίαν ἀπέβλεψεν—παρὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενος μαθήσεται οὐ περὶ ἄλλον του ἢ περὶ οὐ ἥκει. In my note on this passage I have said that the arts from which the young men have escaped (*πεφευγότας*) 'can only mean the subjects taught in schools (*γραμματική, λογιστική, κιθαριστική*), as Sauppe remarks, but there seems to be no precise parallel to such a use of the word.' Sauppe's view seems to be generally regarded as correct, but it is, I now believe, mistaken. The arts from which the young men have escaped are in reality just the mechanical arts, and Plato is referring to what seems

to have been a familiar phenomenon in his time, when young men, attracted by the specious promises of the Sophists, abandoned their handicrafts and devoted themselves to 'culture.' Plato himself in the *Republic* animadverts in scathing terms upon this feature of the age in which he lived: καθορῶντες γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωπίσκοι κενὴν τὴν χώραν ταύτην γιγνομένην, καλῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων καὶ προσχημάτων μεστήν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν εἰργμῶν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἄσμενοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐκπηδῶσιν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ ἂν κομψότατοι ὄντες τυγχάνωσι περὶ τὸ αὐτῶν τεχνίον. ὁμως γὰρ δὴ πρὸς γε τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καίπερ οὕτω πραττούσης φιλοσοφίας τὸ ἀξίωμα μεγαλοπρεπέστερον λείπεται, οὐ δὴ ἐφίεμενοι πολλοί, ἀτελεῖς μὲν τὰς φύσεις, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα λελώβηται, οὕτω καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ξυγκεκλασμένοι τε καὶ ἀποθερμυμένοι διὰ τὰς βαναυσίας τυγχάνουσιν (vi. 495 C-E). The 'Arts' to which some of the Sophists, and in particular Hippias (καὶ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Ἰππίαν ἀπέβλεψεν) introduced their emancipated pupils were simply those included in the medieval *quadrivium* and nothing more, as appears from *λογισμούς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν* in the passage quoted from the *Protagoras*. The general tone of that passage would seem to suggest that the word *τέχνη* had only recently begun to assume this peculiar signification. Plato himself adopted the term and applied it to the *μαθήματα* which he prescribes for his guardians in Book vii. of the *Republic*, i.e. (as usually designated) arithmetic, geometry, stereometry, astronomy and harmonics: see for example vi. 511 C τῶν τεχνῶν καλουμένων and vii. 533 D αἱ διήλθομεν τέχναις. Stereometry afterwards resumed its position as a branch of geometry: so that Plato's propaedeutic 'Arts' are, so far as concerns their names, essentially the same as the medieval *quadrivium*. The *quadrivium* itself, as Tannery has pointed out (*L'Education Platonicienne* in *Revue Philosophique*, x. pp. 517 ff.), is probably older

than Plato, and may be Pythagorean, but I do not find any trace of the use of the word 'Arts' in this particular meaning till Plato's time. We may be sure that its application to the curriculum of Studies in the Academy—the oldest and greatest college in the University of Athens—is

responsible for its transmission to the medieval universities: so that our Vice-Chancellors, when they say 'admitto te ad incipiendum in *artibus*,' are in reality, though perhaps without intending it, platonizing.

J. ADAM.

## NOTES.

NOTE ON PLATO, *Rep.*, III. 411 B.—Demetrius, *περί ἑρμηνείας* § 51, quotes a few words from *Rep.* iii. 411 A, B, in order to illustrate his precept that the stronger expression should follow the weaker, and not the weaker the stronger: *παράδειγμα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ λεγόμενον, ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτὸν μὲν τις μουσικῇ παρέρχῃ καταυλεῖν καὶ καταχεῖν διὰ τῶν ὥτων· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐναργέστερον τοῦ προτέρου. καὶ πάλιν προῖων φησιν, ὅταν δὲ καταχέων μὴ ἀνῇ, ἀλλὰ κηλῇ, τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡδὴ τήκει καὶ λείβει. τὸ γὰρ λείβει τοῦ τήκει ἐμφατικώτερον καὶ ἐγγυτέρω ποιήματος.* The manuscripts of Plato give not ὅταν δὲ καταχέων but ὅταν δ' ἐπέχων. Demetrius' *καταχέων* naturally suggested *ἐπιχέων* to me as the true reading in Plato, but this emendation has been anticipated by Morgenstern, as I see on consulting the text of Mr. Adam, who follows Morgenstern. It may, however, be well to draw attention to the passage of Demetrius, as I do not know whether Morgenstern has done so. Jowett and Campbell adhere to the manuscript reading, comparing *Theactitus* 165 D *ἡλεγχεν ἂν ἐπέχων καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεῖς*.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

\* \*

ANTHOL. PAL. V. 13. 3. 4:

ψαύει δ' οὐκ ἄκροισ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν· ἀλλ' ἐρίσσα  
τὸ στόμα, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει.

The MSS. are divided between *ἐρίσσα*, *ἐρείσσα*, and *ἐρύσσα*. Stadtmüller suggests *ἐπιθεῖσα* or *ῥίσα*, of which the latter is certainly the prefer-

able. But in order to account for the *υ* found in certain MSS. and probably original, I suggest that we should read *ἐπιφῦσα*, 'she cleaves with her mouth'—a strong word such as the sense here demands.

*Id.* V. 197. 5:

οὐκέτι σοι φaréτηρ <γλαφυρή> πτεροέντας ὀιστοῖς  
κ.τ.λ.

The lacuna after *φaréτηρ* is variously filled by the critics, but apparently none has suggested the epithet already used by the author in 178. 2, viz. *Σκυθική*, which seems as likely as another here also. But since it would have fallen out more easily after *οὐκέτι σοι* than after *φaréτηρ*, it seems by no means improbable that the marks of lacuna given in the MSS. are accidentally misplaced.

R. G. BURY.

\* \*

ON HORACE, *Epistles* I. vii. 52 sq.

'Demetri' (puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi accipiebat) 'abi' e.q.s.

*non laeve* is usually rendered 'not awkwardly' 'smartly' or the like. I would translate 'not inappropriately'; the parenthesis is suggested by the thought of Demetrius, son of Philippus V. of Macedon: the names of both father and son were familiar to every Roman, cf. Livy, xxxix. 53. xl. 5-15. 20-24. The translation thus would run: 'Demetrius' (not an inappropriate name for one who received the orders of a Philippus) 'go and ask, etc.'

W. S. HADLEY.

## REVIEWS.

BUTLER'S TRANSLATION OF THE *ODYSSEY*.

*The Odyssey*, rendered into English Prose for the use of those who cannot read the original. By SAMUEL BUTLER, author of *Erewhon*, &c. Longmans, Green & Co. 7s. 6d.

THIS version makes no pretence to accuracy or to scholarship, and can hardly be called a translation, unless it be in Quince's sense:

'Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated.' It is published apparently with two objects: to reproduce the manner of 'Homer' for those who cannot read the Greek, and to illustrate the author's thesis, that the *Odyssey* was written by Nausicaa.

Mr. Butler's style is easy and current, and so far like Homer's; but there the



resemblance ends. Homer's style is singularly uniform: Mr. Butler's is singularly uneven, a conglomerate of many styles, in which the language of the Bible is often combined in one sentence with contemporary slang, and all the following phrases are admitted: 'The naughtiness of their hearts'; 'age-mate' and 'harbinger'; 'enlisting public sympathy'; 'lost in admiration'; 'transport of sorrow'; 'there's no accounting for luck'; 'seven years straight on end'; 'put me off'; 'scandalous goings-on.' Here are two passages from the same page:—

'When she had said this, Minerva went away to Olympus, which they say is the everlasting home of the gods. Here no wind beats roughly, and neither rain nor snow can fall; but it abides in everlasting sunshine and in a great peacefulness of light, wherein the blessed gods are illumined for ever and ever. This was the place to which the goddess went when she had given instructions to the girl.'

'"Papa dear, could you manage to let me have a good big waggon? I want to take all our dirty clothes to the river and wash them. You are the chief man here, so it is only right that you should have a clean shirt when you attend meetings of the council."'

It may be disputable which of these extracts is the more faithful to the Homeric manner; but if one of them is faithful, the other is not. 'A great peacefulness of light' is fairly true to the manner, if not to the meaning, of λευκή δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη; but 'could you manage to let me have a good big waggon,' though fairly true to the meaning, is not true to the manner, of οὐκ ἂν δῆ μοι ἐφοπλίσειας ἀπήνην ὑψηλὴν εὐκκλον. No scholar is conscious of a bathos in the Greek; every man of taste must feel a bathos in the English.

We cannot, then, consider that the English reader would be well advised to form an opinion of Homeric style from this version, or that the former of Mr. Butler's objects is attained. As for the other object, this is not the place to discuss the theory of female authorship. In his preface Mr. Butler complains that European scholarship has greeted his astonishing discovery with indifference, or at least with silence. He has piped unto it in the Athenaeum, and even in the 'Johnian Eagle'; but it has not danced.

A single quotation will be enough to show upon what kind of evidence Mr. Butler relies. His note upon Book IV. 398 ff., (where the seals of Proteus are described), runs thus: 'The Greek is πικρόν (*sic*) ἀποπνέουσai ἁλός πολυβενθέος οδμήν (*sic*). Is it unfair to argue that the writer is a person of somewhat delicate sensibility, to whom a strong smell of fish is distasteful?'

If this is meant for argument, we are not surprised that no one has thought it worth while to dispute with Mr. Butler. We incline, however, to the view that the whole theory of female authorship is intended as a joke, a satire upon the sex. On the words, 'the ghosts came trooping up from Erebus—brides, young bachelors,' &c., this note is added: 'Brides presented themselves instinctively to the imagination of the writer, as the phase of humanity (*sic*) which she found most interesting. We imagine that the ingenious expression, 'live with him in open matrimony,' used by Calypso on p. 65, exhibits the delicate modesty of Nausicaa.

F. M. CORNFORD.

### KING'S MEIDIAS OF DEMOSTHENES.

*Demosthenes' Speech against Meidias.* With Introduction and Notes by J. R. KING. Clarendon Press. Pp. i-xv; text; 1-119. Price 3s. 6d.

MR. KING has furnished us with an adequate and very serviceable edition of Demosthenes' speech. The text is that of Professor Butcher, and it 'is more conservative than the recent text of Blass . . . especially in rejecting emendations which rest solely upon theories respecting laws of rhythm or euphony in Demosthenes, or upon quotations in late Greek writers. The apparatus criticus sub-

joined to the notes (? text) is also the work of Professor Butcher.' But Mr. King's own notes are well chosen and lucid; they clear up all the ordinary, and many of the extraordinary, difficulties about Demosthenes' meaning and allusions; and Mr. King also gives a full, though rather free, analysis of the speech.

It is not in his power to make the speech, with all its bitterness, more than vague and pale to a modern reader. Its ineffectiveness in our eyes springs from two chief causes—we are not quite sure how the case ended, and the orator does not give any vivid picture

of the assault upon which proceedings are taken. Perhaps he gave such a description at the *προβολή*, but at any rate it is not to be found here. This lack indeed illustrates one of the differences of usage or procedure which exist between ancient and modern courts of justice, and on such points Mr. King's notes are instructive. He points out, for instance, the irrelevancy of the issues raised in § 21. But it might be possible to give a clearer idea of the two parties to the quarrel than he actually sets before us. Which was really aggrieved? Or were both wrong? Was Meidias perhaps (although he does seem to have fallen off his horse in the agora) a reforming cavalry officer (see § 173), who incurred unpopularity by criticising his men (§§ 132, 197)?

Apropos of these latter sections, there is a point to discuss with Mr. King. His note on § 197 says that Meidias 'denounced the expedition to Olynthus as *ὄνειδος τῇ πόλει*.' At any rate it was not the expedition to Olynthus that Meidias was talking about, but that to Argura (§ 132); the mention of Olynthus merely marks the moment chosen for the denunciation. But was it the expedition, or was it the *men*, that Meidias denounced? The Greek of §§ 132, 197, seems to show it was the individual men, and so Mr. King implies on his pp. 8, 11.

The only other thing which we look for in vain in this edition is some application of the technical terms of ancient rhetoric. The reader might with advantage be shown how theoretical rules were carried out or illustrated in practice.

We can perhaps most usefully fill the rest of our space by indicating small points which have escaped revision. (1) § 40 n. *ἀν βιάζηται*, 'if he have recourse to violence in the course of his argument.' Was Meidias likely to fight in court? (2) I do not understand how 'Demosthenes' comes into the n. on § 56; he is not being spoken of in the text. (3) § 105 n. Did Demosthenes ever think he was in danger of being nailed to a plank? Mr. King can hardly find any but a barbarian parallel for such a punishment. (4) § 142 n. 'because of his former impunity.' But *διὰ ταῦτα* has the same reference as *ταῦτα λέγειν* just above, and means 'because of these pleas or arguments,' 'for using such an argument.' (5) § 177 n. Could jurors at Athens be said to 'hold perpetual session'? (6) § 185 n. *ἀν ὑμῖν ἐπίη*, 'if it be granted you': and § 192 n. *εἰ ἐπῆει αὐτῷ*, 'if he had got so far as—' Why not simply 'if it occurs' to you or to him? (7) § 205 n. The prosperity of Eubulus, not of Meidias, seems to be alluded to. (8) § 227 n. *περὶ οὗ*, 'in whose case.' This leaves *τὴν ἐορτήν* without government. For the true order of words see § 199, and compare §§ 9, 175, 178, 180.

I note a misprint (*προεισφύρας*) on p. 79 of the commentary; and there is some laxity of expression on pp. 43 ('to whom' for 'to which place'), 53 end ('judge' for 'arbitrator'), 68 ('his inquirers'; this I do not know how to correct), 79 ('they will' for 'you will'), 95 ('yourself' for 'yourselves'), and 106 ('your good conduct' for 'their good conduct').

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

## MEYER'S FORSCHUNGEN, VOL. II.

*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte.* Von EDUARD MEYER. Zweiter Band. Zur Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Halle, 1899. M. 15.

THIS is a book which will be welcomed by all who are interested in Greek History. So far as the history of the fifth century B.C. is concerned, no more important work has appeared in the last ten or fifteen years, with the possible exception of Busolt's third volume. It is largely concerned with a criticism of the results arrived at by Busolt and by Wilamowitz in his *Aristoteles und Athen*; and, unless I am much mistaken, most readers will find themselves more often than not in agreement with Meyer upon the

questions in dispute between him and the other two writers. The *Forschungen* are entirely free from the irritating dogmatism which disfigures *Aristoteles und Athen*; one may or may not accept the particular view put forward, but at any rate one knows what is the evidence for it. We all owe so much to Busolt that it may seem ungracious to find fault with him; still, I cannot but think that the third volume suffers a good deal from the author's change of opinion upon so many points of importance, especially as he appears in not a few cases to have abandoned his former view somewhat hastily. Not least among the merits of Meyer's volume to an English reader is the sound common sense which as a rule characterises his

reasoning. Nothing could be better than the criticism, *e.g.*, of Schwartz's article upon Tyrtaeus, in a recent number of *Hermes*—an article which may not unfairly be classed with Trautwein's *Memoiren des Dikaïos*, which appeared in the same periodical some few years ago—or of the views of Steup and Kirchhoff as to the composition of Thucydides' history.

I am inclined to think that the two chapters which are of most permanent value, though, at first sight, they may possibly appear the least attractive, are those which deal with the population of Attica and with the chronology of this period. It is worthy of note that the results arrived at in regard to such questions as the sum total of the population of Attica, the number of hoplites, and the annual production and consumption of corn, differ appreciably from Beloch's. Meyer may fairly claim, I think, that the solution of the problem involved in the 16,000 hoplites ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων (Thucydides, ii. 13), which is here suggested, is decidedly more plausible than any of the rival hypotheses. His views upon all these subjects deserve, at any rate, careful consideration; but the real merit of this chapter, as of any discussion of questions where the data are uncertain and inadequate, lies not so much in the author's results as in his discussion of the evidence. In the chronological chapter we have a singularly lucid treatment of a difficult subject. It is, perhaps, not too much to hope that the results of this investigation, especially in regard to the reigns of the Persian and Spartan kings, may be regarded as final in not a few instances. The contrast between Meyer's examination of the difficulties which are connected with the date of Leotychides' deposition and Busolt's treatment of the same subject is striking. The latter writer's defence of the date 476 B.C. is one of the weakest pieces of reasoning in the whole work, and it is difficult to believe that he will not retract his opinion in a second edition and admit that this date, and along with it the credibility of the narrative in Herodotus, must be abandoned.

Much the longest chapter—it occupies about a third of the volume—is the one which is devoted to Thucydides. Almost every question of any importance that has been raised in recent years with regard to the history and the historian of the Peloponnesian War is discussed. The causes of the war, the strategy of Pericles, the statesmanship of Cleon, the Revolution of the Four

Hundred, are among the subjects dealt with, in addition to the various questions which relate to the date and composition of Thucydides' work. In every case the verdict is given on the 'conservative' side. One is tempted to think that the author's conservative tendencies carry him occasionally too far. His treatment of the history of the Four Hundred seems fairly open to this criticism. Since the discovery of the Athenaiōn Politeia few writers have ventured, in view of the documentary evidence which it supplies, to maintain the substantial accuracy of the narrative in Book viii. of Thucydides. This is the task, however, which Meyer essays; indeed the utmost that he will concede is that Thucydides is in error in putting the number of the ξγγραφεῖς at 10 instead of 30. It must be admitted that Meyer's case is presented with remarkable force and originality, and that it is admirably illustrated from other periods of history. It is, at the least, a case which cannot be ignored in any future discussion of this question. It is, however, significant that he regards Thucydides' omission to connect the 10 πρόβουλοι of 413 B.C. with the ξγγραφεῖς of 411 as a point 'von sehr untergeordneter Bedeutung für die historische Entwicklung.' Surely, it is precisely 'für die historische Entwicklung' that the inclusion of the πρόβουλοι in the ξγγραφεῖς is all-important; as important as the admission of Lysias, in the parallel case of the Thirty, that their appointment was favoured by the βουλῇ. In other words, the real point at issue is the existence of a 'moderate' party among the conspirators. It seems an inevitable inference from Thucydides' account that we are dealing with a sudden revolution, accomplished solely by violent means; and it is an account which seems to leave no room for the influence of a third party. It seems an equally inevitable inference from the facts recorded by the Politeia, and from the documents quoted in it, that the starting point of the movement was the appointment of the πρόβουλοι in 413, *i.e.* that a gradual reaction was already in progress, and that the movement, up to a certain point, had the support of the majority of the class from which the Five Thousand were to be drawn. It is evident, even from Thucydides, that the constitution established after the fall of the Four Hundred was acceptable to the better class of citizens; yet the two essential provisions of this constitution, *viz.* μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι μισθοφόρον, and the limitation of the franchise to the Five



Thousand ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν, correspond exactly to the proposals of the 30 ἐγγραφεῖς. If these proposals were generally approved of after the fall of the Four Hundred, it is difficult to understand why they could not have been carried a few months earlier by methods less unconstitutional than a free use of the stiletto. From the institution of the πρόβουλοι to the provisions of the constitution εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον we seem to trace a process of development, at once gradual and logical.

The examination of Cimon's biography, with which the volume opens, is perhaps stronger on the critical than on the historical side. The vindication, *e.g.*, of the genuineness of the epigrams on the siege of Eion and on the engagements by sea and land in Cyprus in 449 B.C. is excellently well done. On the other hand, the reasoning by which the dates for Cimon's ostracism and for his return are arrived at appears to me to be inconclusive, and it is somewhat of a surprise to find that the old view of the early importance of Pericles in Athenian public life is still

maintained in spite of the evidence which seems to prove that such a view is unhistorical. Still more surprising is the legerdemain by aid of which Callisthenes is transformed into a witness for the authenticity of the Peace of Callias. Few, I imagine, will be found to follow Meyer in his view that a circumstantial narrative of the battle of the Eurymedon could have been in place in an introduction to this writer's Hellenica. If, as is assumed, the Hellenica started from the Peace of Antalcidas, and the Peace of Callias was introduced solely by way of contrast, it seems hardly probable that there should have been anything more than the merest reference to the Eurymedon.

One may from time to time agree with, or differ from, the author's results; but no one, I think, can have studied the 'Forschungen' without being conscious of a debt of gratitude to the writer for his fresh, vigorous, and lucid discussion of some of the most difficult problems in the history of the fifth century B.C.

E. M. WALKER.

### HIRTZEL'S TEXT OF VERGIL.

*P. Vergili Maronis Opera.* Recognovit brevique annotatione critica instruxit F. A. HIRTZEL. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d.

THIS book is beautifully and clearly printed; it is indeed in appearance a dainty volume, which is no slight recommendation in a text of Vergil. For a poet's fancies gain fresh attractiveness when they come clothed in external beauty of form. Nor does the editing lag behind the typography. Mr. Hirtzel has executed his part with taste and judgment; the compression evident in the brief textual footnotes must have cost considerable pains: they contain little that is superfluous, and little, that should be there, is omitted. The edition lays no claim to originality: the matter has been compiled chiefly from Ribbeck; the few readings of Bodleian MSS. contributed by Mr. Madan are of slight importance. The spelling has been reduced to the uniform system of Brambach, a sensible proceeding of which no one can complain. Emendations are quoted sparingly; those of Bentley are given from a fresh examination of his autograph notes in the British Museum.

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Of the manuscripts Mr. Hirtzel regards MPR as the chief. Their agreement is conclusive. Where they differ, R is reckoned as least important, on account of its grave inaccuracy of writing. Of the two other manuscripts P is in Mr. Hirtzel's opinion slightly superior to M, and is consequently the best MS. of Vergil. The Gudianus in some cases helps towards determining the truth. This is briefly the principle which has guided Mr. Hirtzel in editing the text.

It will be apparent that, though the book claims no originality, there is an innovation involved in this estimate of the MSS. For the Medicean (M) has long been regarded among experts as the best manuscript of Vergil, and has been taken as the basis for the two best existing texts, the late Professor Nettleship's in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* and Deuticke's Aeneid. Thus in preferring the Palatine (P) to the Medicean (M) Mr. Hirtzel takes up a new position, the wisdom of which seems to be hardly warranted by the results presented. However the questions involved are often small, and the utility of this text is not seriously impaired on that account, especially as the

footnotes give the contradictory divergences. But the main contention that P is superior to M cannot be regarded as established.

Thus in many passages Mr. Hirtzel, heedless of his principle, does not follow P: e.g. Ec. iv. 62 *qui non risere parentes* is adopted from Quintilian for *cui*—*parentes* MSS. But surely this is an hallucination of Quintilian's: and *qui* is a mere false spelling for *cui*, see Brambach, *Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie*, p. 228 and Ellis on Catull. 1, 1. Ec. viii. 87 *procumbit* M] *concumbit* P, a reading indicative of suggestive interpolation. Ec. ix. 9 *ueteres—fagos* M] *ueteris fagi* P. *ibid.* 30 *Cyrneas* M] *Grynaeus* P. Ec. x. 23 *castra* M] *saxa* P. *Geor.* i. 260 *post* M] *nox* P. *Geor.* ii. 247 *tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaror*] *amaro* P. *Geor.* iii. 194 *tum uocet* M] *prouocet* P. *Aen.* ii. 56 *Troiaque nunc staret* M] *stares* P. *Aen.* ix. 634 *traicit* M] *transigit* P. *Aen.* xi. 708 *fraudem* M] *laudem* P.

On the other hand the reading of M is often abandoned in favour of P, with apparent disadvantage to the text: e.g. Ec. vii. 25 *crescentem poetam*] *nascentem* M, Nettleship. Ec. viii. 11 *tibi desinam: accipe iussis*] *desinet* M, Nettleship; rightly no doubt, since the hiatus involved in *desinam* seems to be impossible in Vergil. See Lindsay's *Captivi*, pp. 47–48. Rönström, *Metri Vergiliani Recensio*, p. 51. *Geor.* ii. 187 *dispicere*] *despicere* MP, and *Aen.* i. 224 *dispiciens*] *despiciens* MSS. In accepting the form *dispicere* Mr. Hirtzel has been guided by the arbitrary distinction drawn between *dispicere* and *despicere* by Lachmann, *Lucr.* iv. 418. But Lachmann's position is sufficiently refuted by Nonius, p. 288. '*Despicere*' *desuper as-*

*picere*. *Vergilius Georg. II. qualem saepe caui montis conuallae uidentur Despicere*. *Geor.* ii. 330 *Zephyrique trementibus auris*] *tepentibus* M, and editors generally. Mr. Hirtzel has yielded to the fallacy of a parallel(?) passage *Hor. Carm. I. 23, 5. Geor. iii. 305 haec—tuendae*] *haec* MFR, and editors generally. The archaic *haec* should have been retained. It is doubtless from the poet, and is intended to give an archaic tinge to his didactic precepts. *Aen.* vii. 543 *caeli conuexa*] *conuersa* M (there is a misprint in the note). Here *conuexa* is printed, but obelised as corrupt. But why should not *conuersa* be right? *caelo conuersa* Schaper-Deuticke, based upon it, is at least possible, while *conuexa* has no doubt been intruded through a reminiscence of iv. 451 *taedet caeli conuexa tueri*. *Aen.* viii. 559 *inexpletus lacrimans*] *lacrimis* M, Nettleship, probably rightly. *Aen.* xi. 671 *suffuso*] *suffosso* M, rightly accepted by Nettleship. It is not unnatural that Liris should, in the excitement of the moment, attempt to raise his horse which has been stabbed: but that Vergil wished us to understand that this warrior entrusted his life in battle to a horse suffering from a swelling in its feet I decline to believe.

I make these remarks with diffidence, for all textual editing, especially that of Vergil, is a matter of great difficulty, involving taste, labour, and learning alike: and opinions must necessarily vary as to particular points. Mr. Hirtzel's edition is a thoughtful and independent text. His conclusions will command respect, even when they do not win assent, for his work has been performed with skill and conscientiousness.

S. G. OWEN.

#### KLOTZ' *SILVAE* OF STATIUS.

*P. Papini Stati Silvae*. Krohnii copiis usus edidit ALFREDUS KLOTZ. Pp. xcii, 204, with facsimile of first page of Madrid MS. (Leipsic, Teubner, 1900.) M. 2.

WE were fully prepared to find a very considerable difference between the new Teubner text of the *Silvae* and the old; it was known that accurate collations of the Madrid MS. had brought about a revolution in our estimate of the relative importance of the manuscript authority, not to speak of the critical and explanatory labour lately bestowed on Statius by Vollmer and others.

But it was reserved for Klotz to establish finally the position of that manuscript; we know now not only that all our other *codices* (except the Laurentian) are derived from it, but also with fair certainty that it is the very copy which was made by the direction of Poggio from the manuscript which he discovered in Switzerland. It seems also that the first corrections (M<sup>2</sup>) are from Poggio's own hand, but *not* made by collation with the archetype: on this point we are promised more from the pen of Krohn. Further Klotz proves that the '*codex Poggianus*' of Poliziano was not the

Matritensis but a good copy from it. How greatly is the *res critica* simplified since the time of Baehrens! The reading of M is our one guide to tradition and all else is mere conjecture.

All this is discussed at considerable length in the preface, with ingenuity and sobriety of judgment. In this part of the work we are left in great measure to guess how far Krohn's views have been handed over with his collections to Klotz, when the former finally decided that he had not leisure to complete this edition. Klotz expresses ungrudging gratitude in general terms, but tacitly accepts full responsibility for the views put forward as well as for the actual text, in which we may see that he freely—and justly—rejects some of Krohn's proposals.

Vollmer's text was so good that we could not reasonably expect any very startling improvement upon it for the present, but, on the whole I think that of Klotz decidedly better, his judgment and linguistic instinct being superior—e.g. in i. 1, 37 where he rejects *pugnes* which Vollmer defends. Having made it clear, then, that I have nothing but praise for the manner in which Klotz has discharged his task, I may pass to the consideration of a few passages in which I cannot accept his conclusions.

In i. 4, 49 Krohn's reading *fidit amore* is printed in preference to M's *amori*. But are we really sure of the conditions which determine the use of dative or ablative after *fido* and *confido*? I cannot think so. My own belief is that the dative properly expressed the object of the feeling of trust (hence naturally regular in the case of persons) and the ablative the grounds of confidence: it is easy to see how easily the two might be interchanged, and in fact the dative is found of impersonal nouns often enough, at any rate in MSS.: call it quasi-personified if you will. In line 63 *tendatis*

*iam fila* is retained, printed in parenthesis and presumably to be interpreted with Vollmer. In this I cannot believe: the apostrophe to the *coli* is introduced very harshly and there is nothing to suggest that we should understand the injunction in a taunting tone. The passage compared (v. 1, 156) serves rather to support Markland's *tendentes*.

Even without any extravagant admiration for Statius, it is difficult to believe that he wrote ii. 6, 48 as it appears in M. *Pudor notae* is perhaps Latin, though in this context it looks as if it should mean 'shame resulting from a disgrace' rather than 'sense of honour keen to avoid disgrace,' but *pudor* alone is what we want here. *Nouae* (Skutsch) is palaeographically the best conjecture, though the same critic's *mentis* is needless. Of Saftien's *par esse* for *potasse* in line 50 the best that can be said is that it is possible. I hope to hear of some more convincing suggestion, but for the present I would prefer Markland's *nota esse queant*, or Buecheler's *quoue notasse*. In iii. 2, 30 Klotz reads *sint quibus explorent primas grauis artemo barcas*. For my own part I still fancy that Saumaise rightly divined the general meaning of the line when he read *molybdis*; but assuming that we are to accept Ruitgers' *artemo*, surely *primas* cannot be right. Vollmer apparently makes it mean 'round the prow of the ship,' in contrast with the *secutura phaselos*: I am not afraid to deny that this is possible. *Plenos* (Schwartz) is certainly better. In line 52 our editor gives *monet for mouet*, unnecessarily. I supposed that Macnaghten (*di uia*) and Barth (*di uiam*) had finally disposed in iv. 3, 59 of Voss' *cliuiae*, to which however both Vollmer and Klotz return. There is absolutely no evidence to show that *cliuia* could be used as a substantive.

GILBERT DAVIES.

#### AUDOUIN'S DECLENSION IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

*De la Déclinaison dans les Langues indo-européennes et particulièrement en Sanscrit, Grec, Latin et vieux Slave.* Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, par ÉDOUARD AUDOUIN. Paris: Librairie, C. Klincksieck. 1898. 8 fr.

THE title of this work expresses quite clearly

and accurately what is contained in its 492 pages. It is a Thesis for a degree and it is occupied with a subject on which perhaps at present there is not much new to be said. But what M. Audouin has to say he says with admirable lucidity. He has read widely, but he does not overpower the reader with his learning as manifested in references. Yet



it is rarely that one misses reference to important theories on points under discussion.

His method of treatment has the merit of novelty, though it may justly be charged at the same time with defect in its lack of conciseness. He takes up each number separately and each case separately in the original Indo-Germanic language and afterwards in each of the four individual languages to which he has limited his treatment. The book thus falls into five parts, the first of which is a general introduction necessary to each of the four succeeding parts. These, as each deals with a different language, form four separate and distinct treatises. This is the defective side of M. Audouin's treatment. The feature of his treatment which is both novel and meritorious is that in each of the parts enumerated he discusses carefully and at length the relations between each case and every other by which there is reason to believe it has been influenced in formation or syntax. Thus in Greek, after a discussion of the different themes and their forms in the nominative, he proceeds to discuss the relations between the nominative and the vocative in connexion with forms like *ἱππότα*, *νεφεληγερέτα*, etc. This is followed by a discussion of the syntactical relations between nominative and vocative. The next chapter deals with the nominative-accusative, i.e. the forms which are the same for both cases—not merely neuters but also accusatives like the Doric *τυ* and, in the plural, forms like *πόλεις*, *τρεῖς*, etc., followed again by the very scanty syntactical relations between them. The next chapter is headed *Nominatif-Genitif (Ablatif)*, but would share the fate of the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland were it not for the exiguous syntactical relation shown in the alternative construction of *οἱμοὶ τολαίνης* and *οἱμοὶ τάλαινα*.

Next follow (4) *Nominatif-Locatif*, (5) *Vocatif-Locatif*, a heading hardly justified by the appearance of infinitives in *-μεν* or adverbs like *αἰές* but more so by the resemblance of form between *ἦχοι* vocative and *ἦχοι* locative dative. The next heading *Accusatif-Genitif* has of course under it a very considerable variety of syntactical constructions; the origins of these constructions are discussed in Part I, to which a cross

reference should have been given. In the individual languages examples are taken from the literature—in Slavonic apparently, as a rule, not at first hand but from Miklosich's excellent quarry. In the first Part, as no Indo-Germanic exists, M. Audouin must of necessity invent his examples. Under the relations of the accusative and genitive we find such sentences as '*\*memnātai logons ou logōm*' "il se rappelle les paroles, il se souvient des paroles," or '*\*wirons ou wirōm regeti*' "il gouverne les hommes." These seem to show, if we may trust M. Audouin, that moderns with a fair knowledge of Greek and Latin would have had little difficulty in understanding this remote ancestor, whose language indeed, as represented in the second sentence, seems not much further removed from classical Latin than, say, the *supplicat* for a medical degree in Cambridge University; whereat many who often complain of the difficulty of such hypothetical restorations ought to be not a little comforted. Neither the chapter in Part I. entitled *Accusatif-Locatif* nor the corresponding chapters on the separate languages are quite definite in explaining why the original acc. pl. of *ā*-stems is supposed to be in *-ās*, nor again in giving us the authority for a Latin instrumental plural in *-ās*, the evidence for which, being so lamentably scanty, ought to be set before the reader.

The examples of the method which have been cited will convey a fair idea of the whole, so that it is not necessary to pursue the subject in further detail. For a treatise intended for educational purposes the method would be extremely wasteful. But it has the merit of bringing together identities of formation and of syntax which in other methods are often lost sight of.

M. Audouin's treatment is throughout sensible. He is more inclined to quote different authorities on disputed points than to strike out a line for himself. Except in arrangement he is neither original nor, what is sometimes incorrectly identified with originality, dogmatic. But of its kind the work is thoroughly good and trustworthy and will be useful to any one who may wish to see old facts in a new setting.

P. GILES.

## BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Odyssey*, Book xi. By J. A. NAIRN. Pitt Press Series. 2s.

MR. NAIRN may be congratulated on the production of an excellent school-book, admirably adapted to its purpose. The Introduction contains an instructive essay on the Homeric Underworld, and a brief, but adequate, account of Epic forms; and there are five Appendices dealing with syntax and other matters. The notes are full and accurate, and nothing of importance seems to have been neglected. I notice a few passages where I should take a different view from that adopted here by Mr. Nairn.—17. Monro's change of *ὁπότεν* to *ὁπότε* is based on his view that *κε* and *ἄν* have no place in general statements; but, as I have endeavoured to show in a school edition of the *Iliad*, this view is not borne out by the evidence. And if *ἄν* is to be effaced here, why not in the next line also? The instinct which has prevented it is a sound one; it is felt that the doctrine, if consistently applied, would carry us too far. It is difficult to make Monro's view of *κε* square with numerous passages where he does not propose to reject the particle, so that we can hardly be justified in altering the text in passages like the present.—24. *ἔσχον*, 'took hold of.'—45. *δῆ*, 'now.' The word is very rarely anything but a temporal adverb in Homer.—53. *κατελείπομεν*. The impf. is natural because the action of leaving is a continuous one: so 68, 86, 174.—76. *καὶ ἐσοσμένοισι πῦθέσθαι*. Surely there is no 'attraction' of the dat. The barrow is to be made 'for those who shall come after, so that they may learn about me.' Cf. 156.—375. The note is right, but a wrong view of the passage is taken in the Appendix, p. 80.—443. *κεκρυμμένον εἶναι* is not an instance of a passive inf. for imperative; the participle is to be separated from *εἶναι*.—584. *στέυτο δὲ δυνάων, πείνυ δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἐλέσθαι*. There is no probability in the meaning, 'reached out,' given to *στέυτο*. Here, as always, the verb means to 'declare.' Transl. 'And though he deemed (declared to himself; cf. the common use of *φημί*, act. and mid.), thirsting, that he would [drink], yet was he not able,' etc.—608. There is no notion of 'timidity' inherent in *παπταίνω*, as the exx. show; the word seems to denote a sharp, quick glance.—634f. These two lines must be spurious, since there are no traces of the Gorgon in Greek art before the

seventh century. Leaf rejects the *Iliad* passages where reference is made to the Gorgon. In several places in the notes Mr. Nairn repeats the doctrine that *κε* 'particularises,' even in subordinate sentences, though in Appendix C he has gratified me by adopting the essential points of my own exposition of its uses. The two views are, I fear, irreconcilable.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

*Euripides, Alcestis*. Edited by E. H. BLAKENEY, M. A. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1900. Pp. viii, 180. xxxvii. 2s.

To edit the *Alcestis* again seems almost like slaying the slain, yet we think that Mr. Blakeney has produced a school edition which will make its way in spite of its elders in the field. To begin with, the book is well illustrated. Besides smaller cuts, there is a reproduction from a photograph of the Theatre of Dionysus, and of the bust of Euripides. The frontispiece is Leighton's Hercules wrestling with death for the body of Alcestis, but it is on too small a scale to represent the picture satisfactorily. In a general introduction Mr. Marchant gives a slight sketch of the origin of the drama and of the way in which a play was produced. The introduction to the play is sufficient and full use seems to have been made of all recent literature. The Notes are ample and give the kind of information required in a book of this sort—abundant grammatical exegesis. There are no changes of importance in the text. In 501, the editor convinced by Earle's paper in the *Classical Review*, vol. xii, returns to the MSS. reading. There is no doubt that Wakefield's *πᾶσιν* gives great point to the passage, but it is hardly necessary as *παισιν* gives a very fair sense. Indeed of *πᾶσιν* we may say what was said of Bentley's *nitedula*—that it is what the poet ought to have written. No new light is thrown on the well-known crux *μηνός* of 321. The knot is cut by reading with Kvičala *μὴν ἐσέρχεται*. With most late editors, Mr. Blakeney reads *κατατομῶν* in 1118. The volume closes with full indices and a vocabulary which seems satisfactory. This little edition may be heartily commended.

H. ELLERSHAW.

*Selections from Plato.* By LEWIS LEAMING FORMAN. Ph.D., Instructor in Greek in Cornell University. Macmillan, 1900. Fcap. 8vo. Pp. lx+510.

THESE selections cover, to a great extent, the same ground as Mr. Purves's volume published in 1883; but are intended for a somewhat different class of readers. Dr. Forman states in his preface that his book is not meant to be an introduction to the Platonic philosophy, but to Plato's language and the personality of Socrates as presented to us by Plato. 'These two considerations have controlled both the selection of the passages and the writing of the notes. All else has been rigorously excluded.' Dr. Forman is writing for 'the ordinary Freshman,' than whom (would that his coeval on this side the Atlantic were as wise) 'nobody knows better how little he knows.' The book is therefore intended as an aid to comparative beginners, and to these it is their own fault if it is not exceedingly useful.

In pursuance of his plan of introducing the young student to the Platonic Socrates, Dr. Forman prefixes to his selections a lively and interesting, though (perhaps designedly) rather superficial sketch of the life, character, and manners, of the historic Socrates, including also an outline of presocratic philosophy, in which he holds that a better clue can be found to the discovery of the actual Socrates than from contemporary literature; for he does not rate the accuracy of Xenophon's portrait so highly as some do. Dr. Forman's treatment of this well-worn subject is fresh and ἐγερτικὸν νοήσεως.

The commentary is excellent for its purpose. The notes are plentiful, brief, sensible, and scholarly. They deal almost exclusively with points of grammar, and lay special stress on the precise interpretation of particles and other little words, the importance of which is not always fully recognised by the young student; who, if he laid to heart all that Dr. Forman has to tell him, would come off with no contemptible grounding in the Greek language. The editor has a certain way of his own with his explanations, which is pleasant; e.g. on καὶ δύναισθε (p. 382) he observes 'καὶ precedes a word to be stressed, as γέ follows it. Cf. the arrowhead (Λ) over notes in music.' And it was a good thought to illustrate the resemblance between Socrates and the νάρκη (p. 378) with a cut of the snub-nosed fish. Dr. Forman seldom meddles with

matters of literary style: but that he can treat them effectively when he chooses is shown by his note on the Interpreter's address in *Republic*, x (p. 400).

A bad misprint (ἀνα-κοινοῦθία) has escaped notice on p. 281.

If the great classical writers are to be read in selections (a practice to which this reviewer must confess an ineradicable aversion), Dr. Forman's volume ought to be widely used: he knows what he wants to do and does it well.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

*M. Tullio Cicerone: I tre libri De Oratore* testo riveduto ed annotato da ANTONIO CIMA. Libro Primo: seconda edizione interamente rifusa. Torino: Ermanno Loescher. 8vo. Pp. xxiv., 168. L. 2. 50.

THE excellent little edition of Cicero de Oratore I. by Professor Cima was briefly noticed in the first volume of this *Review*. Since that date the editor has completed the work; and he has now published a second edition of Book I. 'entirely recast.' The claim implied in these words is justified. The bulk of the book is not greatly increased, and the price is only slightly raised. But the commentary is rewritten, not merely revised. Professor Cima seems to have kept well abreast of all that has been done, in England as well as in Germany and in his own country, for the *De Oratore*, though it may be noticed that he has used the Clarendon Press edition of 1888, not that of 1895; and he has worked in whatever he could find of value for his commentary, making room by freely excising whatever could be spared. The critical appendix is greatly enlarged; and one or two points in it call for notice. In § 251 he returns to *Nomionem*, the commonly accepted correction of the corrupt *Munionem* of the MSS., abandoning Schömann's *Nomion*, on the ground that in de Nat. Deor. iii. 57 all MSS. read *Nomionem*, where the editors read *Nomium*. He takes it that 'Paeanem' and 'Nomionem' do not denote the song in honour of the god, but are both surnames, which are repeated in vocal exercises, like 'Bacchus' in Hor. Sat. i. 3, 6. This is possible and well worth consideration. This can hardly be said of his attempt to heal the mischief in § 254: 'solet idem Roscius dicere se, quo plus sibi aetatis accederet, eo tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus remissiores esse facturum.' It is unquestionably hard to assume that 'solet



dicere' can have the sequence of 'dicebat': and Madvig's tempting conjecture 'aceleret' does not bear examination. Professor Cima boldly accepts the reading of one second-rate MS. (Lag. 20) 'accedere,' defending it as the infinitive of a comparative clause in reported speech. But though cases may be quoted of an attracted infinitive after *ut* (Kühner Ausf. Gr. ii. 1037), Madvig's rule seems to hold good for relatives, that the infinitive can only be used when it can be replaced by a demonstrative with *et*; and this with *quo-ec* is obviously impossible. Hence Dr. Sorof is quite right in suspending his assent. In § 215 the reading '*aliam quoque scientiam*' deserves attention; in § 219 the substitution of *Graeciae* for *quoque* is not attractive. In § 187 Professor Cima adduces fresh support for the conjecture of Vassis to substitute 'vagabantur' for 'videbantur.'

A. S. W.

*Sosii fratres Bibliopolae*, carmen praemio aureo ornatum in certamine poetico Hoeufftiano. Accedunt septem carmina laudata. Amstelodami apud Io. Mullerum.  
CLODCCCC.

THE Hoeufftian net was spread for nightingales and has caught swallows. Of these eight poems two only, the first and the second, are worth the pretty paper on which they are printed.

The prizewinner, who bears the name of the professor of Latin literature at Messina, has chosen an attractive theme and writes good Latin. The scene of his poem is laid at the door of the Sosii's shop. While the Georgics are being dictated to scribes within, enter one after another Pompeius Varus, Orbilius, Cato the defender of Lucilius, and Horace, who carry on highly allusive con-

versation. The movement is rather stiff, and the rhythm gives us roughness instead of the careless ease of Horace's hexameters; but on the whole the poem is successful. The worst lapse is near the end: 'Grant, ye gods, that men may desire to glut the earth with manure, not with blood.'

Next comes 'Sancti Nicolai Feriae, carmen Jacobi Joannis Hartman Leidensis' (the professor of Latin at Leyden, no doubt), which was rewarded with high praise. Here again the Latin is good, and the story is well told, though it is too commonplace for the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man.

Next follows 'Carmen Ludovici Graziani Lucensis.' This poet is a Lucan by residence but not in spirit, for he refuses to sing the horrid wars that are blazing on Libyan plains (plains!), where the most disgusting rage for inexhaustible gain fights against the champions of right and freedom; he refuses to sing several other matters; and chooses for the subject of his five or six hundred hexameters the bicycle. He combines some ingenuity of expression with conspicuous vulgarity of thought. Moreover he writes *quo* dative, *incus* masculine, *resonat* in the meaning 'fills with sound,' *congaudet*, *quoque nunc* for 'even now,' *Mëtaurus*, *chilometricos*, *ac ut*; he elides *vim* but not the second syllable of *totum*; like most of the Italians who contribute to this volume he leaves vowels short before *st-sc-sp*; having read in his Horace 'te suis matres metuunt iuuenis' he prescribes bicycling for calves stricken with fever; and so on.

Let it suffice to give the titles of the rest. 'De Venatione Fulicarum,' a massacre of wild fowl; 'Pax' which describes the Peace Congress at the Hague; 'Acte,' which is a story of Nero; 'Extremum Votum'; 'In Hodiernum "Progressum"'

E. H.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

Παρ' ἱστορίαν ἢ παριστορία?

IN MARTIAL, *Liber Spect.* lxxi. 8, Mr. Housman (see pages 154-5, of the current volume of *The Classical Review*) has cleverly restored, I think, 'tantum' for 'tamen' and παρ for 'itap' (thus 'getting profit out of'

Mr. Buecheler's discovery); but rather than παρ' ἱστορίαν, a phrase of which the lexicons give no instance, I should be inclined to write (what is nearer to the tradition) παρ-ιστορία, a word which was used by Byzantine

authors in the sense of 'a false narrative,' and may (we can suppose) have been used by the Roman poet in the sense of 'a deviation from the story.' Possibly it may be objected that with 'est facta παριστορία' one would expect 'hac re,' not 'haec res'; but in an epigram perhaps more than ordinary

poetic licence is allowable. On the other hand possibly it may be objected that with *παρ' ιστορίαν* one would expect 'acta,' not 'facta'; and also that *παρ' ιστορίαν* has to do duty for *παρά τὴν ιστορίαν*.

SAMUEL ALLEN.

## VERSION.

I never drank of Aganippe well,  
Nor ever did in shade of Tempe sit,  
And Muses scorn with vulgar brains to  
dwell;  
Poor layman I, for sacred rites unfit.  
Some do I hear of poets' fury tell,  
But, God wot, wot not what they mean  
by it;  
And this I swear by blackest brook of hell,  
I am no pick-purse of another's wit.  
How falls it then, that with so smooth an  
ease  
My thoughts I speak; and what I speak  
doth flow  
In verse, and that my verse best wits doth  
please?  
Guess we the cause? What, is it this?  
Fie, no.  
Or so? Much less. How then? Sure, thus  
it is,—  
My lips are sweet, inspired with Stella's  
kiss.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

Οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐνδιάειν ἐνὶ Τέμπεσιν οὐδ' Ἀγανίπης  
πίνειν' οὐ Μοῦσαι τοῖσι τυχοῦσι φίλαι.  
εἴμ' ἀδαής, ἀμήνητος· ὅσοι δ' ἑμνοῦσι ποιητῶν  
τὴν μανίην, ἴστω Ζεὺς, τί λέγουσ' ἀπορῶ.  
οὐ μὴν τὰν Ἀχέροντος ἀνάλιον ὤμοσα λίμαν,  
οὐδὲ σοφῶν κλέπτῃς εἰμί τις ἀλλοτρίων.  
πῶς οὖν ῥήμαθ' ἐτοῖμα πάρεστί μοι, ὧδ' ἐνὶ  
μέτροις  
κείμεν', ἀτὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἄκρα σοφοῖς δόκιμα;  
ταῦτ' ἦλθεν διὰ τί ζητητέον' ἢ διὰ τοῦτο  
ἦλθε; πόθεν; δι' ἐκεῖν' οὖν γέγον'; ἀλλ'  
ἄποπον.  
πῶς ἄρα; νῦν ἔγνωκα' παρ' Ἀστερίης τὸ φίλημα  
κείνῳ λαβὼν οὔτω χεῖλέ' ἔχω γλυκερά.

W. H.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### COMMUNIQUE ON STRZYGOWSKI'S ORIENT ODER ROM.<sup>1</sup>

I AM glad to be allowed an opportunity of drawing the attention of the readers of the *Classical Review* to the contents of an important work by Prof. Strzygowski of Gratz University.

In a recent number of the journal Prof. P. Gardner described Wickhoff's theories of the origin and character of 'Roman art,' as set forth in his edition of the famous

illuminated Genesis at Vienna. These views, together with those of F. X. Kraus—the two leading authorities in Germany, it would generally be said, on late classic and early Christian art—are now taken by Prof. Strzygowski as a text from which to illustrate the results of his own studies in the same problems,—studies which have led him to opinions widely different from those of the above mentioned writers.

Wickhoff regards the post-classic art of the Levant as little more than a gift from Rome, where the local artistic spirit had reshaped the material drawn in a pre-Christian age from the East into a rational,

<sup>1</sup> *Orient oder Rom*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst. By JOSEPH STRZYGOWSKI. Leipzig, 1901.

distinctly 'Roman' art. What Rome had thus evolved and distributed was later on, in Alexandria, Antioch and Byzantium, reproduced in the earliest Christian monuments. According to Kraus, however, the process was the converse of this: it is in the East that the origins are to be sought, but to Rome is due the development of all that was destined subsequently to influence the artistic history of the West.

Prof. S. is known as the principal, as yet indeed the only prominent representative of a school which combats these theories. For him Roman influences are relatively unimportant in the progress of early Christian art. He turns for light to the East and sees there, on every side, facts which undermine the theories of the dominant school of historians. He displays in the present, to an even greater degree than in former works, that remarkable acquaintance with the materials illustrative of the problems involved which must give to his views an authority far beyond that of many of those occupied with these subjects, to whom not a few of the objects here described or even referred to are probably quite unfamiliar. In his introduction S. deals with Wickhoff's two main theses: that the 'continuous narrative' style of illustration and the 'illusionist' method of representation (*i.e.* the technique depending rather on contrasts of light and shade than on drawn forms) are Roman inventions, elsewhere practically unknown. The former S. finds, on the contrary, in full use even in ancient Egypt, and, far from its being characteristic of Italian MSS., he shows it to be primarily a peculiarity of Greek ones—the Vienna Genesis foremost among them. As to the 'illusionist' technique, he calls the well-known encaustic portraits from the Fayyûm to witness that this very method was familiar, even in obscure provincial towns in Egypt, to an extent which can hardly be explained as a mere importation from Rome and he further draws attention to similar early work known to have come from the Sinaitic monasteries.

The introduction is followed by five chapters in which with the aid of numerous photographs, a series of objects are described and discussed, in most cases for the first time. The whole is intended as a contribution to the questions: is Rome really the dominant power in art, either during the first three centuries or from the fourth century onwards? was it thence that both style and types were spread abroad, and can we pro-

perly talk of Roman imperial art, and Roman Christian art?

Ch. I deals with the frescoes of a newly explored catacomb at Palmyra, dating apparently from the second half of the third century. The author sees in the costumes of the portraits preserved as well as in the general plan of the tombs, a relation, on the one hand, to the catacombs of Alexandria, and, on the other, to the cruciform memorial churches of Byzantium. Further, the winged Nike, which here supports each portrait-medallion, is, he believes, the oriental prototype of the angel met with, in a similar attitude, in Roman mosaics, yet never in Roman catacombs. The costumes in these frescoes lead him to criticise the current views as to the 'Ashburnham Pentateuch.' Far from being Germanic, the whole style of illustration points, he maintains, to the East—perhaps to Syria, since the women's headdress much resembles that in the Palmyrene frescoes.<sup>1</sup>

Ch. II. The comparison between a sculptured sarcophagus from Constantinople (at Berlin) and others of similar material and decoration in Constantinople, Nicaea, &c., would seem to localize their peculiar style of workmanship on the coasts of the Bosphorus; and the fact that similar examples are to be found in Italy does but show, in S.'s opinion, that a local product of Asia Minor was exported westward to considerable distances. The characteristics of the group are all, he holds, marks of the transition from classical to Byzantine types, unaffected by Rome.

To this chapter is appended a note on a curious dish or saucer, at present in the British Museum, and recently reproduced in Mr. H. Wallis's *Typical Examples of Egyptian Ceramic Art*. This bears a drawing of Christ enthroned, imperial (?) medallions and the names of Constantine and Fausta. Though able himself to support the Egyptian *provenance* claimed for it by recalling a similarly draped figure of Christ known to have come thence, S. concludes that the piece is nevertheless an Italian forgery. Yet the only fact which he adduces is in reality no proof of this, though it may, indeed, affect the dating; for the spelling *Constantinus* was as common in Egypt as

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that, while the figure of Job in the earliest illustrated Coptic MS. (probably 6th-7th cent.—Ciasca, *Sacr. Bibl. Frag.*, tab. xix., Hyvernat, *Album V.*) wears the rich Byzantine costume of which recent explorations have recovered so many specimens, the headdress of his daughters bears a remarkable likeness to that of the women in the Ashburnham MS.



the more correct *Constantinus*, at any rate from about the sixth century.

Chapter III. describes an elaborate piece of wood-carving, found in Egypt and representing apparently the defence or siege of a fortress by troops bearing the *labarum*. The precise meaning of the scene is anything but clear; S. suggests the citadel of faith defended against barbarians. Certain analogies with royal sarcophagi of the age of Constantine lead him to assign the work to the fourth century. The author offers, in this connection, a certainly attractive interpretation of the much discussed ivory at Trèves by recalling Theophanes' account of the transport in 552 of certain relics which would seem to explain all the features of the scene thereon depicted.

Chapter IV. introduces us to an ancient but hitherto unnoticed branch of applied art. With the exception of a relatively poor specimen reproduced by Forrer, this is the first time that attention has been directed to the *painted* textiles of early Christian times. Fragments are here collected of several very remarkable draperies—probably church hangings—all brought from Upper Egypt, and so presumably made there, though this remains to be proved. They show semi-classical versions of biblical scenes, reproduced by a process of blocking out or chemically effacing the colour from certain parts of the picture, while allowing it to remain on others. The design is often—notably in the piece of which larger fragments are at South Kensington<sup>1</sup>—of considerable merit and the method by which it was transferred to the linen is of especial interest from being apparently that described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 35) as peculiar to Egypt.

A long appendix to this chapter deals with the various technical processes of early Christian painting and embroidery.

The object of the concluding chapter is to prove that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem not only contains remnants of the original structure of Constantine, but that these remnants still occupy their original positions, and that the descriptions of Eusebius and of subsequent pilgrims will bear this out. The features in question are the elaborate acanthus friezes on the façade of the south wall and on that of the chapel of N.D. des Douleurs. There is indeed no denying the close resemblance of the work

to much that can be ascribed to the fourth century, neither can it be denied that such work is, for the most part, to be found in the East, notably in Egypt, where the influence of Rome was always, in Prof. S.'s opinion, at its weakest. It seems strange that, of the countless visitors to Jerusalem who have given attention to its Christian architecture, not one—so the author declares—should show a suspicion as to the at any rate quite possible origin of such characteristic work, so incongruous now in that Gothic and Moslem neighbourhood.

W. E. CRUM.

#### *Numismatic Chronicle*, Part III., 1900.

W. Wroth. 'On the re-arrangement of Parthian coinage.' Pp. 181–202, with three plates.—C. W. C. Oman. 'Unpublished or rare coins of Smyrna in the Bodleian Cabinet.'—F. Haverfield. 'On a hoard of Roman coins found at Carhayes, Cornwall.' This hoard, discovered in 1869, consists of 'third brass' coins, Valerian to Probus.—H. A. Grueber. 'An unpublished silver coin of Verica.' Found near Challow in Berkshire. *Obv.* VERIO Head r. resembling Tiberius. *Rev.* C. F. (Commii filius). Type, a torque. Weight, 3·4 grains.

#### *Revue numismatique*, Part IV., 1900.

D. E. Tacchella. 'Acrosandre, roi des Gètes?'

New bronze coins inscribed ΒΑΣΙΑ ΑΚΡΟΣΑΝΔΡ. Tacchella conjectures, from their provenance, that they may have been struck by a king of the Getae (3rd to 1st cent. B.C.). But no king of this name is elsewhere mentioned, and the coins recall those of Odessus and other towns on the Euxine. It is possible, as I have suggested in publishing (*Num. Chron.* 1899, p. 90) other coins inscribed ΒΑΣΙΑ that βασιλεύς may be merely the title of a religious or civic functionary, such as is found in the inscriptions of Olbia, etc. Judging from the rather unsatisfactory reproductions, I should say that the coins were not earlier than the second century B.C.—A. Degrand. 'Monnaies inédites ou peu connues de la Moésie inférieure et de la Thrace.' Coins in the National Library of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). Some would seem to be the identical specimens described in Pick's *Corpus* (Nord-Griechenland), and it is a pity that references to it are not inserted.—R. Mowat. 'Héracles chez les Pygmées.' This subject (cf. Philostrate. *Imag.* II. 22) appears to be represented on a bronze coin of Domitian struck at Alexandria in Egypt.—S. Reinach. 'Le prix du blé dans l'édit de Dioclétien.' The value of the denarius in the Edict was estimated by Mommsen at 10 centimes and by Waddington at 6 centimes. These values are too high, and the denarius must be regarded as equivalent to 2½ centimes. Reinach refers to the Elatea fragment of the Edict, which appears to give this last-named valuation, and also to the fragments found in 1899 near Aegira in Achaia, from which we learn that the price of the modius castrensis of wheat was 100 denarii, and of the same measure of barley 60 denarii.—F. Cumont. 'Monnaie d'Aristobule.' A bronze coin, found on the site of Nicopolis in

<sup>1</sup> These represent (1) the Annunciation ?, (2) the Nativity, (3) an obscure central (?) scene, on a larger scale, (4) *a.* Moses on Sinai, *b.* the woman with the bloody issue and the raising of Lazarus.

Armenia, of Aristobulus, King of Chalcis. On one side is the name of Nero. Another coin of this ruler was published by Babelon in *Rev. Num.* 1883, p. 145.—Review by H. de La Tour of Blanchet's 'Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule,' 1900.

*Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna, 1901). Vol. xxvii. for 1900.

Bahrfeldt. 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur

Münzkunde der römischen Republik.' Pp. 1—116.—Voetter. 'Die Münzen des Kaiser Gallienus und seiner Familie.'—Markl. 'Das Provinzialcourant unter Claudius II.' Greek Imperial coins of Cyzicus, Prostanna, Sagalassus, Seleucia (Pisidia) and Selge.—Kubitschek. 'Ein Fund römischer Antoniniane aus Serbien.'—Reviews by Kubitschek of Wroth's *Galatia*, Macdonald's *Hunterian Collection* and Hill's *Lycaonia*.

WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

*Revue de Philologie*. Vol. 25, 1. Jan. 1901.

*Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Dylméén* (third art.), B. Haussoullier. Several inscriptions translated and explained. *Dum canis ferret carnem* (Phaedr. i. 4, 2), J. L. Maintains that there is no example in classical Latin of *dum* with imperf. subj. = 'while.' In the alleged exx. there is uncertainty either about the reading or the sense. After explaining *Verg. Aen. x. 800, i. 5* and *Georg. iv. 457*, the writer explains the sense in Phaedr. as *canis natans per flumen dum ferret* (=ut auferret) *carnem, vidit* etc. *Quelques corrections au texte de Théognis*, J. L. *Le manuscrit de Cambridge du livre iv. de Nonius*, W. M. Lindsay. Here is published a collation by the late J. H. Onions of this, which is one of the three MSS. of the fourth book of Nonius. O. has shown that the Nonius of Paris (P) is a copy of the Cambridge MS. *Conjectures sur le texte du de Fato d'Alexandre d'Aphrodisias*, G. Rodier.

*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*. Vol. 55, 4. 1900.

*Zu Ciceros Ligariana*, F. Schoell. Many false readings pointed out in the received text. *Zu den griechischen Vereinsinschriften*, E. Ziebarth. Collects here the inscr. that have been made known since the publication of the writer's *Griechische Vereinswesen* in 1896. *Coniectanea*, F. Vollmer. On *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa* and the Ovidian *Haliutica*. *Zur Quellenkritik des Thukydides*, H. Stein. I. The first Sicilian expedition. Thuc. has combined his personal knowledge and opinions of the political motives of Athens with his authorities only in a superficial manner. II. Hermokrates. His speech before the people at Gela is outside the history of the war and is in contradiction with certain dates. It seems to be derived from a biography of Hermokrates which appeared about the end of the war, and which Thuc. has also used in his three last books. Xenophon also used this source in the *Hellenica* and it was known to Plato who makes H. an interlocutor in the *Timaeus* and *Critias* (See *Tim. 20 A*). *Zu Avienus*, A. Breysig. On the old editions by Johann Cuspinian (Spießhammer) 1508, Johann Camers 1512, Antonius Modestus 1513 and Vadian 1515. Also some notes on Avienus. *Ueber Isokrates XIII.* 9–13 and X. 8–13, F. Sussehl. Interpretation of these passages. The Sophist-speech of Alcidas was published later than Plato's Phaedrus and the Sophist-speech of Isocrates. Alcidas, who was, like Isocrates, a pupil of Gorgias, was the attacking party. The composer of the *Praise of Helen*, attributed to Gorgias, was also a pupil of that sophist. *Zu W. Reichels vorhellenischen Götterkulten*, H. von Fritze. Both the assertions of Reichel (1) that the

Mycenean age knew no cult-images and (2) that there are none such in Homer, are contested on the grounds of antiquarian discoveries and of passages in Homer. In a note H. U. points out that a theory cannot be entirely rejected because of some faults in it, and that the cult of gods without images on the tops of mountains and in sacred groves reaches down into historical times. *Elegie und Komödie*, F. Leo. A reply to Rothstein's 'Nachträgliches zu Properz' which was itself a reply to Leo's review of Rothstein's commentary. *Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung des Laertius Diogenes*, E. Martini. A defence against Gercke. *Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung Herons von Alexandria*, W. Schmidt. A defence against Heiberg. *Zu Cicero ad Atticum*, I. 14, 3, C. F. W. Mueller. A defence of his own reading in this passage against Vahlen's criticism. *Ein plastisches Porträt des Agathokles*, O. Rossbach. This bust in the Vatican Museum was once thought to be that of Augustus in later life. A passage of Aelian enables us to recognise the ornament on the hair as a myrtle-wreath which the tyrant probably wore as priest of the Agathodaemon.

Vol. 56, 1. 1901.

*Italische Volksjustiz*, H. Usener. Deals with Occentatio, Infamia, Flagitium, Convicium, Flagitatio (cf. Catull. 42), scenes of reviling as *Plaut. Pseud.* 357 sqq. Explanation of the Flagitatio by night from *Cic. de domo § 14. Ein Phrynichosceit*, H. Diels. This is from the Homer scholia of Ammonios (Oxyrhynchos Pap. II.). *Jahrhundertfeier in Rom und messianische Weissagungen*, S. Sudhaus. According to Censorinus (17. 2) saeculum is *spatium vitae humanae longissimum partu et morte definitum*. There is therefore a secret connection between a *puer nascens* and a newly-beginning saeculum, which the gods make known by portents. According to ancient belief the new time brings peace and new fortune. Varro wished to make B.C. 39 a secular year and maintained a saeculum of 110 years. It was with reference to this year and the peace of Brundisium that Virgil composed the 4th. Eclogue. Asinius Pollio could refer the birth of the child to his own son Asinius Gallus then lately born. The festival however was first celebrated on Oct 17, three months before the proper time (Jan. 16), perhaps with reference to the Annus Confusionis. *Gregors des Thaumaturgen Panegyricus auf Origenes*, A. Brinkmann. Criticism and explanation. *ABC-Denkmäler*, A. Dieterich. Greek alphabets on vessels, potsherds and stones. Roman vessels with alphabet found in graves. Marble tables from Petronell and Verona. Greek, Latin and Oscan alphabets on walls. Collection of meaningless



words as magic formulae, στοιχειῶν = 'to bewitch.' *Eine Bestätigung aus Oxyrhynchos*, O. Hense. On the antispastic metre (Ox. Pap. II. ccxx.). *Eine Draeseckische Hypothese*, P. Wendland. Directed against the hypothesis of D. that the information of Epiphanius about the Septuagint version of the Bible is derived from Justus of Tiberias, a contemporary and opponent of Josephus, and that Augustin, De civ. dei xviii. 42 depends on Epiphanius. *Zur Lex Manciana*, A. Schulten. An inscr. from Henschir Mettich in Tunis found in 1895 (to be continued). *Andocidemus*, L. Radermacher. On the speech (on the Mysteries). *Zur Kritik der Briefe des Diogenes*, J. F. Marcks. *Philonides*, H. Usener. *Zu Cicero ad Atticum* xiv. 10, 2, M. Ihm. Reads redeo ad Sebusos, Scaevae, *Fangones* (not *Francones*). *Ehrendecret der Provinz Asia*, C. Wachsmuth. *Zur Metzer Alexander-Epitome*, C. Wachsmuth. *Zwei lateinische Epigramme*, F. Buecheler. *Cyriaci Anconitani epistula inedita*, H. E. Ziebarth.

**Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum**, etc. Vol. 5, 10, 1900.

*Die Steinschneidekunst im Altertum*, H. Bulle. Next to the Chaldeans, whose seal-cylinders go back to B.C. 5000, the Babylonians and Assyrians, Hittites and Syrians, also the Persians, practised the art of stone cutting. A free artistic life, originally independent, begins with the Mycenaean culture, which owes its technique to the East. About B.C. 600 the Ionians took the artistic lead. Finger-rings of metal, usually gold, with large oval ornamental shields are peculiar to this archaic art, but are only found in Etruscan graves, then cut stones in the form of a scarabaeus, or of scarabaeoid form. Gods, daemons, animals, seldom heroes, are depicted, all in the clear, strong style of archaic sculpture. The flourishing period of the 5th. and 4th. centuries gradually adopts the custom of placing stones in solid finger-rings, yet the seal-image is generally engraved in the metal of the ring itself. In the Hellenistic period a portrait is usually found on seal-stones. *Zwei und sechzig Jahre byzantinischer Geschichte*, H. Graeven. The years 963-1025 are discussed with reference to Schlumberger's *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*. O. Weissenfels objects to Cicero's Letters as subjects for reading in schools on the ground of the difficulty of interpretation and the absence of interest for youth.

**Mnemosyne**. Vol. 29, 1. 1901.

*Observationes criticae ad Lucianum*, S. A. Naber. *De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia*, J. Vürtheim. Maintains that the argument of the Telegonia was very ancient and did not arise from a misunderstanding of the words ἐξ ἁλός (λ 134), but that the interpretation *e mari* was afterwards given to these words in order to connect the Telegonia with the Odyssey. At the same time perhaps the word πέφυη was introduced for some other word. *De Lucilii Satirarum libro primo*, J. J. Hartmann. Explains the point of the satire to be that Lupus escapes punishment both on earth and in heaven, 'ea optimum est potentia!' *Ovidius Metam.* V. 85 sqq. For *Polydemonia* reads *Polydegmona*, cf. ib. 242. *Thucydidea*, J. C. Vollgraf. Notes on Book III. with reference to Hude's text. *Ad Aeschylum*. *De J. H. Schmidtii in artem metricam meritis*, C. Loeschhorn. Chiefly on Agam. 975-1034, 1407-1411, 1426-1430, 1448-1576. *Ad Charitonem*, S. A. Naber. On a fragment of Chariton discovered in Egypt and published by Wilcken (codex Thebanus). Though much older than the Florentine codex it is also much inferior to it. *Ad Horatii Carm.* iv. 7.

21, J. J. Hartman. Proposes *Cum semel occideris et de te splendide Minos Fecerit arbitria*, Non, Torquale, etc. *Ad Plutarchi Thes.* 12, J. J. H. For ὡς ταῦτα τέμνων reads ὡς ταύτην τεμνών. *Studia Lucretiana*, J. Woltjer. On III. 580-614. Also a dissertation on the meaning of *elenim*. Denies that after Plautus and Terence *enim* ever has a 'vim affirmandi' but always gives a reason, even in Vergil Georg. II. 509, Aen. VIII. 84, X. 874. etc.

Part 2. 1901.

*Homeric*, J. van Leeuwen, jun. While agreeing with Muellenhoff and Cauer that the story of the wooden horse is absurd, the writer disagrees from the explanation of it given by the former. It is maintained that the wooden horse was originally the ship which brought the host of the enemy. *Ad Charitonem*, S. A. Naber. On a fragment recently published by Messrs. Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth in their *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. *De versu quodam Furii Bibaculi*, J. J. Hartman. In the line quoted by Suetonius (de V. I. p. 107 R) *literarum obliuio* as applied to Orbilius means an ill-tempered, tiresome pedagogue. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Solon* 14 read ὡς τὸ ἴσον πόλεμον ποιεῖ καὶ τοῖς κτηματικοῖς ἄρεσκον καὶ τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι. *De tribus locis interpolatis in Evangelio secundum Marcum*, J. C. Vollgraf. In ii. 10 λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ should be omitted, in i. 27 διδαχὴ καὶνὴ and in vii. 19 καθαρίσθαι πάντα τὰ βρώματα. Several other similar interpolations conjectured in N.T. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Numa* 9 for τῶν δυνατῶν read τῶν ἀδυνάτων. In ib. 20 read ὥστε καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐνδεῖν πρὸς τὴν τότε κατάστασιν λεγούσας (for λέγουσι). *Observationes criticae ad Lucianum*, S. A. Naber. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Publ.* 12 for ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ read ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ. *De Orphci patria*, J. Vürtheim. Against Weber's theory (put forward in his program *de Orphci origine thracia* (1899) and adopted by Christ) that in the time of Plato Orpheus was not considered to be a Thracian. *Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur*, J. van der Vliet. On de Jong's *de Apuleio Isiacorum mysteriorum teste* and a passage of Heliodorus there quoted. *Varia*, H. van Herwerden. On passages from Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindar, Aristophanes and Hesychius' Lexicon. *Ad Catulli Carm.* 64, 178, J. Woltjer. Suggests *Dictaeone petam montes?* the word *Cydoncos* having been written in the margin, supplanted the original, and finally became *Ydoneos*.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie**. 1901.

2 Jan. B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher* (H. Willrich) I. R. Hecht, *Zur Wahrung des kulturgeschichtlichen Kolorits im griechischen Drama* II. *Sophokles* (F. Cauer), favourable. A. Zimmermann, *Kritische Nachlese zu den Posthomerica des Quintus Smyrnaeus* (R. Peppmüller), very favourable. Tacitus, *De vita et moribus Julii Agricola*, by A. Gudeman (T. Opitz). 'Very full and satisfactory.' J. B. Keune, *Metz in römischer Zeit* (C. Koenen), favourable.

9 Jan. *Thucydidis historiae*, rec. H. S. Jones. I. (S. Widmann), favourable. B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher* (H. Willrich) II. favourable on the whole. G. Némethy, *In Ciceronis de finibus* I, 7, 23 (Hoyer), favourable. *Ciceros erste und zweite Philippische Rede*, herausg. von A. Koch und A. Eberhard. 3. A. (W. Hirschfelder), very favourable.

16 Jan. G. Lang, *Von Rom nach Sardes*. 2. A. (K.). 'The work of a traveller filled with classical ideals.' K. Hachtmann, *Pergamon, eine Pflanzstätte*



*hellenischer Kunst* (K.) 'Warmly to be recommended.' A. Fairbanks, *A study of the Greek Pagan* (J. Sitzler), favourable.

23 Jan. R. Pöhlmann, *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*. II. (A. Döring). 'Interesting.' E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*. 2. A. (μ). 'A pity the author did not live to bring out the second edition of this masterpiece.' F. Fischer, *Über technische Metaphern im Griechischen* (H. Blümner). 'Shows industry and intelligence.' E. Lattes, *Primi appunti sulla grande iscrizione etrusca a S. Maria di Capua and I fascicoli VI, VII e VIII del nuovo Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum* (F. Skutsch), unfavourable. L. Bloch, *Die ständischen und sozialen Kämpfe in der römischen Republik* (A. Höck), favourable on the whole.

30 Jan. F. H. M. Blydes, *Adversaria critica in Euripidem* (K. Busche), unfavourable. A. Mau, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst* (H. Belling). 'His name is for ever associated with Pompeii.' C. Lindskog, *De correcturis secundae manus in codice vetere Plautino* (O. Plasberg). 'A laborious work.'

6 Feb. R. Delbrück, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Linienperspektive in der griechischen Kunst* (P. Weizsäcker), very favourable. *Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Meyers Reisebücher) 5. A. (G. Lang). J. Luňák, *De paricidii (sic) vocis origine* (M. Stowasser), unfavourable. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, IV. *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker* (A. F.), very favourable.

13 Feb. H. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*. II. (V. Prásek). 'A masterpiece of criticism.' O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* I. (O. Weise). 'Shows sound judgment and great learning and knowledge of the literature on the subject.' H. Luckenbach, *Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*. 3. A. (P. W.), favourable. *Δελτίον τῆς Ὀβριος, τεύχος τρίτον* (O. Kern.). J. Tolkiehn, *Homer und die römische Poesie* (F. Harder), favourable. L. Homo, *Lexique de topographie Romaine* (H. Belling), very favourable.

20 Feb. B. Niese, *Die Welt des Hellenismus* (A. Höck). 'Is quite at home in his subject.' *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, V. (Th. Schreiber). The results of excavations in Melos and at Naucratis. E. Gollob, *Ein wiederergefundener Diophantuscodex* (V. Hahn). *Epitome rer. gest. Alexandri Magni*, e cod. Mettensi ed. O. Wagner (A. Ausfeld), favourable. *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*, herausg. von F. Haug und G. Sixt (W. Nestle), very favourable. F. Harrison, *Byzantine history in the early middle ages* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

27 Feb. W. H. Roscher, *Ephialtes* (R. Wünsch). 'A rich *παρρηγο* on the theme *Pan*, which latter will soon appear in the *Lexicon of Mythology*.' G. Werkhaupt, *Wörterverzeichnis zu Homers Odyssee*. 'A comprehensive and practical help.' *Vergilio, L'Encide*, comment. da R. Sabbadini. Libri I-III, 3. ed. (O. Güthling). 'Contains too much that is superfluous.' Gius. Salvioli, *Sulla distribuzione della proprietà fondiaria in Italia al tempo dell' impero Romano* (B. Kübler), favourable on the whole.

6 Mar. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* (O. Weissenfels). The dissertations are on Zeus of Olympia, The lock of Berenice, Contents of Egyptian graves, and the sources of the Clitumnus. P. Nilsson, *Studia de Dionysiis atticis* (H. Steuding), very favourable. S. Witkowski, *De pace quae dicitur Cimonica* (A. Höck), favourable. O. Wulff, *Alexander mit der Lanze* (B. Sauer). 'A useful dissertation.' W. Osander, *Der Hannibalweg* (R. Oehler). 'The champion of the M. Cenis route.

Makes a good impression on the unprejudiced reader.'

13 Mar. P. Kretschmer, *Die Entstehung der Koine* (K. Dieterich), favourable. *Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe. I. (E. Althaus), very favourable. *Horatius*, Oden und Epoden, erkl. von L. Müller I. Text, II. Kommentar (W. Hirschfelder). 'Has passed over no difficulty.' P. Thomas, *Remarques critiques sur les oeuvres philosophiques d'Apulée*, 4. Série (C. W.), favourable. *Archiv für Stenographie*, Monatsblatt für die wissenschaftliche Pflege der alten Tachygraphie, herausg. von C. Dewischeit (H. D.). 'Very welcome.'

20 Mar. *Platonis opera*, rec. J. Burnet I. (A. v. Bamberg). 'Deserves every consideration.' K. Koch, *Quae fuerint ante Socratem vocabuli ἀπὸρρῆ notio* (A. Döring), unfavourable. W. Vollbrecht, *Das Säkularfest des Augustus* (W. Hirschfelder), favourable.

27 Mar. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Etude bibliographique et littéraire sur le poète Laevius* (J. Tolkiehn). Attempts to prove too much. Kalb, *De duodecesagesimo carmine Catulli* (P. Schulze), favourable. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* III. ed. P. de Rohden et H. Dessau (J. Asbach), very favourable. W. Lübke, *Die Kunst des Mittelalters*, neu bearb. von M. Semrau (v. Schulze). 'The best introduction to the art of the middle ages.'

3 April. *The Amherst Papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, I., *Fayûm towns and their papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth with a ch. by J. G. Milne (Egypt Exploration Fund) (G. Wessely). H. Zimmern, *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte* (v. Prásek). 'Learned and interesting.' E. Siecke, *Mythologische Briefe*. I. Grundsätze der Sagenforschung. II. Uhlands Behandlung der Thor-Sagen (H. Steuding), unfavourable. C. Bicknell, *Osservazioni ulteriori sulle incisioni rupestri in Val Fontanalba*, favourable. H. Swoboda, *Griechische Geschichte*. 2. A. (Schneider). 'An excellent little book.' *Libri a. u. c. libri*, rec. G. Weissenborn. Ed. II. quam cur. M. Müller. II. 1 (lib. vii-x) (W. Heraeus), favourable. *Tacitus Annalen*, von A. Draeger, II. 1 (b. xi-xiii) 2 (b. xiv-xvi). 4. A. von F. Becher (Th. Opitz). 'Too many conjectures.'

10 April. M. Bréal, *Semantics, Studies in the science of meaning*, transl. by H. Cust (O. Weise), favourable on the whole. J. Schreiner, *Homers Odyssee—ein mysteriöses Epos* (H. Draheim). 'Is it meant in earnest or in joke?' *Thukydides*, erkl. von J. Classen. 4. Band (4 Buch) 3. A. von J. Steup (Widmann), favourable. H. Jackson, *On some passages in the VII. book of the Eudemian ethics, attributed to Aristotle* (Goebel), favourable. Bion von Smyrna, *Adonis deutsch und griechisch* von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (C. Haebler). 'Essentially aids the study of the text.' S. Witkowski, *De patria Phylarchi*. 'Well worth consideration.' Seeliger, *Bruchstücke eines Reiseführers durch Griechenland um 100 v. Chr.*, favourable. *Favonii Eulogii disputatio de Somnio Scipionis*, ed. A. Holder (C. Fries), favourable.

**Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.** Vol. xii, 1. 1900.

*Der Papst Gelasius als Latinist*, E. Wölflin. G. was well read in classical literature, though not a purist. He has taken many words from the language of the church and of the law, also uses many archaic words, as *primitus*. He uses *quisque* only with the positive and the plural. *Fortasse, fortassis*, and *fortitan* are used without distinction, also *absque* and *sine*. For *pope* he uses *praesul* by preference, *complex*

for consors, and *sequax* for scetator. Alliteration is much used. The phrase *quod absit* is very common. *Die Vorrede des latein. Dioskorides*, H. Stadler. A critical edition founded on new MSS. material. *Rutilus*, E. Wölflin. = 'pure blond.' *Calpurn. Flacc.* (decl. 2) uses it of the complexion of the Germans. *Maniculus*, E. Wölflin. In *Seneca* (Dial. 7, 25, 2) *in maniculo* = in manipulo is found in the best MS. (cod. Ambros.), and should be restored to the text. *Epistola Pseudohippocratis*, H. Stadler. The text of the letter of Hippocrates to King Antiochus from Cod. Parisin. Latin. 6837 which differs much from the received text. *Zur Psychologie der Völker des Altertums*, E. Wölflin. The favourite habit with late-Latin authors of giving to nations epithets that describe their national characters goes back to Ptolemaeus (Serv. on Verg. Aen. vi. 724). *Signum, Glocke*, E. Wölflin. The rom. *sen, sein* (tocsin) is from *signum* not from *sanctum*. *Beiträge zu den Tironischen Notizen*, W. Heraeus. *Tutarchus*, W. Heraeus. In *Hygin. fab. 14 tutarchi* should not be altered to *toccharchi* (τολχαρχοι). Perhaps it is from

*tutari* and *arca*. *Angulus*, A. Klotz. The etymological explanation starts from the meaning *μυχός*. *Lexikalische Bemerkungen zu Apuleius*, F. Leo. *Die archaische Inschrift vom Forum Romanum*, W. Otto. No certain result can be obtained. *Die Nachahmung in der latein. Prosa*, E. Wölflin. Controverses the assertion of Leo that in the *Agricola* Tacitus has imitated Sallust and in the *Germania* Seneca. *Vicatin, Condecibilis*, E. Wölflin. The passage in Placidus quoted Arch. xi. 356 should read *vicatin]* per vicos. *vicissim]* per vices aut per singulos. *Condecibilis* is found in *Greg. Tur.* p. 231, 19 Kr. *Proventare*, E. Wölflin. Is to be read from Naevius in *Cic. Cat.* 20. *Zum Thesaurus Glossarum*, A. Sonny. *Campania, die Ebene*, B. Dombart. In *Plin.* n. h. 18, 360 we should read *in campaniis* from *campania* = regio campestris. *Simo = delphinus*, W. Heraeus. *Thyrsa*, neuter pl., A. Klotz. This occurs *Stat. Ach.* i. 950 [but ?] *Göttweiger Italafragmente*, E. Wölflin. *Zur latein. Wortbildung*, A. Zimmermann. *Coneresco* = youthful companion, *obulcus* = shepherd. *Materi mater(c)*, E. Lattes.

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# The Classical Review

JUNE 1901.

## THE ECCENTRIC EDITIONS AND ARISTARCHUS.

A NATURAL pendant to an account of the *κοινή* is a discussion of eccentric editions or editions other than the vulgate. The result unfortunately is mostly negative, for though these editions have been less ignored by the grammarians than the *κοινή*, their readings exhibit very little definite character.

There are in the scholia some 155 statements about these editions—whether they are mentioned by their names (under the two classes of *κατὰ πόλεις* and *κατ' ἄνδρα*) or by the vague designations of *ἅπασαι*, *πλείσται*, *πλείους*, *χαριέστεραι*, *αἱ πλείσται τῶν χαριεστῶν* and the equivalents which are enumerated in the books. A list of the first category, editions under their names, is given by La Roche *Hom. Textkritik*, p. 45 sq. to which one or two more cases have now to be added.

The editions, it is well known, are called either after places—Argos, Chios, Crete, Cyprus, Massilia, Sinope, or after people, —Antimachus, Euripides, and the Alexandrians themselves. A few have fanciful names, ἡ πολύστιχος, ἡ ἐκ Μουσείου, ἡ ἐκ νάρθηκος. Very little information can be extracted from these titles: the place-names suggest much but establish nothing, least of all a date. Antimachus (πρὸ Πλάτωνος Suidas) and Euripides (τοῦ προτέρου ἀδελφιδοῦς) may take us back to B.C. 400. Sosigenes' date is unknown; πολύστιχος is enigmatical; <sup>1</sup> the other names, if more than anecdotic, would only give us the period of Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> It may mean 'of many verses,' but how do we explain Ἀγνων ἐν τῇ δεκάστιχῃ Δ 101?

Consideration of the readings themselves discloses the fact noticed in the account of the *κοινή*, that in certain formal respects (non-augmented tenses, vowel-system, crasis, contraction, etc.) these editions have preserved an earlier tradition.<sup>2</sup> It is natural to suppose, if it cannot be proved, that this is due to their scarcity, the slight demand for them, their scanty reproduction, and the final cessation of that. Comparatively little copying has guaranteed this much purity of text. The positive variants are tolerably numerous and important, but they do not seem essentially different from their opposites, nor necessarily preferable to them. I give as an illustration the variants on T. I do not distinguish, since it is unnecessary for my purpose, between the different editions.

| T                                                                                                          | VULGATE.    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 41 ἐρήρας                                                                                                  | ῆρωας       |
| 56 ὄνειαρ }<br>ἄμεινον }                                                                                   | ἄρειον      |
| 75 ἀπειπόντος                                                                                              | ἀποειπόντος |
| 76. 7 τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη κρείων<br>ἀγαμέμνων<br>μῆνιν ἀναστενάχων καὶ ὕψ' ἔλκεος<br>ἀλγεα πείσχων |             |

<sup>2</sup> The cases explicitly attested are (a) absence of augment: οἶνοχόει A 598, ἔλκεν Δ 213, ἀντιτέτυξο Θ 163; (b) uncontracted vowels: ἀκλε[ε]ές M 318; (c) non-assimilation: πανσυδίη B 12; (d) future in -η-: μαχήσομαι A 298; (e) aorist for imperfect: ἐσσεύαντο Θ 272. The other points are inferred. See C.R. 1899, p. 336.

Vulgate τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν  
ἀγαμέμνων  
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης οὐδ' ἐν μέσσοισιν  
ἀναστάς.

|     |             |            |
|-----|-------------|------------|
| 86  | νεικέουσιν  | νεικέεσκον |
| 95  | Ζεὺς ἄσατο  | Ζῆν' ἄσατο |
| 96  | φαμέν       | φασ'       |
| 117 | μήs         | μείς       |
| 124 | ἀνθρώποισιν | ἀργείοισιν |
| 386 | αὐτε        | εὔτε.      |

Most of these readings it is evident throw no light upon the origin or date of their authorities, and do not put them in any definite position towards the κοινή. Some variants are more suggestive—the addition of B 848a and 866a by Euripides, the omission of P 134-6 by Zenodotus and the Chian, of Σ 10, 11 by Rhianus and Aristophanes, of Σ 39 sq. by the Ἀργολική, of Φ 290-2 by the Κρητική. These are more serious divergencies in the text, and slightly suggest the much more alarming addition of the fragments of Ptolemaic papyri; and the discrepancies of some of the texts used by Plato, Lycurgus, and Aeschines. Yet additions and omissions of lines are the commonest and most constant phenomena in the history of the Homeric text, from the fourth century B.C. to the fifteenth A.D.: it is only their frequency and their size that makes them noticeable. These omissions therefore in the eccentric editions though interesting are but what we should expect in authorities of any independence. Neither can light be obtained from the verbal variants however curious, N 363 ἐκάβης νόθον νῖόν as the Argive edition for καβησόθεν, Φ 397 ὑπονόσφιον as Antimachus for πανόσιον (both obviously partly graphical, and recalling εἰδοντο διος τερας for εἶδονθ' ὅτ' ἄρ' ἐκ διὸς © 251 in B.M. Pap. 689a).

So far as some of the formal variants (*i.e.* the forms οἶνοχόει, etc.) belong to the earlier Attic alphabet mistranscribed in the κοινή, so far the eccentric editions, or some of them, may be taken back beyond the somewhat vague date at which the μεταχαρακτηρισμός took place. But as not only the date but also the effect of this transition upon the modernisation of the Homeric text is by no means settled, the combination is uncertain. Further, the Eccentric editions are in the same dialect as the κοινή and as one another; the one dialectal variant appears to be μήs for μείς which the Chian read on T 117 (μήs is documentary, *v.* Smyth, Ionic § 543).

If the Pisistratean recension be a reality, and if its result was the establishment of the κοινή, in other words the Attic Homer,

and the Eccentric editions agree in dialect with the κοινή, it would seem to result that they too descend from Pisistratus' redaction, and are in fact variations of the κοινή. This would on the one hand give them a date, a terminus a quo, and on the other deprive them of any original individual value. Their variations would be accretions, possibly no doubt in some way connected with their localities, and by no means without interest.

The question whether all editions whatever—say in the fifth century—were in Attic and descended from the text fixed by Pisistratus—is interesting, but possible of discussion only in the case of the Αἰολίς. This (La Roche, *l.c.* p. 20) was an edition of the *Odyssey* only: and we are no more entitled than in the case of the Chian or the Massaliote edition to infer from its title that the Αἰολίς was in Aeolic. Zopyrus and Dicaearchus, however, Peripatetics, wished, as we learn from the MS. Bibl. Vitt. Em. 8 (Osann, *Frag. Rom.* p. 5) to read Homer in Aeolic, ἀναγνώσκεισθαι ἀξιοῖ Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ, and unless their opinion was purely academic it would be natural it should be based on some copy which appeared to warrant the speculation. The view that non-Attic copies survived is favoured by Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 26, Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 257.<sup>1</sup>

What then is the authority of the editions κατ' ἄνδρα and κατὰ πόλεις and generally the prae-Alexandrian editions other than the κοινή? I am afraid no answer at all can be given to this question. We have seen that external testimony does not carry their date back beyond the end of the fifth century, and supplies no evidence whatever as to their origin or character; and that the analysis of their readings reveals nothing beyond the survival of some early forms. Fuller evidence might tell us more, but fuller evidence is not forthcoming: the discovery which naturally raised our hopes—that of the fragments of Ptolemaic copies of the Iliad—shows no direct coincidence with any of the recorded peculiarities of these editions,—one of Antimachus' readings is superscribed and that is all.

All therefore we can predicate about them is that they are prae-Alexandrian and as old as the fifth century. Interest they

<sup>1</sup> With this is connected the similar question, were Zenodotus' dialectal changes (ἄας, ἐμωνιον, ἱλιάδης, πολὺς, φή, ὅλλοι) arbitrary or based on evidence? Cauet, *l.c.* p. 22 holds that they were arbitrary, Fick, *Iliad*, p. 79 and Leaf, *Iliad*, ed. 2 © 470 al. that they were 'hardly invented by Zen.' δ ἱλιάδης, δ ἱλῆος have now the unexpected support of a vase, H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 286.



possess in a high degree, but definite character or necessary authority none.

I have drawn this conclusion not for the sake of the eccentric editions themselves,—for two new quotations from ‘Ammonius,’ the only novelties, would not have justified a restatement of such familiar facts,—but for the bearing that they have upon what is still perhaps the most central point of Lower Homeric Criticism, the position and authority of Aristarchus. Aristarchus I now find myself obliged to consider, not in his wider character as an antiquary, a literary critic, or a philologist—as more or less well informed upon Homeric usage or the history of the Greek tongue,—but as a diplomatic critic. His merits in this province turn practically upon the question whether his readings are conjectures or taken from actual copies of Homer.

Controversy on this subject has, it is well known, long raged, and I will not stir its ashes. While I regard it as neither possible nor important to prove that Aristarchus never introduced a single form into the poems which could not be found in one or another book, I am at one with the doctrine laid down by Lehrs and so earnestly defended by Arthur Ludwich, that his general method was to seek manuscript support for his alterations.<sup>1</sup> I believe this

<sup>1</sup> Though it is not to my purpose to magnify the position of Ar. as a critic, I am unable to find the careful discussion of passages in Cauer, *Grundfragen d. Homerkritik*, pp. 20-35—a discussion with the object of establishing that in some passages Aristarchus did introduce his own bare conjectures into his text—convincing, and I doubt if argumentation on particular scholia—all more or less imperfect—is likely to lead to any substantive result. The method must be general, not particular. In especial I must deny Cauer's generalisation, p. 29, that in matters of orthography, &c., Aristarchus went against tradition. He went against the vulgate certainly, but that his reforms were based on the authority of the eccentric editions is either explicitly stated or may be fairly inferred.

The humour spent by Römer and others over the scholion I 222 (Cauer, p. 25) is misplaced. The scholion simply states that Aristarchus disapproved of the lection of the κοινή, but did not alter it because he found it ἐν πολλαῖς. There is no ‘pedantry’ here: it is implied that if the eccentric editions had been unanimous against the κοινή, Aristarchus would after his usual fashion have put their reading into it.

Again it is perhaps worth while pointing out that Cauer's argument (p. 31) that ἀπείρονα (A 350) cannot have been found by Ar. in the majority of his MSS., or else it would not have vanished from our MSS., is groundless. οἶνοχόει A 458 was in the Argive, the Massaliote, and Antimachus' edition, and Ar. read it: it is not in a single actual MS. ἀχαιῶν A 91 was in the editions of Sositogenes, Aristophanes, and Zenodotus. δαναοῖσιν αἰεκέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνει was

not so much on the strength of the explicit statements which we find here and there in the scholia on particular lines<sup>2</sup>—for these represent only the opinion of one grammarian, and him a disciple, on another grammarian—as from the nature of our tradition concerning Aristarchus and the other Alexandrians.

The scholia which convey our information about Aristarchus' readings have arrived to us in four states:

I. The λέξεις Ἀριστάρχου, quotations from Aristarchus, his *ipsissima verba*. Aristarchus speaks in the first person, and names his authorities: A 423... οὕτως δὲ εὔρομεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμαχεῖῳ καὶ Ἀριστοφανεῖῳ.

II. The same abbreviated and in the third person: οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος... καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥιανοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον A 97.

III. The authorities are lumped under a general designation, *πάσαι, πλείους, πλείους* etc.

IV. The authorities are left out altogether.

Further, owing to the fact that a given scholium has come to us in two different MSS. or in two different states in the same MSS., we have the absolute proof that a number of instances of class IV. really belong to class III., and it is a fair inference that the remainder do so too.<sup>3</sup>

On this ground I am ready to agree that any given case of οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος may be raised to οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ αἱ πλείους, in other words that Aristarchus' readings are based on MS. evidence.

in the Massaliote and in the ed. of Rhianus. Aristarchus approved both these ll.: but neither they nor the similarly attested variants που 124, βουλὴν 258, μαχήσομαι 298, προέρεσαν 435, &c., have left any trace in our MSS.

<sup>2</sup> For then it would be necessary to weigh them against the expressions in the opposite sense, which testify to a wide-spread belief in the arbitrariness of Ar.'s method. Plutarch and Athenaeus are antiquarians, Alexander ὁ Κοριαεὺς a rhetor, and all three comparatively late, and perhaps their language is inexact; but it is undeniably singular that we find Aristarchus' successor Ammonius, his disciple Dionysius Thrax—scholars older than Didymus, and as likely *prima facie* as he to be well informed—characterising their master's critical procedure in unequivocal terms.

In the case of the post-Christian and non-philological writers I suggest that the loss, or partial loss of the eccentric editions, may have given Aristarchus' agreements with them the air of independent conjectures: but this cannot be the case with members of his school.

<sup>3</sup> I add the figures: of Aristarchus' 664 known readings 6 are in Class I., 45 in II., 49 in III., 564 in IV.; of the latter 25 belong also to III.

But we have to define what is meant by 'MS. evidence.' As the words stand they suggest that Aristarchus followed the consensus of MSS. or at least the best MSS., and this appears to be the way in which Aristarchus' supporters regard his position.

Now in the 664 mentions of Aristarchus' readings, there are not more than 6 places in which he appears not to have followed the *πλείους* (Γ 292, Δ 410, I 394, N 613, Σ 499, Ψ 374), and in these if carefully scrutinised the inference is not always certain that he agreed with the *κοινή*. But even if we accept these six instances, the proportion is so small that we may say generally Ar. follows always one or more or all of the *χαριέστεραι* and never the *κοινή*. His 'diplomatic basis' therefore comes to this, that in case of variance he would leave the main stock of the text and follow one or more of a minority of MSS., eccentric as regards the *κοινή*, and each bearing the name of its author or (apparently) its place of origin.<sup>1</sup>

Now, in the first place, this is not real or sound critical method. This is not to follow manuscript evidence. To desert the infinitely greater number of copies of Homer and follow one, two, several, even

all, of the members of a small, special, class, is by its very definition eclecticism. To say that Aristarchus is eclectic is not to condemn him beyond appeal, but it is an important modification of the statement that he 'followed the manuscripts.'

Eclecticism in and for itself may under different circumstances be materially correct or materially wrong, that is to say, by its employment the resulting text may be improved or it may be spoiled. It is the right method in the case of most if not all ordinary classical authors; their tradition is obscure, and the merits of the MSS. which contain them differ only microscopically. With the *Iliad* this was not so: if my account of the material before Ar. is correct, the text was contained in one main current and a number of single separate by-streams. There was no actual superiority in the eccentric editions to the *κοινή* (that we are aware of) except the retention of an older condition of various verbal and grammatical forms. In all other cases the eccentric editions, all or some of them, do not appear to deserve the preference over the *κοινή*. By preferring their readings throughout, Aristarchus was clearly eclectic where eclecticism was not called for, and is in so far to be blamed and avoided.

We are left to wonder what were the grounds on which Ar. preferred the non-*κοινὰ* editions. We cannot say 'Aristarchus was the prince of critics, he must have had his reasons for rejecting the *κοινή*,' or we fall into the vicious circle which seems to underlie a great deal of what has been written on the subject: 'Aristarchus was a great critic, therefore the MSS. which he followed must have been the best; Aristarchus' emendations were all based on MS. evidence, therefore his judgments deserve acceptance.' Or, it may be said that Ar.'s merits as a critic are known in other fields, in antiquities, knowledge of word-forms, of Homeric usages, in literary judgment—and therefore his preference is sufficient to establish the superiority of the *πολιτικὰ* and *κατ' ἀνδρα*. This again touches on a popular fallacy, the abuse of the term 'good': Aristarchus may have recognised and truly recognised the 'goodness' of readings in the eccentric editions, and still have corrupted the real tradition. The 'good' in the last resort is not necessarily the 'original.'

His method is sufficiently clear: taking the ordinary text as a basis, he suggested atheteses on *a priori* grounds; but where these same *a priori* grounds suggested to him to omit a line or to change a word,

<sup>1</sup> It is needful here to distinguish between verbal variants and atheteses or omissions. All that is said in this article refers to the former class only. In athetising it is plain Aristarchus was guided by internal considerations solely: but the method was harmless just because it resulted in nothing worse than *ἀθέτησις*, viz. an obelus on the margin of a copy.

The distinction made by Ludwig, *A.H.T.* ii. 135, between Ar.'s atheteses and his omissions (*οὐδ' ἔγραψε*), viz. that he athetised on internal grounds and where the line was omitted in no edition, but omitted (*οὐκ ἔγραψε*) where the line was omitted in one or more copies, sounds extremely reasonable, and may be true: but it needs to be said that there is no actual evidence for it. I give the details for the *Iliad*—

Σ 39 ath. Ar. Zen. om. Argiva.

Φ 290 ath. Ar. Seleucus. om. Cretensis (if *κρητική*) is right in Ammonius).

Two atheteses (out of 366) therefore have ancient support, none of the omissions (E 808, Π 613, Φ 73) have.

It is convenient to give here briefly the results upon the converse question, the effect of atheteses and omissions upon the subsequent text.

Atheteses of Aristarchus coinciding with omission in the later text:

1 B 558 *παραιτητέον* Ar. om. *δ, g, h* Ven. A Pap. Bodl. Gr. class α 1 (P).

2 H 353 ath. Ar. om. ut vid. Dio Prus. LV. 15.

3 I 114 ath. Ar. om. T.

4 I 694 ath. Ar. 694, 5 om. Vat. 16.

5 Ψ 810 ath. Ar. om. Vat. 14.

6 Ω 556 ath. Ar. 556 and 7 om. Vat. 1, 23.

Omissions:

E 808 om. Ar. om. L 9, Vat. 16.

The effect in both cases is negligible.

he did not do so unless he could find a MS. in which the line was omitted or the word was extant as he would have it. He endeavoured to combine the *a priori* and the diplomatic methods, a course which the badness or scarcity of materials makes obligatory in the case of many authors, but which in a text so abundantly attested as that of the *Iliad* produced a monster. I do not hesitate so to qualify the Aristarchean text. For it to have been otherwise, we should have to suppose that the *κοινή* had been corrupted in certain places out of the eccentric editions (and that not all of them, but here one and here another had preserved the original; for Ar. does not hesitate to follow a single copy), and that by substituting their readings in these cases for its, the original, the archetype of all existing copies, might be obtained.

As we have seen, the information we have about the *κατὰ πόλεις* and the *κατ' ἄνδρα* does not in the least support this view: in certain graphical, dialectal, and grammatical cases,—which may be represented by the words *ψνοχόει, πασσυδή, κάκεϊνος, ἀκλήεις, τεθνηῶτα*,—the eccentric editions do seem to have preserved an older stage than the *κοινή* of the third century; their other and more definite variations are interesting and valuable, but in no sense generally superior to or more original than the *κοινή*. If then Aristarchus' object was to restore the text in its earliest accessible form (and we have no information whatever as to what his object was), we may say that he was right in accepting *ἔλκεν, οἶνοχόει, πανσυδή, καὶ κέϊνος* and so forth, from the vague authority of *πάσαι, πλείσται, πλείους*, whether the actual guarantee was one *πολιτική*, two *πολιτικά*, or even one grammarian, but wrong when from the same sources he took *ἀχαιῶν* for *ἐνὶ στρατῷ* and *σκιόωντα* for *σκίοεντα*.

In short we know of no substantial reason which justified Aristarchus in deserting the *κοινή* for the eccentric editions, and it is a question whether he and the other grammarians did not obey the natural and erroneous tendency which has wrought havoc even in modern textual criticism—dislike of the bulk of tradition and preference for a minority of testimony on the ground of age, exterior, and provenance. Aristarchus produced a variegated text, out of material interesting in itself but that never existed as a whole in nature. He was in short a good scholar, but a bad textual critic; and even if Timon of Athens did not intend his reply to the enquiring Aratus to refer to Alexandria, it may be given that appli-

cation: *φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσαιο, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διωρθωμένοις* (Diog. Laert. ix. 12. 113).

It must have occurred to many enquirers to ask what the Alexandrian editions really were, and if the modern idea represented by 'edition' really applies to them. The like doubt presented itself to Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, who questioned if 'the Alexandrian editions were actually published' (*Heracles* i. p. 138 according to Cauer, *Grundfragen* p. 13: the passage was apparently withdrawn in the second edition). It sounds paradoxical, but I have often wondered if *διόρθωσις* and *ἐκδοσις* in the case of Aristarchus were not abstract rather than concrete, that is to say, if his 'edition' did not consist in 'editing' a vulgar text by means of signs at the side to call attention to superfluous lines and other noticeable points, and commentaries containing preferences among readings. This hypothesis would clear up difficulties which remain after however much explanation.

(1) The contrast between Aristarchus' caution in athetising and his violence in inserting readings would be avoided. It is true that the formal defence may be made for him that his inserted readings had MS authority, but, as we have seen, this plea does not really save his credit as a textual critic. If his 'readings' were merely indicated in commentaries the situation is entirely different.

(2) The certain fact of the non-effect of his readings on the vulgate explains itself: if they never were inserted in a text, naturally no such text could have been propagated. Moreover the curious contradiction is saved, by which we see that while subsequent ages preserved Aristarchus' atheteses *i.e.* his signs, they neglected his readings, which as embodied in an actual text had the better chance of surviving.

On my hypothesis such MSS. as the Venetus A or the Bodleian papyrus Gr. class. 1. a (P) when complete, would in very deed be the Aristarchean edition, namely, a vulgar text adorned with marginal signs.

(3) Perhaps the weightiest consideration. If the Aristarchean edition consisted of a vulgar text furnished with critical signs, then the extraordinary uncertainty about Aristarchus' readings (*e.g.* B 111), which prevailed not only in the Augustan period and in the days of Herodian, but among Aristarchus' successors and disciples, be-



comes explicable. The medley of sources from which the readings are drawn, Aristarchus' commentaries, treatises, the quotations in other commentators, the assertions of the members of his school, is natural if there was in truth no actual edition to be referred to. Otherwise such uncertainty is a mystery. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf's idea (*Hom. Untersuchungen* p. 297) that the unique copy was burnt at Alexandria in 47—a supposition anyhow too arbitrary to be practicable—is useless to explain the difficulties of Ammonius and the appeals to Parmeniscus. Again, though it is unnecessary to press the argument, the labours of Didymus and Aristonicus are much more intelligible on this hypothesis: if there had been an edition, one would have expected them to reproduce it, to republish it; but in fact they write *ὑπομνήματα* of their own to explain the significance of the critical signs (which they assume in the hands of their readers) and to accurately ascertain from all available sources Aristarchus' readings.

However, the language of the scholia is probably too concrete to be got over: *ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἐκδόσεσι χωρὶς τοῦ ὅ ἐϋρομεν Δ 3, ἐν ταῖς ἐξητασμέναις Ἀριστάρχου βαρείας χεῖρας H 130, ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων εὔρομεν ἐνεῖσιν B 131, καὶ ταῖς διορθώσεσι καὶ*

*ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως ἐγγέγραπτο B 192,* and many other passages can hardly be interpreted except of two actual texts distinct from commentaries and treatises.

The lack of influence of the edition is certain, however we explain it, and the surprise that we in modern times feel at it is due to a false presumption of the relation between grammarians and the publishing trade. The 'supremacy of Aristarchus' existed only for the world of professors, and our idea of it is mainly due to the preservation of so much technical scholastic learning. Outside the school Aristarchus had a vague reputation as a Rhadamanthus or a pedant; no one, antiquarian or poet, seems to have expected to read Homer in a shape arranged by him, and publishers, employers of copyists, producers of books *εἰς πρᾶσιν* (Strabo 609) never heard his name.

Ar.'s edition therefore may have been real, and yet have exercised no effect; the *σχολικὰ ἀγνοήματα* about it may be due to causes natural though past our knowledge; I confess I find the survival of the critical signs, appicted to vulgar texts, in the late classical and Byzantine periods, far harder to explain, and a real stumbling block.

T. W. ALLEN.

## ON PINDAR'S *PYTHIAN ODES*.

### Pyth. 2, 5.

The belief that the victory of Hiero celebrated in the second Pythian was won at Thebes may be traced to a misreading or at any rate misconception of this verse. *ἐν ᾧ κρατέων* might have been read *ἐν αἷς κρατέων* referring to *Θηβᾶν* v. 3: diplography with IC and K is familiar. Or again πόλει may have been supplied with *ἐν ᾧ*. Pindar would surely have made more of his native city in this ode had the victory really been gained in Thebes. We may compare a similar passage in Isth. 1, 12, where however the *Ἰολαία* are beyond doubt referred to.

### Pyth. 2, 7 *sqq.*

*ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος ἃς οὐκ ἄτερ  
κείνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χειρὶ ποικιλιανούς ἐδάμασσε  
πώλους.*

The subject to *ἐδάμασσε* is Hiero. The editors take *κείνας* as Acc. Pl. with *πώλους*.

This is surely open to serious objections. The pronoun is quite useless, and unpoetical. Also, I can find no instance of a double description of this nature, pronoun and adjective. Dissen has devoted a long and admirable note to '*Adiectiva iuncta et non iuncta copula*' (*ad* Pyth. 9, 6), but no parallel passage can be traced in his list.

I propose to read *κείνας τ' ἀγαναῖσιν κτλ.*, taking *κείνας* as a repetition of *ἃς* according to the usual practice of Greek and Latin writers, who prefer the demonstrative to the relative itself when the latter would naturally be continued into the second clause: even in examples such as the present where the case is not altered, though the origin of the construction may be the desire to avoid using the relative twice in different cases.

It is the epithet *ἀγαναῖσιν* which gains most by the addition of *τε*. What force can it have as applied to Hiero? The word is almost a *vox propria* of Apollo and Artemis.

Besides the familiar οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέσσιν ἐπιχορμένη κατέπεφνε, compare Pindar fr. 149 (116) where it is used of Apollo. The 'gentle hands' of the goddess indicate her favour bestowed on Hiero as a charioteer, and Pindar has emphasized this by the words that follow:

ἐπὶ γὰρ ἰοχέαιρα παρθένος χερὶ διδύμα κτλ.

The preposition ἐν also is more naturally used with my reading. Nem. 1, 52 ἐν χερὶ —τινάσσων instead of χερὶ τ. quoted by Gildersleeve is quite different. I prefer to take ἐν as 'reposing on' metaphorically: as we too use the phrase 'in the hands of': Lat. *in manu*. χερὶ διδύμα is now seen to be 'with both hands' according to the first interpretation in Gildersleeve's note.

Pyth. 2, 72 sqq.

I would only say here that Gildersleeve's division of the mysterious latter part of this ode between two speakers or 'voices' though ingenious is not convincing. To take only one example G. assumes γένοι' οἶος ἐσσί μαθῶν to stand by itself, spoken by Pindar who is then succeeded by the other speaker as far as καλός. Why should Pindar not utter both sentiments: 'Shew thyself as thou art: true (τοῖ) the monkey is ever fair in the eyes of children, but not in the judgment of a Rhadamanthys'? So with the other breaks. Nor can it be said that the words φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν κτλ. are impossible as put in Pindar's mouth. The poet only expects and himself practises open dealings with friend or foe: for there is openness in the frank declaration that he will stop at nothing to compass an enemy's overthrow. This leads naturally up to εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ praised in v. 86. Pindar will have none of the smooth-faced flatterers, apparently friends, really cunning 'foxes.'

Pyth. 5, 72.

This passage is famous for its difficulty and for the importance of the issue involved. Was Pindar an Aegeid or not? I do not propose to go into the arguments, which are somewhat meagre, of both sides. Personally I share the view of Studniczka and others (see *Classical Review*, xiv. p. 64), that Pindar was not an Aegeid. But I cannot agree that ἐμοὶ πατέρες in v. 76 should be put in the mouth of the chorus without making a slight but all-important change. The words τὸ δ' ἐμὸν (72) down to μέλος χαρίεν (107) ought apparently to be spoken by the chorus. They are full of references to the special features of Cyrene. Whatever view we take of vv. 72-76 there

can be no doubt that σεβίζομεν in v. 80 is more naturally referred to the people of Cyrene or the chorus at least speaking on behalf of them in the first person. It is possible that all the difficulties of the passage arise from the omission of some mark to shew that Pindar at v. 72 calls on the chorus to sing the praises of Cyrene. Unless, that is, we place 72-107 (the posterior limit is uncertain) in inverted commas we must with Studniczka take ἐμοὶ πατέρες as said by the chorus (not Pindar) without warning, which is contrary to the poet's constant use of the pronoun of the first person. It should indicate *himself*, as the numerous examples in Rumpel shew to demonstration.

The reading in v. 72 of the best MSS. is γαρίετ' i.e. γαρίετε the imperative. There can be urged no reason (except with *petitio principii*) for rejecting this. The slight pause after the word was completed and before the words to be spoken by the chorus are resumed in ἀπὸ Σπάρτας is enough to defend the metrical irregularity if any of the *syllaba anceps*.

By the combining of vv. 72-107 into one unit given only as an artistic fiction to the chorus we are enabled to see further into the meaning of vv. 108 sqq. These words commonly taken to apply to Arcesilas the king must refer to Carrhotus the charioteer (v. 26). To point this out will probably suffice: but a comparison of the meanings of 115 sq. according to the old and to my suggested view will strengthen conviction. ἀρματηλάτας has a clear and definite meaning: how can the king be said to have shewn himself a skilful charioteer when Carrhotus has won the victory? Also ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι naturally points to the subject not to the prince. It is one thing for Arcesilas to compete in the ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες of Hellas, but quite another for him to enter in the lists in Cyrene. Cf. Pyth. 9, 103 of Telesicrates of Cyrene who won ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπιχωρίοις (sc. ἀέθλοις).

Further, as Christ says (Introduction, p. lxxiii), *si quis non solum equos aluerat sed etiam in certamine rexerat, ut Herodotus Thebanus* (Isth. 1, 15) *singulari ille laude ornabatur*. There is no trace of this special distinction in Pindar's language.

Pyth. 6, 48.

ἀδικον οὐτ' ἐπέροπλον ἦβαν δρέπων  
σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων.

I am dissatisfied with the common interpretation of v. 49 which sees in it an allusion to the victor's poetical temperament. The context with v. 47, especially νόφ δὲ πλοῦτον





NOTE ON PLATO, *PHAEDO*, 99D *sqq.*

In this passage Socrates is describing how, having failed in his attempt to arrive at direct knowledge of realities as they are in themselves, he was obliged to have recourse to an inferior method of procedure consisting in the formation and improvement of λόγοι or concepts, more or less accurate, of these same realities. Here then we have his δεύτερος πλοῦς: so much is clear. The chief difficulties of the passage are two, viz.:

(1) What is the exact meaning of the sentence βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα κ.τ.λ. (99E)?

(2) How are we to connect it with the similitude of the sun (99D)?

Mr. Archer-Hind in his first edition of the *Phaedo* understood πράγματα to mean the ideas, explaining τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων as metaphorically representing powers of the soul. On this explanation ἥλιος = πράγματα = ὄντως ὄντα. Feeling, however, the difficulty of his interpretation of the words τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων, he was subsequently led in his second edition to adopt Mr. C. E. Campbell's explanation of the passage. Mr. Campbell takes πράγματα to mean not ideas but particulars, and connects the sentence βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα κ.τ.λ. with the similitude of the sun by emphasising ἐκλείποντα: thus ἥλιος = ὄντως ὄντα, ἥλιος ἐκλείπων = πράγματα = γιγνόμενα.

I prefer Mr. Archer-Hind's former interpretation (with one important modification) for the following reasons.

(1) The attempt to make a special point of ἐκλείποντα seems to me to involve an undue strain upon the words; an eclipse of the sun would be a natural occasion for taking observations of it, and the words οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείποντα θεωροῦντες would probably call up a familiar picture in the minds of Plato's readers. At any rate it does not seem by any means necessary to make ἐκλείποντα materially affect the interpretation of the simile.

(2) The ideas have already in this dialogue been referred to as πράγματα: αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατοῖν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα (66D), where no stress need be laid on αὐτὰ, which merely correlates with αὐτῇ immediately preceding: whereas I do not know of any passage in which πράγματα is used definitely of particulars. In any case there seems to be no advantage, but rather the reverse, in using the word in that sense here, where the employment of an unambiguous word would have made all clear.

(3) The equation of πράγματα (= γιγνόμενα) with ἥλιος ἐκλείπων seems to me to interfere with the natural application of the simile. Socrates is afraid of soul-blindness as the result of looking at πράγματα; and if by πράγματα we understand particulars, the natural interpretation of the Greek would seem to be that particulars are in themselves responsible for the resultant soul-blindness; I cannot see anything in the language of the passage to justify the assumption that there is anything behind the πράγματα that is the real cause of the blindness. The astronomer, however, who looks directly at an eclipse of the sun is blinded not by the sun in virtue of its being in eclipse, but by the sun itself in spite of the eclipse.

The first objection is of course merely a matter of opinion; the second can be explained away in a more or less unsatisfactory manner; the third, however, appears to me to be more serious and to make desirable an interpretation by which it may be avoided. Such an interpretation may, it seems to me, be obtained out of that which Mr. Archer-Hind first proposed, but with the modification now to be mentioned. To take τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων as a metaphorical expression for 'all the powers of the soul' is certainly intolerably harsh; and I would therefore understand the words in their literal and natural sense, though still taking πράγματα to mean ὄντως ὄντα or ideas. This is made easier if instead of taking τοῖς ὅμμασι with βλέπων we take βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα closely with τυφλωθῆναι and τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων as one phrase going with ἐπιχειροῦν ἀπτεσθαι αὐτῶν. What I imagine Socrates to say is: 'I feared that I might be utterly blinded in soul through looking at realities, if I attempted to apprehend them by means of the eyes and each of the other senses'; i.e. 'if I attempted to make use of material nature, which is apprehended by the senses, as a means towards the attainment of knowledge of realities.' Rather the observation of phenomena should be directed, not immediately to the attainment of knowledge, but to the formation of λόγοι, and these λόγοι should then be used as a means for studying realities. It seems to me that in this way we have a consistent and satisfactory explanation of this most perplexing passage.

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NOTES ON PLUTARCH'S *QUAESTIONES CONVIVALES* [BERNARDAKIS].

P. 149, 17. τὸ μὲν ποικίλον ἥδιον ἐστί, τὸ δ' ἥδιον εὐορεκτότερον, ἂν τὴν ὑπερ<βολὴν καὶ τάγ>αν ἀφέλῃς· προσφύεται γὰρ ὀργῶντι καὶ δεχομένῳ τῷ σώματι—. τὸ δ' ἀνόρεκτον πλανώμενον καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἢ παντάπασιν ἐξέβαλεν ἢ φύσις, ἢ μόλις ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἔστερξεν. The subject of προσφύεται is τὸ εὐορεκτον, to which in the following clause τὸ ἀνόρεκτον is opposed. The argument is that what is εὐορεκτον is more healthy than what is ἀνόρεκτον. Therefore it seems certain that, after εὐορεκτότερον, τὸ δ' εὐορεκτον ὑγιεινότερον has fallen out owing to the homoioteleuton.

P. 153, 13. προσελθόντα has no one to whom it can be referred, as it cannot grammatically be referred to the man mentioned in the parenthesis above. Probably τὸν ἄρχοντα has fallen out after it.

P. 154, 18. οὕτω φήσιν τις καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς φιλοσοφῆσαντας περὶ τῶν ὕδνων ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχοντων τὴν γένεσιν, ὥς ὁ ῥᾶς lac. 3 litt. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὑποκειμένης τῷ λόγῳ τῆς εὐπειθείας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν lac. 3 litt. προδήλῳ τῷ εἶναι πειθούσης. I suggest, although it involves three transpositions, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς φιλοσοφῆσαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ὕδνων ὥς ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχοντων τὴν γένεσιν, ῥᾶς<των>εὐνείν>δ' ἐν τούτοις, ὑποκειμένης τῷ λόγῳ τῆς εὐπαθείας (ita Bern.) καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν <εἶναι> τῷ προδήλῳ εἶναι πειθούσης. This gives the required sense 'So some one will say that we too were moved by pleasure to philosophise about the truffles, as if their origin were doubtful, but that we will not exercise our wits about this matter, since physical enjoyment is at the bottom of our discussion and persuades us in this case not to trouble ourselves about the cause of the phenomenon since that is self-evident.' For ῥαστωνεὐνείν δ' ἐν τούτοις, it might be better to suggest ῥα<θυμ>ε<ι>ν δ' ε<ν> τούτοις, the damaged passage having been thus in the uncial MS. PAC . . ΕΙΝΔΕΤΟΥΤΟΙC.

P. 158, 17. ὥς ὁ Μένανδρος πρὸς τὸν κελεύοντα ταῖς λοιπάς περιφράττειν lac. 4 litt. ὡπον δεινῶς lac. 5 litt. οὐ πράγμα νύμφης λέγεις. It seems evident that Menander's line ran thus δεινῆς . . . οὐ φράγμα κοῦ νύμφης λέγεις. Possibly περιφράττειν <τὴν> ἀσ<ω>πον.

P. 170, 18. τοῖς σώμασιν is evidently wrong. Perhaps τοῖς ἔξω μέρεσιν.

P. 193, 14. ἐφάνη μοι (sc. Ὀνισικράτης) τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος 'αἰξομένη πόλις οὐ πόλιν' συμπόσια δεδοσθαι. No doubt Benseler's αἰξομένην πόλιν is right.

There can however be little doubt that the subject of ἐφάνη is Onesicrates, and therefore that δεδοσθαι is corrupt and should be changed to δέχεσθαι. But I cannot decide how we should correct συμπόσια. ἐπὶ συμπόσιος ἀποδέχεσθαι would give the required sense.

P. 237, 9. ὑποσκαφισμοί. There is no part of the process of cleaning corn to which this word could be applied, and we should restore ὑποσκαριφισμοί i.e. scraping lightly with the hand to get rid of stones, &c. This, when corn is pounded and ground at home, is done after the pounding. The larger impurities are thus eliminated, and subsequently the smaller ones are sifted off. L. and S. s.v. ὑποσκαφισμός cite ὑποσκαριφισμός in the same sense, but without a reference. It should certainly be restored to Plutarch and ὑποσκαφισμός should disappear from *Lexika*.

P. 239, 13. We should write παρὰ τῶν τειχοφυλάκων πολεμίων <όντων>.

P. 245, 12. οὔτε γὰρ μέλιτος οὔθ' ὕδατος, οὔτ' ἄλλον τινὸς ὑγροῦ βραχὺς οὕτως ὅπως ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνει τοιαύτην, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ ἀναλίσκεται διὰ ξηρότητα· τὸ δ' ἔλαιον . . . ἄγεται περὶ τὸ σῶμα χρισμένοις κ.τ.λ. ἐπιλείπων καταναλίσκεται Bern., but this is too much of a tautology to be possible. Restore ἐπιπολάζων καταναλίσκεται.

P. 246, 23 sq. Plutarch is talking of the use of fig juice for curdling milk. καὶ τὴν πῆξιν ἐμποιοῖν τῷ γάλακτι τὸν ὅπὸν οἰονταί τινες, οὐ σκαληνὰ σχημάτων περιπλέκοντα καὶ κολῶντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ γάλακτος . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ θερμότητος ἐκτῆγοντα τὸ ἀσύστατον καὶ ὑδατῶδες i.e. the whey. The text continues τεκμήριον δὲ τὸ ἄχρηστον γλυκὺ εἶναι τὸν ὅπὸν, ἀλλὰ πωμάτων φανλότατον, which is certainly corrupt and, as far as intelligible, ridiculous, for it states that the juice of the unripe fig is drunk and that it is sweet. It is not of course drunk and it is very bitter. We may with certainty restore τεκμήριον δὲ τὸ ἄχρηστον γλυκὺ <ν> γὰρ> εἶναι τὸν ὅπὸν ἀλλὰ πωμάτων φανλότατον. I have tried the experiment of curdling milk with the juice of the unripe fig. The curds were so bitter that I did not try the whey. I suppose that I put too much fig juice in.

P. 251, 24. οὐκ ἂν δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινε διακρινομένων εὐθύς ἐν τῇ καταπόσει τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀλλ' οὐ συμπλεκομένων ἡμῶν ἅμα καὶ συμπαραπεμπόντων τὸ σιτίον. The subject

of συμπλεκόμενων καὶ συμπαραπεμποντων is obviously τὰ ὑγρά. So ἡμῶν ἅμα is corrupt. Probably ἡρέμα.

P. 255, 11. δίψος περιφλεγέστατον. Was the medical term for violent thirst, περιφλεγές or πυριφλεγές? L. and S. quote περιφλεγές from this and another passage in Plutarch, πυριφλεγές from medical writers. The term in use must have been one and the same in all the instances. πυριφλεγές seems the more probable.

P. 279, 16. δεδοκότες τοῖς ἐστιῶσι. It is curious that no editor has observed that the sense requires not 'to the entertainers,' but 'to the entertained.' Restore οἷς ἐστιῶσι 'to those whom they entertain.'

P. 282, 2. εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῶν ἰδίων φίλων οὓς ἂν καὶ ἤθελεν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι ὁ δειπνίζων, ἐπιεικὴς ὢν ἐπιεικῆς, καὶ φιλόλογος φιλολόγους ὄντας, ἢ δυνατοὺς δυνάμενος, πάλαι καὶ ζητῶν ἀμωσγέπως αὐτοῖς ἐν προσηγορίᾳ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ γενέσθαι. Instead of excluding καὶ with Wytténbach we should supply a participle before πάλαι e.g. <σεβόμενος> πάλαι καὶ ζητῶν.

P. 305, 9. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ μνήμην ἐν Πυθίοις γενόμενος, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὕμνων τῷ θεῷ χορηγός. A comma after γενόμενος is necessary. Pindar was born during the Pythian festival. Without the comma the sentence is liable to be misunderstood. I had misunderstood it, until Prof. von Wilamowitz pointed out to me this simple expedient.

P. 316, 16. αἱ μὲν πρῶταί σου τῶν ἐποθέσεων . . . περὶ πολὺ τὸ κενὸν ἔχουσαι μετέωραν. We should, I think, restore καίπερ πολὺ.

P. 323, 24. κάκει (at Delphi) πρῶτον ἐπὶ τιμῇ, τοῦ θεοῦ δάφνη καὶ φοίνικι τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκόσμησαν ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῷ θεῷ μὴ δάφνας μὴδ' ἐλαίας, ἀλλὰ φοίνικας ἀνατιθέντες. Herwerden proposes the exclusion of δάφνη καὶ; but it is difficult to regard it as an interpolation. What the speaker wished to say was perhaps that the crowns at Delphi were originally made of laurel, but made to look as if they were of palm; just as at present the Palm-Sunday branches are artificial palm branches. Perhaps δαφνίνω φοίνικι.

P. 334, 12. The stork, allowed to make its nest near houses, gives ἐπίβαθρόν τι γῆς, because it kills snakes etc. Reisck has proposed στεγῆς for γῆς, but this can scarcely be right, as the stork cannot be said to receive shelter; in fact Plutarch has just said that it does not receive shelter or help. ἐπίβαθρόν τι τῆς <διαίτης> δίδωσι should, I think, be restored. It is evident that διαίτης may easily have been omitted by a scribe whose eye skipped from one ΤΗCΔΙ to another; and then τῆς was changed to γῆς by a bad conjecture. What the stork pays for is simply its δίαίτα with men and no more.

W. R. PATON.

*Calymnos.*

#### NOTE ON φοναί.

THE poetical word φονή appears to have been used only in the plural. So far as the Lexicon shows, it occurs eleven times, and always in the dat.; but probably Soph. *Ant.* 1003 should be deducted, and we should certainly add Soph. *Tr.* 558, and possibly other instances of φονῶν not yet identified. The word is found once with ἀμφί (*Il.* 15, 633), and nine times with ἐν, if ἐν φοναῖς is read in Ar. *Av.* 1070. In Soph. *Ant.* 1003 we have φοναῖς alone. An examination of the examples shows that φοναί is not (as would appear from L. and S., and as is commonly supposed) a synonym of φόνος; for it never denotes the 'act of killing,' but always (1) 'blood' (shed), or (2) 'bloody corpses or carcases,' 'carnage.' The passages fall into three groups. (A) Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 37 πέφνεν τε ματέρα θῆκ' τ' Αἰγισθον ἐν φοναῖς, 'laid him

weltering in his blood.' Aesch. *Ag.* 446 ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ', 'fallen nobly in his own blood.' Soph. *Ant.* 696 ἐν φοναῖς | πεπτῶτ' ἄθαπτον, 'lying in his blood where he fell, unburied.' Eur. *El.* 1206 (Orestes speaks to Elektra after killing his mother. He had plunged his sword into Klytāimnestra's neck, covering his eyes with his ἱμάτιον as he struck the blow.) κατείδες οἶον ἢ τάλαιν' ἑῶν πέπλων | ἔβαλεν (so MSS.: for ἔξω πέπλων ἀμαλόν, or ἀπαλόν?) ἔδειξε μαστὸν, ἐν φοναῖσιν—| ἰώ μοι—πρὸς πέδῳ | τιθείσα γόνιμα μέλεα, 'as in its blood the body that bare me sank to the ground?' To take ἐν φοναῖσιν with ἔδειξε μαστὸν would throw an improper emphasis on πρὸς πέδῳ.—(B) In the next three examples we have a modal adverb; 'in blood' means 'bloodily.' Soph. *Ant.* 1314 ποῖω δὲ κάπελυσσ' ἐν φοναῖς τρόπῳ;



'what was the manner of her bloody end?' Ar. *An.* 1070 (a mock-tragic passage) ἐρπετά τε καὶ δακετὰ πάνθ' ὅσαπέρ | ἔστιν ὑπ' ἐμῶς πτέρυγος ἐν φοναῖς ὄλλνται, 'they come to a bloody end.' The mss. here give φοναῖσιν ἐξόλλνται, which is metrically unsound. Edd. are divided between ἐκ φοναῖς ὄλλνται and ἐν φοναῖς ὄλλνται. The corruption probably arose from the omission of ἐν. Then, it being assumed that φοναῖς could mean 'killing,' the remaining words were altered to φοναῖσιν ἐξόλλνται, in order to effect a clumsy restoration of the metre. The tmesis ἐκ...ὄλλνται seems unlikely. Eur. *El.* 154 ἀπεσι δὲ | κυσὶν πεποιθὼς ἐν φοναῖς θηροκτόνοις, 'dogs that kill wild beasts, spilling their blood.' We might include here Soph. *Ant.* 1003 [ὄρνιθας] σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοναῖς, 'bloodily,' but the absence of ἐν makes it better to take φοναῖς as an adj. meaning 'bloody' or 'murderous'; cp. τομός, τροφός, τορός. The Schol.'s note is ταῖς αἱματικαῖς. (c) *Il.* 10, 521 (Hippokoon wakes and looks on the work of Odysseus and Diomedes) ὡς ἴδε... | ἄνδρας τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέῃσι φονῇσιν, 'gasping in death amid the dreadful carnage.' *Il.* 15, 633 θηρὶ μαχήσασθαι ἔλικος βοὸς ἀμφὶ φονῇσιν, 'to fight over the carcass of the ox,' which the lion has already slain. Her. 9, 76 ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἰόντας, 'while still standing amid the carnage.' It is nothing short of amazing that not only L. and S., but the edd. and translators (so far as I have been able to discover) should take this to mean 'while still engaged in the act of slaying.' The passage is from the story of the Koan woman who, after the battle of Plataia was over (as Her. expressly states), came in a carriage to the Lacedaemonians, while they were ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι, and asked to speak to Pausanias. Were the Lacedaemonians butchering the wounded?

We have no doubt another instance of

the word in Soph. *Tr.* 558 δῶρον...ὃ παῖς ἔτ' οὔσα τοῦ δασυστέρνου παρὰ | Νέσσου φθίνοντος ἐκ φονῶν ἀνευλόμην, 'took up from the blood.' The δῶρον was a few drops of the creature's blood. The lemma of the schol. in L reads φόνων, but explains by αἵματος. Jebb reads φονῶν, translating 'wounds.' The prep. ἐκ makes φονῶν seem preferable to φόνων in Soph. *El.* 11 ὅθεν σε πατρός ἐκ φονῶν ἐγὼ ποτε | πρὸς σῆς ὀμαίμου καὶ κασιγνήτης λαβὼν | ἦνεγκα, 'whence, from amid thy slain father's blood, I took thee from thy sister's hands,' &c. There is a distinct gain in vividness with φονῶν, and the statement may be almost literally true; the children may have been present at the murder.

Since ἐν φοναῖς, 'in blood,' was so well established, ἐκ φονῶν, 'out of blood,' cannot be said to be an unlikely expression. Indeed, it would probably recur more frequently, were it not that even the most bloodthirsty of peoples would rarely have need to say 'out of (shed) blood.'

The notion that φοναῖ could mean 'place of slaughter' appears to have its origin in a schol. on *Il.* 15, 633. It reappears in Hesych. and the schol. on Pind. *P.* 2, 37; but even the passages quoted from later writers lend it no support. Aelian *N.A.* 3, 21 (a lion and lioness, returning to their lair, find that their cubs have been killed by a bear) ἐπεὶ δὲ...εἶδον τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς φοναῖς, 'in their blood' (φόνους is a v.l.). *Ibid.* 1, 18 φοναῖς should no doubt be restored. When a young dolphin has been harpooned and drawn up to the boat, the mother follows, τὸν παῖδα οὐχ ὑπομένονσα ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν τοῖς φόνους ὄντα. In Menand. (6th century A.D.) *Hist. Exc.*, p. 321 ed. Nieb., quoted in Steph. *Thes.*, anyone who cares to look at the passage will see that φοναῖς is a mere blunder for ποιναῖς.

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## THE GREEK WORDS FOR 'STYLE.'

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DEMETRIUS περὶ Ἑρμηνείας.)

THE best-known Greek word for 'style' is, of course, λέξις; and the best-known Greek treatment of the subject of style is that (in the Third Book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) which is introduced by the words: περὶ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ ἔχειν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ

ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ συμβάλλεται πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι ποιόν τινα τὸν λόγον (Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1, 2). The term λέξις was used in the same sense by Aristotle's successor, Theophrastus, who wrote a treatise περὶ Λέξεως. This work of Theophrastus was one of considerable influence; and could it

be recovered, it would probably be found to throw great light upon the divisions of style current among the later rhetoricians, who often refer to it.

Besides λέξις there are other words for 'style,' all of which, however, appear to be post-Aristotelian in this sense. One of these words is φράσις. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus λέξις and φράσις are used side by side, while in the *de Sublimitate* (c. 30) τὸ φραστικὸν μέρος = ὁ λεκτικὸς τόπος, and in Marcellinus (*Vit. Thucyd.* § 39) φραστικοὶ χαρακτήρες = οἱ τῆς λέξεως χαρακτήρες. Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* viii. 1, 1: cp. x. 1, 87) has φράσις in this sense, and Diog. Laert. (*Vit. Philos.* viii. 57) has: ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν φησὶν (Ἀριστοτέλης) ὅτι καὶ Ὀμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονε, μεταφορικὸς τ' ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος. If this last is an exact quotation and Diogenes has not substituted a term of his own day for τὴν λέξιν in the original text of Aristotle, then we have here an instance of the use by Aristotle of the word φράσις, which does not (I think) occur elsewhere in his extant writings. Possibly a less formal word than λέξις was judged more appropriate in reference to an early writer like Empedocles. The same use of φράσις by Aristotle is implied by Diogenes (V. 38) when he says with regard to Theophrastus: τοῦτον Τύρταμον λεγόμενον Θεόφραστον διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον Ἀριστοτέλης μετωνόμασεν, and by Strabo (*Geograph.* xiii. 2) in his corresponding account of the change of name: Τύρταμος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἔμπροσθεν ὁ Θεόφραστος, μετωνόμασε δ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης Θεόφραστον, ἅμα μὲν φεύγων τὴν τοῦ προτέρου ὀνόματος κακοφωνίαν, ἅμα δὲ τὸν τῆς φράσεως αὐτοῦ ζῆλον ἐπισημαίνου-  
μενος.

ἀπαγγελία, properly used of narrative and especially of historical narrative, is another late word for 'style' in general. Examples will be found in Dionys. Hal. *Vet. Cens.* ii. 4 (τῶν φιλοσόφων δ' ἀναγνωστέον τοὺς τε Πυθαγορικοὺς τῆς σεμνότητος καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἕνεκεν' οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας); in Plut. *de Audiendo* 45 (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Λυσίου λόγον οὕτε κατὰ τὴν εὐρεσιν ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀταξίας αἰτιῶμενος, ὅμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐπαινεῖ, καὶ ὅτι τῶν ὀνομάτων σαφῶς καὶ στρογγύλως ἕκαστον ἀποτετόρνενται: cp. *Vit. Demosth.* c. 2); and in the sixth chapter of the *Ars Rhetorica* once attributed to Dionysius.

In addition to the three terms already given, γραφή and διάλεκτος are occasionally found in contexts where they may conveniently be translated 'style,' though neither

of these words can be regarded as being, in the full sense here intended, an accepted term of rhetoric. There remains, however, the word ἑρμηνεία, whose meaning in the title of the treatise bearing the name of Demetrius it is the principal object of this paper to elucidate. As the superscription in its full form (Δημητρίου Φαληρέως περὶ ἑρμηνείας ὃ ἔστι περὶ φράσεως) is of more than doubtful authenticity, it is better not to lay any stress on the testimony it affords to the convertibility of φράσις and ἑρμηνεία. Internal evidence, even apart from the usage of other writers, is enough to show that ἑρμηνεία is used in the sense of the Aristotelian λέξις. The word occurs some score of times in the περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, but two or three illustrations of its meaning will suffice. We should, for example, do well to compare § 136 νῦν καὶ τοὺς τόπους παραδείξομεν ἐφ' ὧν αἱ χάριτες πρώτους δὲ τοὺς τῆς λέξεως with § 156 αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν χάριτες τοσαῦται καὶ οἱ τόποι. The first of these quotations introduces, and the second closes, one and the same discussion: so that ἑρμηνεία is clearly regarded as tallying with λέξις. Similarly ἡ ἑρμηνεία ἢ πρὶν ('the antique style') in § 14 seems to correspond to λέξις as characterised in Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 1, 2. Again, in § 35 οἱ χαρακτήρες τῆς ἑρμηνείας answers to the phrase more usual in other writers, οἱ χαρακτήρες τῆς λέξεως. In general it may here be remarked that, though the four 'types of style' discussed by Demetrius are not mentioned by Aristotle, yet the contents of the περὶ Ἑρμηνείας present many points of close contact with the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*.

It is not, however, the case that Demetrius is alone in his use of ἑρμηνεία. Far from it. Even Aristotle himself, though his accepted word for 'style' is λέξις, shows how easily the general sense of 'expression' might pass into that of 'formal literary expression.' In the *Poetics* 1450 b we read: λέγω δέ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἴρηται, λέξιν εἶναι τὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἑρμηνείαν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν, while in the *Topics* 139 b we have: ἔστι δὲ τοῦ μὴ καλῶς μέρη δύο, ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀσαφεῖ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ κεκρῆσθαι· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὀριζόμενον ὥς ἐνδέχεται σαφειστάτῃ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ κεκρῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ γνωρίσαι χάριν ἀποδοῖται ὁ ὀρισμός. At the same time it is easy to see the divergent meanings borne by ἑρμηνεία in the short logical treatise (of Aristotelian origin) entitled περὶ Ἑρμηνείας and in the περὶ Ἑρμηνείας attributed to Demetrius. As Ammonius, the son of Hermias, says in his commentary on the Aristotelian treatise: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ

αὐτὸς (ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης) καθάπερ Δημήτριος τὸ περὶ λογογραφικῆς ιδέας βιβλίον συγγράψας, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸ ἐπιγράψας περὶ Ἑρμηνείας ἀξιοὶ καλεῖν ἐρμηνεῖαν τὴν λογογραφικὴν ιδέαν, ὡς δὴ περὶ ταύτης ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ βιβλίῳ διαλεξιόμενος . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέγραψε τὸ βιβλίον περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ οὕτως ἐπιγράφειν ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀποφαντικοῦ λόγου (Berlin Aristotle iv. 96 b, 97 a).

In the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, now commonly attributed to Anaximenes, approximations to the later use are furnished by such phrases as καλλίστην ποιεῖν τὴν ἐρμηνεῖαν (*Rhet. ad Alex.* 1435a 3) and τῆς ἐρμηνείας τὴν σύνθεσιν (*ib.* 1436a 21). In this work the term is used with special reference to *composition*, while in other writers (such as Philodemus) it seems to be applied particularly to *diction*. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus it is clear that by ἐρμηνεία is meant ὁ λεκτικὸς τόπος as opposed to ὁ πραγματικὸς τόπος,—the whole department of style as opposed to the whole department of invention. The following passage of the *de Compositione* is decisive on the point: τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς λέξεις φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ ταῖς νεαραῖς πέφυκε συνανθεῖν οὐχ ἥττον ἡλικίας ἐπτόχται γὰρ ἅπασα νέου ψυχῇ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἐρμηνείας ὠραϊσμόν (Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 1). Here ὁ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ὠραϊσμός signifies nothing more or less than *elegance of style*. Instances as unequivocal will be found in Dionys. Hal. *de Comp.* c. 3 (τί οὖν λείπεται μὴ οὐχὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ἐρμηνείας αἰτιάσθαι); *de Thucyd.* c. 51, *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 5, *de Lys.* cc. 2, 5, 10, 24; in the περὶ Ὑψους c. 5 (τὰ κάλλη τῆς ἐρμηνείας), c. 43 (τῆς ἐρμηνείας...αἴσχη), c. 23 (τῆς ἐρμηνευτικῆς); in Diog. Laert. *Vit. Philos.* ii. 57 (ἐκαλείτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικῇ Μοῦσα γλυκύτητι τῆς ἐρμηνείας); in Philo (e.g. Cohn and Wendland ed. min. I. p. 196, *de Cherubim*: ῥητορικὴ δὲ τὰς τε ἐκάστοις δεινότητας ἐξετάζουσα καὶ πᾶσιν τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐρμηνείαν ἐφαρμόζουσα); and in other late writers.

To make the statement complete, it should be stated quite explicitly that Demetrius employs other words besides ἐρμηνεία in the sense of 'style' or 'artistic writing.' He uses λέξις side by side with ἐρμηνεία throughout (e.g. §§ 114, 133) his treatise. φράσις and ἀπαγγελία are also found in his book, but only (I think) in what are, or seem to be, quotations from other writers. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, also, uses (e.g. *de Isocr.* c. 3, *Vett. Cens.* I. c. 4) λέξις, ἐρμηνεία, φράσις and ἀπαγγελία indifferently.

The question may possibly be raised why the author of the περὶ Ἑρμηνείας should have given (if it was he who gave) his book

this title rather than that of περὶ Λέξεως. One of the reasons may have been the desire to distinguish it from the Third Book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and from the περὶ Λέξεως of Theophrastus. In the body of his treatise, as in the critical writings of Dionysius, it is clear that mere considerations of variety often determine the use of one expression rather than the other. It was perhaps also a point in favour of ἐρμηνεία, as against λέξις, that the latter sometimes stands for 'diction,' in the more restricted sense of the word. But I would suggest that probably the chief ground for this preference of ἐρμηνεία to λέξις was that the former had, and the latter had not, a corresponding verb. λέγειν might, no doubt, be employed; indeed, the author of the *Rhet. ad Alex.* (c. 25) uses εἰς δύο ἐρμηνεύειν and εἰς δύο λέγειν synonymously in describing bimembral periods. But such a use is hardly free from ambiguity, as Aristotle apparently recognises when in the *Soph. El.* c. 4 he employs the periphrasis τῇ λέξει σημαίνειν as an equivalent of ἐρμηνεύειν. In English we have no verb corresponding to the noun 'style' (in the sense of 'artistic writing'); and consequently we must have recourse to some such circumlocution as 'to write artistically,' if we wish to render ἐρμηνεύειν as employed by the Greek rhetoricians. Sometimes, it is true, the verb 'to phrase' might serve. For example, in the περὶ Ἑρμ. § 46 it would be possible to translate εἰ δὴ τις οὕτω μεταβαλὼν ἐρμηνεύσειεν αὐτό by 'if we change the phrasing of the sentence.' But in general ἐρμηνεύειν will be rendered 'to express artistically' or 'to write in good style,' while such a phrase as ὁ δαιμόνιος ἐρμηνεῖσαι Πλάτων (Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.*, c. 26) will be translated 'Plato with his marvellous gifts of style.' It may be that φράσις and ἀπαγγελία (no less than λέξις) were hampered as stylistic terms by the want of convenient verbs to correspond to them. φράζειν and ἐκφράζειν are but seldom found in this sense, and the common meaning of ἀπαγγέλλειν is 'to relate an occurrence' or 'to deliver a speech.'

The natural Latin rendering of περὶ Ἑρμηνείας is *de Elocutione*, as was seen by Petrus Victorius, a scholar remarkable for the pains he took to discover the best Latin equivalents for the Greek rhetorical terms. *Elocutio* is defined by Cicero (*de Inv.* I. 7) as 'idoneorum verborum et sententiarum ad inventionem accommodatio'; and Quintilian *Inst. Or.* viii. 1, 1) says 'igitur, quam Graeci φράσιν vocant, Latine dicimus *elocutionem*.'



Other Latin words would also serve (*e.g.* some of those given in Quintil. ix. 1, 17); but among these we can hardly include *interpretatio* (though the treatise is still often described as the *de Interpretatione*), since that term implies rather the explanation of words (especially strange or foreign words) than the expression of one's ideas. Whether appropriately used or not in the Latin translation of the Aristotelian *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, the word 'interpretatio' can scarcely be used to translate the Demetrian *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*.

*On Elocution* would also be the natural English rendering if we could venture to revive a use now obsolete,<sup>1</sup>—if we could say with Bacon 'a strange thing that that part of an orator which is but superficial and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed [*sc.* by Demosthenes] so high above those other noble parts, of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all.' The accomplishment thus preferred by Demosthenes to 'invention and elocution' was, of course, *actio* which suggests rather our modern ideas of 'elocution.' Rejecting 'elocution,' we may try 'expression.' But this word, when used in reference to literature, more naturally bears the sense given to it by (say) Mr Beeching in his recent Clark lecture on 'Expression in Poetry.' No doubt we may add a defining epithet and speak of 'rhetorical expression,' thus making it clear that spoken prose is primarily meant by all these late Greek literary critics. But two words are then used to translate one; and if this is not necessary (as our leading English authorities tacitly assume) in the case of the *λέξις* of the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*, neither is it necessary in the case of the *ἑρμηνεία* of the *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*. For the one term as for the other the best available brief rendering is the word *style*, which is recommended by its respectable French and Latin pedigree, as well as by its suggestion of a personality behind the pen. DEMETRIUS ON STYLE would, therefore, seem to be the most convenient English title to give to the treatise.

The treatise itself deserves, it may here be briefly added, more attention than it has so far received. The text requires careful

revision, and the readings of P 1741 should be reported more fully and more accurately than hitherto. For the approximate determination of the date of the book a thorough examination of its contents is necessary. Not only do definite allusions show that the work taken as a whole belongs to a time much later than that of Demetrius Phalereus, but the character of its grammar and vocabulary supports a like inference. The book embodies to a large extent the traditional Peripatetic teaching of many generations; and its natural place in the long historical development of the Greek theory of prose style (in which development it marks, among extant works, a distinct stage) would seem to be the period between Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the rhetorician Hermogenes. Where so much is uncertain, it would be rash indeed to make any positive statement; but from the imperfect evidence before us we might surmise that the treatise belongs to the latter half of the first century A.D. Whether it was written by Demetrius, and by what Demetrius, we cannot say. We have, however, already seen—incidentally—that it is apparently mentioned by Ammonius (circ. 500 A.D.) and by him linked with the name Demetrius.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

I take the opportunity, afforded by the correction of the proof-sheet of this paper, to refer to Mr. Adam's 'Emendation of Eurip. Frag. 222' on p. 197 of last month's *Classical Review*. The emendation seems (if one may be allowed to say so) a distinctly happy one, and may perhaps be held to derive some additional support from the fact that P 2036 gives *εἶλκε* in full. It looks as if the scribe had omitted the following *εἶλχ'* as an idle repetition. I had noticed long ago, and with great regret, the misprint on p. 146 of my *Longinus*. Not being satisfied with Valckenauer's *ταῦρος*, I marked the three lines (which are of course written continuously in P) to be printed thus: *εἰ δέ που τύχοι | περὶ ἐλίξας \* \* εἶλχ' μοῦο λαβὼν | γυναῖκα πέτραν δρὺν μεταλλάσσων ἀεί.* By one of those accidents for which an editor has himself chiefly to blame the line assumed its present unmetrical form. The shortening of the final syllable of *ἐλίξας* never occurred to me as a possibility, and I cannot trace in my edition (the second) of Nauck the passage in which, as Mr. Adam states, mention is made of attempts to justify so unlikely a licence. May I at the same time be permitted to make a correction on p. 130 of *Longinus on the Sublime*, where an emendation of Dr. Postgate's is wrongly given in the critical footnote as *ῥωφ* instead of *ῥωφ*?

W. R. R.

<sup>1</sup> Obsolete in English, but not so in French. Littré, '*elocution* est quelquefois synonyme de *style*'; cp. *elocuzione* in Italian.

## Καθέδρα AND συμφέλλιον IN HERMAE PASTOR.

HERMAS used to be reckoned one of the Apostolic Fathers, with Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and 'Barnabas.' His work, the *Pastor*, was perhaps written about 150 A.D., and not (as has been thought) some half century earlier. It purports to be his record of revelations made to him, but is probably an allegorical fiction, like the *Pilgrim's Progress* with which it has been compared, the name Hermas itself being possibly fictitious. In parts the *Pastor* is like a Christian version of *Cebetis Tabula*, on which Dr. J. M. Cotterill some years ago gave reasons to think that it was founded. The Sphinx and her riddle, for example, are mentioned in the introductory part of the *Tabula*, and her riddle read backwards seems to underlie *Vis. i.-iii.* of Hermas.

1. In his introductory *Visions* the author of *Hermas Pastor* makes the Church personified sit first alone on a chair (καθέδρα), and afterwards with 'Hermas' on a bench (συμφέλλιον). In his *Mand. xi.* a solitary ψευδοπροφήτης sits on the chair, and men who are πιστοί sit together on the bench. In the *Visions* he partially describes the chair and the bench, laying stress upon the fact that the bench has four feet, and leaving us to conjecture how many the chair has and what the number connotes. The following passages of the *Pastor* are taken from Dr. Harmer's text (1891).

*Vis. i. 2.* 2 βλέπω κατέναντί μου καθέδραν λευκὴν ἐξ ἑρίων χιονίνων γεγονυῖαν μεγάλην· καὶ ἦλθεν γυνὴ πρεσβυτὴς ἐν ἱματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ, ἔχουσα βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκάθισεν μόνη, καὶ ἀσπάζεται με· Ἑρμᾶ, χαίρει.

*Vis. i. 4.* 1 "Ὅτε οὖν... ἡγήθη ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας, ἦλθαν τέσσαρες νεανία καὶ ἦσαν τὴν καθέδραν καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. 3 δύο τινὲς ἄνδρες ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἦσαν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀγκώνων καὶ ἀπῆλθον, ὅπου καὶ ἡ καθέδρα, πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν.

*Vis. ii. 4.* 1 Τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγὼ φημί· Τὴν Σίβυλλαν. Πλανᾶσαι, φησίν, οὐκ ἔστιν. Τίς οὖν ἐστίν; φημί. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησίν. εἶπον αὐτῷ· Διατί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; "Ὅτι, φησίν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη διὰ τοῦτο πρεσβυτέρα, καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος κατητίσθη.

*Vis. iii. 1.* 4 καὶ βλέπω συμφέλλιον κείμενον ἐλεφάντινον κ.τ.λ. 7 καὶ ἄγει με πρὸς τὸ συμφέλλιον, καὶ... 8 μόνων ἡμῶν γεγονότων λέγει μοι· Κάθισον ὧδε. λέγω αὐτῇ· Κυρία, ἄφες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πρῶτον καθίσαι.

*Vis. iii. 2.* 4 καὶ ἐγείρει με καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τὸ

συμφέλλιον ἐξ εὐωνύμων· ἐκαθέζετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκ δεξιῶν.

*Vis. iii. 10.* 1 καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἄλλοι τέσσαρες ἦσαν τὸ συμφέλλιον... 3 ὥφθη δέ μοι, ἀδελφοί, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὁράσει τῇ περυσινῇ λίαν πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἐν καθέδρᾳ καθημένη. 4 τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ ὁράσει τὴν μὲν ὅψιν νεωτέραν εἶχεν, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας, καὶ ἐστῆκυιά μοι ἐλάλει. Ἰλαρωτέρα δὲ ἦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον. 5 τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἶχεν· ἱλαρὰ δὲ εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ συμφελλίῳ καθημένη.

*Vis. iii. 11.* 1 "Ἄκουε, φησίν, περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν ὧν ἐπιζητεῖς. 2 τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὁράσει διατί πρεσβυτέρα ὥφθη σοι καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ καθημένη; ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἤδη μεμαρασμένον κ.τ.λ. 3 ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μήκει ἐχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδοκῶσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν κοίμῃσιν αὐτῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς... 4 Διατί οὖν ἐν καθέδρᾳ ἐκάθητο, ἤθελον γινῶναι, κύριε. "Ὅτι πᾶς ἀσθενὴς εἰς καθέδραν καθέζεται διὰ τὴν ἀσθενείαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα συνκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθενεία τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

*Vis. iii. 13.* 1 Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἱλαράν... 3 καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφελλίῳ εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἢ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμφέλλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4 οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὁλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι.

*Mand. xi.* 1 "Εδειξέ μοι ἐπὶ συμφελλίῳ καθημένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἕτερον ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ. καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ συμφελλίου καθημένους; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτοι, φησί, πιστοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν κ.τ.λ. 2 οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δάψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάγον (αἱ μάντιν) ἔρχονται, κ.τ.λ.

2. Hermas has been credited with extreme simplicity and ineptitude. In *Vis. iii. 1. 8* he tells us that he is left alone with Ecclesia. Then she bids him sit down, and he replies, Κυρία, ἄφες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πρῶτον καθίσαι. 'Sed nullus presbyter adest.' One commentator would therefore rewrite his reply. Another says, 'Nihil muto: versus enim hic melius alio scriptoris miseram scribendi artem indicat.' A third thinks that 'Hermas laicus [presbyteros] etiam absentes reveretur': he shows his respect for the presbyters by refusing to sit down before them, although there are none present. But if he is unwilling to sit down first when only two are present, what can he mean but

that he would have the other person present, the γυνή πρεσβυτίς or πρεσβυτέρα, sit down before him? Accordingly, instead of saying, 'Old lady, sit thou down first,' he replies to the effect, 'Seniores priores.'

On *Vis.* iii. 11. 2 ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον κ.τ.λ. it is remarked, 'prorsus aliter *Vis.* ii. 4. 1,' with reference to πρεσβυτέρα... 'Ὅτι πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη. Here again, I think, Hermas is neither careless nor forgetful, but deliberately makes one symbol serve two purposes. In *Vis.* ii. the Church is made to be primeval and pre-existent like Wisdom in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, with allusion perhaps for the epithet 'elder' to Philo's *Leg. Allegor.* ii. 1 ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρεσβύτερος κόσμον καὶ δημιουργός. In *Vis.* iii. the same epithet is explained as representing decay in the Church of the present. In like manner the writer makes καθέδρα as a symbol serve two purposes.

3. 'Συμφέλια, τά, the Lat. *subsellia*, Byz.; *συνφέλλια* (*sic*) in Anth. P. append. 385: in sing. Hermog.' (L & S). Anth. Χαίρετ' Ἀριστείδον τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπτά μαθηταί, | τέσσαρες οἱ τοῦχοι, καὶ τρία συμφέλια. Note sing. *συμφέλλιον* (-λίον) also in *Hermas Pastor*. In rabbinic Hebrew the word is read *safsāl*. Hermas makes a parable of his contrast between the chair and the bench; and so Plutarch contrasts καθέδρα with κλίνη and gives an application to the ψυχὴ in *Quaest. Coniun.* vii. 10 Ὅθεν ὥσπερ ἡ κλίνη τοῖς πίνουσι τῆς καθέδρας ἀμείνων, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα κατέχει καὶ ἀπολύει κινήσεως ἀπάσης, οὕτως ἔχειν ἀτρέμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρίστον.

A chair might have four feet or three. The chair in Hermas, being contrasted with the bench which is expressly said to have four feet, is evidently meant to have three only. With this agrees the symbolism of other parts of the *Pastor*, in which squareness is an attribute of what is perfect of its kind and ἀνευ ψόγου. As the Church in her perfection rests upon τέσσαρας πόδας, so in the two buildings of the tower, which is again the Church, whatever is perfect is τετράγωνος. Thus in *Vis.* iii. the tower is built ἐν τετραγώνῳ and λίθοις τετραγώνοις λαμπροῖς (2. 4-5), which represent apostles and others οἱ πορευθέντες κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ (5. 1), and stones of another shape have to be cut and squared before they can be εὐχρηστοί (6. 6). In *Sim.* ix. the foundation rock, which is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, is τετράγωνος (2. 1, 12. 1), and all the stones of the tower are again τετράγωνοι (3. 3, 6. 7-8, 9.

2). The tower standing on the square rock corresponds to the Church on her square seat, the bench.

4. A chair with three feet suits the contexts of καθέδρα in the *Pastor*, and it appears that two things are there signified by its tripod-form.

The word καθέδρα is used of a station for observing omens in Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 5 ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ στάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰωνοῖς μαντευομένων ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολάς. For the 'tripod' compare Eurip. *Ion* 91 f. θάσσει δὲ γυνὴ τρίποδα ζάθεον | Δελφὶς αἰέδουσ', and the ancient myth in Plato *Legg.* iv. (719 c) ὅτι ποιητὴς ὁπότεν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν. The false prophet sits on his tripod in *Mand.* xi. 1-2, and the δῖφνοι come to him as a soothsayer. These μαντεύονται ὥς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, and the devil πληροῖ αὐτὸν τῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι (3-4). As the Church and the faithful on the bench in *Vis.* iii. 13 and *Mand.* xi. correspond, so the chair of the Church in *Vis.* i. 2 corresponds to the chair of the heathenish false prophet in *Mand.* xi. Aged and sitting on a tripod, book in hand, she looks like the Sibyl, for whom Hermas mistakes her. That he does so is stated only in *Vis.* ii., but with reference also to *Vis.* i., for it is only in the first vision that she is λίαν πρεσβυτέρα (*Vis.* iii. 10. 3).

The Church in the chair is old and decrepit, to signify ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἥδη μεμαρασμένον (*Vis.* iii. 11. 2). The chair with three feet represents this also, in accordance with Hes. *Op.* 531 f. τότε δὴ τρίποδι βροτῶ ἴσοι | . . . φοιτῶσιν, and Aesch. *Ag.* 79 f. φυλλάδος ἥδη | κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοὺς | στείχει. The allusion by Hermas to the riddle of the Sphinx, which is now apparent, is completed by *Vis.* iii. 12. 1 Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν ἐστηκυῖαν καὶ τὴν ὅψιν νεωτέραν ἔχουσαν κ.τ.λ. Tracing the three ages of man backwards, with reference to the new birth, he represents the Church as first old and then younger and again younger, as she rests upon three and two and four feet respectively.

*Hermas Pastor* was the subject of two papers read to the Cambridge Philological Society in the session of last year. These notes are in substance the first paper. The second consisted of extracts from the article on *Hermas and Cebes* at the end of vol. 27 of the *Journal of Philology*.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE, 1901.



ON THE ENIGMA IN VERGIL, *ECL.* III. 104.

D. DIC quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—  
tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas.

M. DIC quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum  
nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.

No satisfactory interpretation, as far as I know, has been offered for the former couplet. The traditional explanation, that a hoax was intended, is not probable in itself, and, if true, then by the laws of amoebean verses there should have been another hoax, to cap it, in the next couplet. All solutions connected with the notion of a grave or a pit leave *quibus in terris* without meaning. This indeed might not in itself be a fatal objection, but surely graves are not openings in the spacious vault of heaven, but in solid earth.

Perhaps a clue to the meaning may be found in Herodotus iv. 158, where the Greek wanderers in Libya are brought at last to a well of Apollo and recommended to settle there, ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται 'for here there is a hole in the sky,' or a window in heaven. The χάλκεος οὐρανός was supposed to be pierced with holes, through which rain fell. If a country like Egypt or Ethiopia had no rain, it was because there were no windows. If in certain favoured parts of such countries the blessing of rain was occasionally granted, it was because there was a small window there. The existence of oases in the desert was well known, and this passage in Herodotus appears to

show that the cause of them was supposed to be not merely the existence of a well, but also of a window. Vergil had not travelled like Herodotus and seen things for himself, but he had read about them and meditated on them and formed his own ideas. It is not at all surprising that he should have made a country bumpkin like Damoetas express the slowness of the rainfall in terms of the size of the window, fixing with rustic particularity upon precisely three ells as the *maximum* for each opening. If Damoetas had been asked to account for the intermittent character of the rainfall, he might perhaps have been content with the naive simplicity of Strepsiades

καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δ' ἄλγῶς ᾤμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν.—*Ar. Nubes*, 372.

It may be objected that the verb *τετραίνω* in Herodotus may easily describe a number of small perforations like the holes in the rose of a watering can, through which rain can pour *guttatim*, whereas Vergil's *pateat* suggests rather an open window through which it would rush in a deluge, as indeed is the case in Genesis vii. 11, where the metaphor of a window in heaven occurs. It may be enough to reply that if Vergil's language had been perfect, we should not have been puzzling over it after the lapse of nineteen centuries. Possibly the fact that in Egypt and Libya the open windows of the harem are regularly fitted with lattice work containing minute perforations may help to justify the word.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

## ON THE EPISTOLA SAPPHUS.

Of the two MSS. of the *Ep. Sapph.* here collated, the first is in the Corsini Library in Rome 43. F. 5, the same MS which I have described in the *Journal of Philology* for 1887 pp. 153 *sqq.* and given a complete collation of its readings in the *Culex* in Vol. vi. pp. 203, 4 of this *Review*. I call it here II.

The second MS belongs to the D'Orville collection in the Bodleian, no. 166=17044 in Madan's *Summary Catalogue* (vol. iv. p. 78). It is a small thin MS containing

fol. 1-47 Tibullus, fol. 48 Sappho vatis Elsie (Lesbie) Mitilene ad Phaonem Siculum amatorem. On p. lviii. it is said to be drawn ex antiquissimo manuscripto.

The Corsini MS belongs to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century: the D'Orville MS seems to be not earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. I call it here D'O.

Both MSS I have collated with Sedlmayer's edition of the *Heroides* Vienna 1886. 1. *Ecquid ubi* II *Nunquid ubi with al.*

ecquid *in marg.* D'O littera II D'O 3  
 auctoris II saphos II D'O 4 mouetur (*e in*  
*rasur.*) D'O 5 requiris II requiris *changed*  
 to requires D'O 6 sim II D'O 7 elegi

flebile II ellegi flebile D'O 8 barbitos II  
 barbiton D'O 11 thyphoydos ethne II  
 tiphydos ετηφ D'O 12 premit *marg.* al.  
 tenet II tenet D'O 13 Nec ego *marg.* al.  
 mihi II iungam quae D'O 14 uacue II  
 15 Nec mihi pyerides (*pi. D'O*) subeunt  
 naiadesque puellae II D'O, *nisi quod driades-*  
*que est in D'O, litteris dr super rasuram*  
 16 Nec michi al. me II tespiadum D'O 17  
 amatorie II amatorie D'O cidro II clio D'O  
 18 athays II athois D'O ut *om.* II D'O 19

alias al. alie II quas hic II D'O 20 abes  
 D'O 21 luxibus II 24 bachus II 25  
 phebus dannem II 26 illa uel illa II D'O  
 29 alceus II D'O 30 quanuis II grandius  
*om. in textu, habet in marg.* II 32 rependo  
 II D'O Post 32 II et D'O habent Nec me  
 dispicias (*desp. D'O*) si sum (*sim D'O*) tibi

corpore parua Mensuram (-que D'O) brevis  
 nominis ipsa fero / parui (*in marg. II*).<sup>1</sup> 35  
 zepheya II 36 Andromade II D'O 39 te/  
 D'O una littera erasa 41 At mea cum  
 legeres II D'O 45 Hoc quoque II Me quo-  
 que D'O 46 tunc II D'O 47 Tunc II D'O  
 49 Et quod II At <sup>que</sup> ubi amborum D'O *sed*  
*post amborum additum est iam supra uersum*  
*manu, ut uidetur, recentiore* 50 langor  
 II D'O 51 Sicilides II 52 sicilis II  
 53 At uos erronem tellure remittite nostrum  
 II D'O *sed in* II caronem *suprascr.* 54  
 Nasiades—nasiadesque II Nis.—nis. D'O  
 57 que immites II, et *sic D'O sed ut*  
*uix dispiciatur* 61 leta II 63 inops II  
 D'O uietus (uinctus D'O) meretricis amore  
 II D'O 65 cerula D'O 66 pererit II 67  
 monuit D'O 69 Et tanquam desint que  
 (-ae D'O) me sine fine fatigent II D'O 70  
 curas D'O penas II 71 querelis II D'O 76  
 arabum II arabo D'O dona al. rore II rore  
 D'O olet al. habet II olet D'O 79 leuibus  
 cor est II D'O 82 Nec al. et II Nec (*in Et*  
*mutatum*) D'O 83 artesque magistras II  
 D'O 84 talya II 85 etas II 89 phebe II  
 91 celum II eburno II D'O 93 etas II 94  
 eui II 95 Nunc II 96 sed ut amare sinas  
 II D'O 97 abortis II D'O 98 sit quam in  
 hoc D'O 100 modo II 101 summa tulisti  
 II D'O 102 fuit D'O 103 nec te *om.* II  
 habet D'O 104 Admouit quod tu II ad-  
 mouit quod tu D'O 109 nescio quis II  
 111 deerant II D'O 112 Astrictum II

D'O 113 Postquam se dolor inuenit II D'O  
 tunc pectora planxi II mea p. planxi D'O  
 116 extructos II D'O 117 merrore II  
 mærore D'O cauaxus II caraxis D'O 125  
 Illi<sup>c</sup> (<sup>c</sup> fortasse recentiore) D'O Illic II 127  
 Sepe II 128 Sepe II 130 consueueras al.  
 consueras D'O 132 Elloquor D'O 133  
 ulterius pudet hic narare<sup>c</sup> (narrare D'O) II  
 D'O 134 sine te al. tecum II 137 tan-  
 quam II 138 delitiis II meis al. tuis II 139  
 en io al. hericto II ericto D'O 140 Attulit

II D'O iactante *marg.* / attende metrum II  
 141 toffo II 142 migdonii II D'O 145 silue  
 (-uae D'O) dominumque meumque II D'O  
 146 Ville D'O 147 cespitis II 150 Grata  
 al. illa II conbibit D'O illa II herba D'O  
 152 "dulce" nullae D'O 153 prius II D'O  
 154 Concidit II hysmarium D'O dauLias D'O  
 (*L super rasuram*) clauinias II ythim II ithim  
 D'O 155 ythim II saphos II D'O 156 ut  
 II D'O 157 uitro—amnis II uitro<sup>que</sup> (*sic*)—  
 amne D'O magis *om.* D'O *sed additum*  
*est in marg.* 159 Quem super hunc II  
 Quem super hunc D'O 160 cespite II 162  
 Formosus puer est uisus adesse michi (mihi  
 D'O) II D'O 163 quo nunc non ignibus  
 equis II cur nunc non i. aequis D'O 164  
 brachiis *add. in marg.* am D'O ambrachiis II  
 tibi est II D'O 165 Phebus II equos II 166  
 Acteum D'O *sed mutato quod prius fuerat,*  
*credo* Actiacum Rethuum II 167 pyre II  
 pirae D'O 168 illeso II D'O 169 uersus  
 amor fugit letissima pyre II iussus a. tetigit  
 laetissima pirae D'O 171 altum D'O 173  
 luce al. uoce II 174 lac. grauidae D'O grauide  
 lac. II 175 nymphe II 177 quam nunc  
 leuis II quam nunc erit D'O 179 pennas II  
 et *sic D'O sed ut uidetur i super rasuram*  
 181 chelim II D'O 182 erit II D'O 183  
 posuit D'O poetica sapho II poetica saphos  
 D'O 185 Cur michi et acthiacas II Cur  
 tamen acciacas D'O 188 Et forme (-ae  
 D'O) meritis II D'O 181 ferotior D'O ulla  
 II D'O 190 morior II moriar D'O 191 Ah  
 quantum II Ha quam<sup>to</sup> (*sic*) D'O pectora  
 D'O corpora II 192 Quam poterant saxis  
 II D'O 193 phao II 194 Visa *om.* que  
 D'O m. pr. 195 forent II D'O 196 sub-  
 sii<sup>t</sup> D'O 199 nuptura et nuptaque proles  
 II nupturaque nupta p. D'O 200 eolia II  
 201 infamen II amare II D'O 203 nobis II  
 204 quem D'O pene II 205 reddeat D'O 207  
 Hecquid ego precibus pectusne II E ꝥ quid

ego an ꝥ precibus pectus *marg.* ne D'O 209  
 tua uerba referrent II tua uella r. D'O 210  
 Nec te D'O docebat D'O 211 pupisque  
 (puppi<sup>a</sup>que D'O) tua uotiuā paramus II D'O  
 212 laceras II D'O 213 prestat II amanti

<sup>1</sup> The verses found in *f* sum breuis at nomen quod  
 terras impleat omnes Et mihi. mensuram nominis  
 ipsa fero are not in II or D'O.

*D'O super rasuram eunti* II *saphon* II *D'O*  
218 Non II *D'O* 219 O saltem II *D'O*  
misere *D'O sed ut post re rasura sit*

saphos poetissa ad phaonem amasium suum  
epistolam hanc II Finis. Hec epistola fuit  
per Ovidium de greco in latinum translata  
*D'O magnis litteris miniatis.*

An examination of these variants leaves no doubt as to the comparative value of the two MSS. II is much superior to *D'O*. I will select the more prominent instances in which II seems to throw new light on the still obscure question of the inter-relation of the MSS, and especially of the position of the *Francofurtanus*, which Palmer has followed implicitly, often, as I think, to the rejection of something more probable.

1. *Ecquid ubi* II, and so Trist. v. 2. 1 where Owen shows that *ubi not ut* is the reading to which MSS preferably point. *f* (Francf.) has *Ecquid ut*.

7. *elegi flebile carmen* II and *D'O*, but the latter *ellegi: elegi quoque* of *f* has every mark of interpolation. Ehwald makes *elegi* perf. of *eligo*: surely this is impossible.

8. *barbitōs* II. The Greek form is clearly pointed to.

12. *premit* II with *tenet* in the margin. *premit* is also found in Laur. 91. 28 (de Vries<sup>5</sup>). It is less commonplace, and as the first reading of II, cannot lightly be rejected. Francf. (*f*) has *tenet*.

15. II is here on a level with most of the MSS: all are alike corrupt. *f* alone has what seems indubitably right *Nec me pyrriades methynniadesue*. But this cannot prove that *f* is to be followed implicitly in every one of its readings in *Ep. Sapph.* *Anactorie* indeed, for which II gives *amatorie* is proved to be right by Maximus Tyrius 24. 8; *Cydro* is confirmed by *Cidro* of II; but this does not prove *quas non sine crimine amari* of *f* to be right against *quas hic s. c. amari* of most MSS including II *D'O*. It is true, *hic* must be wrong, for Sappho goes on to say *infamem quae me fecistis amatae*; but *nec* (Bentley and Burmann) would readily account for *hic*, and is more than probable: *non* has much the look of an interpolation.

32. *repēdō* II *D'O* with all MSS including Francf. Bentley changed this to *repēde*: but, before this can safely be done, the *Ep. Sapph.* must be proved to be Ovid's. Palmer's examples especially A. A. 2. 677 *Illae munditiis annorum damna repēdunt* support *repēdo*, I think, rather than *repēde*.

After 32, II with almost all MSS gives these two verses.

*Nec me dispicias si sum tibi corpore parua  
Mensuramq brevis nominis ipsa fero*

That they are an interpolation of the same kind as the two verses after Ib. 130, *Finiet illa dies quae te mihi subtrahet olim*, *Finiet illa dies quae mihi tarda uenit*, seems to me, spite of Bährens and de Vries, certain. Just as in the *Ibis* *quae mihi sera uenit* of the real distich reappears in the altered form *quae mihi tarda uenit* of the interpolation, so in the true distich of *Ep. Sapph.* (preserved by *f* and Harl. 2499), the words *mensuram nominis ipsa fero* form the substratum of the interpolated pentameter. And just as in the *Ibis* the excellent Gale MS (*G*)<sup>1</sup> has preserved the interpolated distich without the true one, so in the *Ep. Sapph.* the interpolation has ousted the true reading from nearly all the MSS.

II contains two signs of something wrong, *dispicias* for *despicias*, and *mensuram* for *mensuramque*, of most MSS.

53. Both II and *D'O* give

*At uos erroneum tellure remittite nostrum*

except that II has *caronem* written over *erroneum*. *Francf.* gives *O uos*: other MSS *Nec uos*, *Neu uos*, *Ne uos*. All alike seem wrong.

*nostrum* must, I think, be genuine, 'my runaway,' a natural description of the absentee Phaon. *At* may be a misreading of *Ac* = *Hac*. Sappho has just said

*Quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelis esse uolo,*

and to Sicily she would allude in *Hac tellure*. It is not likely that *tellure* by itself should = 'your land,' any more than that *iugera* should mean *whole* acres in Aetn. 80.

Here again I more than suspect *f* of a wrong reading. *O uos* is strange, and leaves *tellure* unaccounted for.

54. II's *nasiades* seems to be right for *nisiades* of most MSS including *f*. It would be identical with *nesiades*, found in two of de Vries' MSS: both refer to *Syracuse*: but the more correct name is the Doric form *Nasos*, which with *s* doubled occurs as *nassos* several times in the eighth century cod. Puteaneus of Liv. xxv. 30 (*American Journal of Philology* for 1892, pp. 345, 6, where I have tried to show that *Nisiades* is wrong).

57. *quae montes celebras Erycina Sicanos* is supported by *f* and four others of de Vries' MSS against *quae immites* c. *E. S.* of the rest. Which is right? I think the latter, which is more parti-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Nettleship and Dr. Hilberg both thought *G* the best MS of the *Ibis*.



cular and into which *montes* could hardly have been altered; and which has a special force in a passage where the poet is speaking of the *cruelty* of love. Heinsius cites Stat. Theb. xii. 155 *inmites citius Busiridos aras Odrysique famem stabuli Siculosque licebit Exorare deos*: where Lucatius Placidus explains of the Sicilian Palici to whom human victims were at one time offered.

69, 70. *f* here has a reading which is found in it alone.

Et tamquam desit quae me hac sine cura  
fatiget

Accumulat curas filia parua meas

and this is retained by Riese, Sedlmayer, and Palmer. If *curas* is in 70, *cura* in 69 can scarcely be right. There is however a v.l. given by *Π*, *poenas*, and it is possible that this v.l. originally coexisted with *hac sine cura fatiget*, by which the tautology *cura, curas* was avoided.

Yet, on other grounds, is not *f*'s reading questionable? Grant that the elision *me hac*, or the post-position of *sine*, are not by themselves suspicious: in combination they are sufficiently harsh to make one pause. I rejoice to be here in accord with de Vries who follows the bulk of MSS in printing *Et t. desint quae me sine fine fatigent*.

76. Here again *Π* is valuable in guiding us to the probable reading. It has

al. rore                      al. habet

Non arabum noster dona capillus olet

while *D'O* has Non arabo noster rore capillus olet.

Of *arabo* in *Π* there is no trace, and it is in itself improbable. The instances of *Arabus* quoted by Charisius 99 from Plautus Poen. 5. 4. 6, from the Bacchides, from Lucilius xxv. cannot be considered any real support of *Arabo* here. Nor is the passage he cites from a letter of C. Cassius to Dolabella *Arabi mirifico animo in nos fuerunt*, nor even Vergil's *Hyrcanis Arabisue* vii. 607 much in its favour: in each of them the plur. = the Arabians. Cir. 238 *Arabae Myrrhae* is different, and seems undoubted: and as the Ciris was probably written in the Augustan period, may fairly be appealed to as a support of *Arabo*.

Hitherto however *Arabum* rested on *f* alone: my collation of *Π* (which like *f* has no trace of any v.l.) shows that a MS, which as we see from *Nasiades* has preserved the truth where most MSS have lost it, knows *Arabum* and only *Arabum* in the v. of the Ep. Sapph.

Further than this *Π* does not lead us: it in no way decides between *dona—habet* and *rore—olet*; either would suit *Arabum*. Meanwhile however we have (1) the general use of the Roman poets, with whom this gen. plur. *Arabum* is much in favour, (2) the attestation of two MSS (*f* and *Π*) quite independent of each other, but agreeing to present (though not always the same) particular variants not found elsewhere, in support of *arabum*.

79. *leuibus cor est Π* with most MSS: *leuibusque est* (om. *cor*) *f*.

The two MSS taken together point to *leuibusque cor est*; and de Vries rightly argues from Pont. iii. 1. 32 *Confiteor misero molle cor esse mihi* in favour of this, which is the actual reading of two or three of Sedlmayer's MSS. I cannot agree with Palmer in preferring *leuibusque est cor*, improbable whether Ep. Sapph. is by Ovid or by an imitator of Ovid.

125. *Illi D'O* originally, ° has been superscribed later. This may be added to the instances of *illi=illic* collected in Noct. Manil. pp. 89, 90.

132. *Π's uigilat* I believe to be right, *ora* is *hora*. It is the waking-time of my perceptions. As a lover I am all awake. Palmer felt the absurdity of the ordinary reading *uigilant sensibus ora meis*, as his note proves.

134. *Π's v.l. sine te al. tecum*, may be an error for *al. necum* 'I may not be alone.' Surely *f*'s *sicce* is wrong. It is a coarse touch with no warrant from the rest of the poem.

139. *Π* here is valuable. It gives *en io* with *hericto* as a variant. *Enyo* is no doubt the right word, and has already been restored from *f*. Of *enyo* the *en io* of *Π*, *enio* of de Vries' *m<sub>4</sub>* is simply a variation.

145. *Siluae dominumque meumque Π D'O* with nearly all MSS. *f* and three other of de Vries' MSS give *dominum siluaeque meumque*.

I more than doubt this reading of *f*. With the position of *que* in the perfectly normal, but less commonplace, *siluae dominumque meumque*, compare Aetn. 600 *Haec uisenda putas terra dubiusque marique*, where in prose *dubius terraque marique* would be expected.

153. If *prius* is genuine, it must mean 'in former times,' 'in days of yore,' a reference to mythical legend: *non ulta* = that did not take a true revenge on her husband in cutting up and killing her son Itys.

156. Hand thought *Hactenus ut media cetera nocte tacent* meant 'so long until all

else is hushed.' The nightingale and Sappho sing till all else is silenced and they are heard alone in the midnight woods. This seems to me right; in Fast. 5. 661 *Hactenus ut uiro subiit rorantia saxo Antra leues cursum sustinuistis aquae*, which Hand explains in the same way, it certainly seems impossible to give any meaning to the usual punctuation *Hactenus: ut*, for how could the waters of the Tiber stay their course when the river-god had retired to his cavern? It is just the reverse of the poet's meaning: the river stayed the course of its waters till such time when (*hactenus ut*) the god had retired, and then flowed on again.

159. The super hunc of II, super hunc of. D'O perhaps point to an original *superans* 'rising over which.'

164. *ambrachiis* might be an expansion of *ambrachis*, hardly, as Bährens thought, of *ambrachies*; nor does Heinsius' *Ambrachias* (nom. fem.) seem likely. *Ambrachiae* is the most accredited form of the genitive; I suspect that the final enlarged *e* of this as written in some early codex was supposed to mean *-is*. On this abbreviation see Reusen's new *Elémens de Paléographie* Louvain 1899.

169. The one point in this v. which appears to me certain is that it did not end with *mersi*, which is a distressing chime to *uersus*, and ignores the palpable antithesis of *Deucalion igne leuatus erat* in 170. As Deucalion's ardour subsides, *Pyrrha's* rises. Only a determination to follow *f* everywhere can blind criticism here. *Pyrrhae* is required by the obvious sense of the passage, and especially by *lentissima*.<sup>1</sup>

This, I think, is one of the most important cases for estimating the value of *f*. If its reading is here *wrong*, as I believe it must be, it cannot be followed *implicitly* in other passages where, in consideration of its unique preservation of the uncorrupted truth in 15 and (I suppose) 162, some editors claim for it an almost superstitious reverence throughout the poem. It is with reluctance that I find myself at variance on this point with Palmer. With me are Bährens, de Vries, Riese, and partially Ehwald. I quote the opinion of Bährens in his Latin Epistula to Comparetti on the Epist. Sapph. p. 5 (1884). 'Est Francofurtanus, etsi omnium codicum integrorum (h.e. praeter excerpta) nunc antiquissimus nec bonis lectionibus destitutus, tamen

haud raro ualde interpolatus et caute adhibendus.'

In the following two passages a comparison of *f* with II places the former at a disadvantage.

191, 2. At quanto melius tecum mea pectora iungi  
Quam saxis poterant praecipitanda dari! *f*.

Ah quantum II iungi m.p. tecum II  
Quam poterant saxis II.

193-6.

Haec sunt illa Phaon quae tu laudare solebas,

Visaque sunt totiens ingeniosa tibi.

Nunc uellem facunda forem! dolor artibus obstat

Ingeniumque meis substitit omne malis. (*Francf.*)

195 forent II with D'O and most MSS.

A very clear case. The poet plays on the double meaning of *pectora*, 'bosom' 'seat of intellect,' and carries on the word as subject to *forent*. How tame compared with this is *forem*. It is obvious that *forem* is a mere mis-writing of *forent*.

In the two following, I do not think the case so convincingly in favour of *f* as Palmer, nor does de Vries, nor Ehwald.

207, 8.

Ecquid ago precibus, pectusque agreste mouetur?

An riget, et Zephyri uerba caduca ferunt? *f*.

II gives

Hec quid ego precibus, pectusne agreste mouetur?

D'O has

Ec quid ego an precibus pectus/ agreste m. / ne

and almost all the MSS have *ego, pectusne*. In many *ego* is followed by *an* or *hec*, and there are not a few variations.

I think it not impossible that *ego* is right, and more than probable that *pectusne* should be retained. *Egō*, of course, could not have come from Ovid, scarcely even from an imitator; but the *an* or *hec* which in some MSS follows it seems to represent a real tradition of a word lost: possibly

Ecquid ego in precibus? pectusne agreste mouetur?

'Am I of any account in my course of entreaty? is that rude heart touched?' Have

<sup>1</sup> *lentissima* (which must be right, not *laetissima*) of course refers to the indifference Pyrrha had hitherto shown to Deucalion's passion: with this *tetigit* (not *figit*) suits very well.

I any power as a *suppliant*, if not as a lover?

213. Solue ratem. Venus orta mari mare praestat amanti

So *f* and *D'O*, but *D'O* over an erasure. Most of the MSS have *eunti*. That this is right the similar *si pacem nullam pontus mihi*

*praestet eunti* (Pont. ii. 9, 27) makes more than probable. I cannot for a moment believe that *amanti* was altered after Pont. ii. 9, 27 to *eunti*, and that this alteration then spread into nearly all the MSS, expelling the original *amanti* (de Vries).

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## THE NEW FRAGMENT OF JUVENAL.

(SEE *Classical Review* FOR 1899, MAY AND JUNE.)

THE criticisms of the fragment, known to me, which have appeared elsewhere than in the *Classical Review*, are the following.

P. von Winterfeld, Berl. Phil. Woch., June 24th 1899, pp. 793 sq.

S. Reinach, Revue Archéologique, Mai-Juin (i.e. the end of June or later) 1899, pp. 448-54.

P. Thomas, Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique, July 7th 1899.

F. Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., July or August 1899, pp. 484-8.

M. Maas, Arch. f. Lat. Lex., October 1899, p. 419-23.

P. von Winterfeld, Goett. Gel. Anz., November 1899, pp. 895-7.

F. Ramorino, Atene e Roma, February 1900, pp. 54-61.

R. Ellis, The new fragments of Juvenal, a lecture delivered February 5th 1901.

None of these writings makes any contribution to the explanation or emendation of the fragment; but Mr Winterfeld has some speculations about its history which are both interesting and probable, and Mr Maas originates one just remark which I will quote anon. Dr Jackson's evidently correct interpretation (C.R. November 1899, p. 401) of the shorter fragment '*mangonum pueros*' etc. was also proposed by Mr L. Havet in the Revue Arch. p. 449, '*les malheureux enfants rougissent des organes diminués qui leur restent.*'

2 *promittit omnia*. With this phrase and the contents of verses 5-6 and 14-16 compare Manetho iv 311.

6. It was suggested by Mr Owen and Dr Jackson (C.R. vol. xiii p. 267) that *Colocyntha* and *Chelidon* might be the names of cinaedi; and they quoted Sen. ep. 87 16 '*Chelidon, unus ex Cleopatrae molibus.*' This is nevertheless impossible for two reasons: firstly a *professus obscenum* is never

*barbatus*; secondly this context, with its reference to the defilement of drinking-vessels, requires the mention not of mere '*impudici*' but of those '*quorum oscula etiam impudici deuitant,*' like the Natalis of Seneca's next sentence or the Fabius Persicus of de ben. iv 30 2. The explanation of *barbata chelidon* which I gave in C.R. vol. xiii p. 266 is really the only explanation possible. That *colocyntha* must also mean *os impurum* is equally certain; but whether my account of the way in which it gets that meaning is right I am not so sure: if it ever meant *matella* (but there is nothing to show that it did<sup>1</sup>) it might arrive by that route also at the sense required.

9-12 Write:

quid quod nec retia turpi <et>  
iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem  
munimenta umeri pulsata <hasta> inque  
tridentem  
qui nudus pugnare solet?

In June 1899 I rendered the MS reading of these verses thus, 'and similarly the retiarius' net is not kept along with his tunic, nor does he [put his] galerus in the same cupboard as his trident'; and this version is accepted by Messrs Maas and Ramorino. I said that the digression was absurdly frivolous: it is insufferably so. But the words as they stand are incapable of any other meaning. We may wish and

<sup>1</sup> Mr M. Maas writes in the Arch. f. Lat. Lex. vol. xi p. 419 '*colocyntha = cucurbita sind nach Plinius xix 71 (ich verdanke W. v. Christ den Hinweis auf diese Stelle) in den Bädern wohl als pots de chambre benützt worden. Dann wäre colocyntha = matella.*' Pliny says no such thing: his words are '*nuper in balnearum usum uenere urceolorum uice.*' *urceoli* are not *matellae*: Juvenal himself expressly distinguishes them, x 64, '*fiunt urceoli pelues sartago matellae.*' The household arrangements of Codrus, iii 203 sq., with '*urceoli sex, ornamentum abaci,*' must present a strange picture to the mind's eye of Mr Maas.



long (I take no count of renderings which are as frivolous in sense as my own and have the further disadvantage of being impossible), we may wish and long for the meaning 'retarii keep their arms and accoutrements separate from those of the retiarius who is *turpis*'; but it is not in the words. Consider: here are four articles mentioned, all belonging to retarii, qui nudi pugnare solent: *retia*, *tunica* (ii 143, viii 207), *munimenta umeri* (= *galerus*, viii 208, schol. '*galerus* est umero impositus gladiatoris'), *tridens*. It is desired to say that the average retarii do not keep these articles in the same cupboard as does the infamous retiarius. This might be expressed by 'nec retia iunguntur turpi reti, nec tunicae turpi tunicae' etc. But how is it conceivable that the *tunica*, a garb common to both, should be here assigned to the *turpis* only, and that the average retarii should be said to set apart from the tunic of the infamous—not their own tunics, but—their nets and their shoulder-pieces and their tridents? That nets should be kept in one place and tunics in another is perfectly natural, and such a practice can imply no scorn of vice nor shrinking from contamination. I have now enabled the words to mean what they should mean by adding *et* at the end of 9: *et* rather than *aut*, because in 11 we have *que* and not *ue*. *tunicae* thus becomes nom. plur., and *turpi*, τῷ αἰσχροῦ, stands for τοῖς τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, just as *lanista* in 7 means *lares lanistae*. 'Nay more, the very nets and tunics are not suffered to touch the net and tunic of the infamous, nor do the bare fighters put shoulder-piece and trident in the same cupboard as does he . . . . But your wife condemns you to share the same cup with fellows of his sort.'

11 *munimenta umeri pulsataque, arma, tridentem*. Neither in Latin nor in any other tongue that I know of does one add in apposition a generic term without an epithet, unless the term itself conveys information, as when geographers say 'Ticis flumen' to let you know what Ticis is. One says 'Cicero et Calvus, homines disertii,' but one does not say 'Cicero et Calvus, homines.' Lucretius indeed can write iii 371 '*Democriti* quod sancta *uiri* sententia ponit,' but that is because *uiri* means a right worthy man, like ἀνδρὺς in Soph. Ajax 817 and elsewhere. MSS contain solecisms of all sorts and therefore solecisms of this sort: '*formosae ueniant, choros, heroinae*' (read *formosus*), '*Lesbides...desinite ad citharas, turba, uenire meas*' (read *mea*), '*croceae,*

*membrana, tabellae implentur* (read *impletur*). Five hundred and ninety seven years ago was Francesco Petrarca born, and here am I explaining in a public print such things as these; for there are folks who do not know them. But in this verse, quite apart from the apposition, *pulsata*, even if you correct its gender, is a ridiculous adjective to bestow on an offensive weapon. To account for the feminine inflexion in the MS I formerly proposed *ptusa hastamque*, choosing *pertusa* in order to confer some sort of point upon the lines as they then stood. Now, after emending verse 9, we can come nearer to the MS with *pulsata*. For *hastam tridentem* I quoted Val. Fl. i 641 *trifida... hasta*, but now I have the phrase itself, Prisc. GLK ii 343 16 '*lectum est tridenti hasta et telo*': Silius xvii 242 uses *telo tridenti*.

12-13. Another allusion to this signment of disreputable characters to *pars ultima ludi* occurs in a corrupt passage of Seneca, nat. quaest. vii 31 3 '*cotidie comminiscimur, per quae uiriliter fiat iniuria, ut traducatur, quia non potest exui: alius genitalia excidit, alius in obscenam partem ludi fugit et locatus ad mortem infame armatur.*'† *egenus etiam in quo morbum suum exerceat legit.*

18 In this unexplained and seemingly inexplicable line we should perhaps read 'his (abl.) languentem animum *solunt* (or *relevant*) et seria uitae.' Compare Il. Lat. 685 '*curasque animosque resoluunt.*'

27 *aliis hunc mimum!* Pers. iii 30 '*ad populum phalaras!*' is a good parallel.

No one calls the fragment spurious but Mr Buecheler; and Mr Buecheler's judgment would carry more weight if he had shown himself able to correct or elucidate or even understand the verses on which he ventures to pronounce an opinion. But he could make neither head nor tail of them: he elicited no coherent sense from any six consecutive lines; and not having at hand the Classical Review for June 1899 he did not even discover that *pulsatam tridentem* was a false concord. One of his objections (p. 487) has no foundation except a strange misapprehension of his own, that 24 in *teneris haerebit dextera lumbis (ipsius of course)* has reference to 'Angriffe auf Knaben'; the faults he finds with 27 disappear when the punctuation is corrected; it is quite true that the apposition *arma* in 11 is 'sprachlich anstössig,' but it can no more have been written by this 'interpolator' (to call him so) than by the real Simon Pure. There remains only the

change from plural to singular at 20: this is certainly objectionable, but the objection comes ill from Mr Buecheler, whose own text of 'der echte Juvenal' contains many worse things.

Mr Owen (C.R. vol. xiii p. 267 *a*) thinks that our fragment, which stands in the MS after 365, should probably be placed after 345, instead of 346-8 which stand there now. I on the other hand agree with Mr Maas (p. 422) that 346-8 are themselves out of place, and that 349 ought to follow immediately upon 345. I will now explain what I suppose to be the fragment's relation to its context at 365, and what is the connexion between verses 1-29 and verses 30-34 of the fragment itself. When the old friends say 'pone seram, cohibe,' it is evident that they are not suggesting a remedy for the pernicious influence of the cinaedus described in 1-29: the cinaedus is 'uiscera domus,' and the more the wife is kept indoors the more will she be subject to his influence. On the contrary, the friends are suggesting a way to prevent the wife from gadding abroad to misconduct herself and squander her money on athletes (352-365); and what they suggest is a *custos*. Now a *custos*, for safety, would naturally be chosen from one or other of two classes, cinaedi or eunuchi. But Juvenal explains that neither class can really be trusted. The verses 1-29 are a *προκατάληψις*: they forestall the suggestion 'pone seram,' and they furnish the ground for Juvenal's reply 'quis custodiat ipsos custodes?': the cinaedi, whom one would choose as guardians, are in reality 'uiri' and are the wife's accomplices. Then at 366 he proceeds to the second class of *custodes*, the eunuchi, and shows that they too are practically 'uiri' and are accomplices also. The order of verses then should be this: 345, 349-365, frag. A 1-34, 366-373, frag. B, 374 sqq.

As to the present condition of 346-348, what has happened is pretty clear. Mr Winterfeld points out that both P and the Aarau relics have 29 lines to the page, that the archetype may have had the same, and that the first 29 verses of this fragment may have been one page of the archetype. The loss of this, with the verb *noui*, would leave an unconstruable verse 30, 'consilia et ueteres quaecumque monetis amici,' and our 346 'audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici' appears to be a spirited emendation of this. The existing form of 348 I should explain by supposing that the scribe glanced from 'custo-des' in 32 to 'pru-dens' in 34, thus omitting 'qui nunc

...prudens' and leaving the defective verse

custodes et ab illis incipit uxor,

which was then completed by inserting 'cauta est.'

I agree then with Mr Owen that our fragment is not an alternative draft of 346-348. Elsewhere in Juvenal alternatives, whether Juvenal's or another's, can certainly be detected; and in this connexion I will try to clear up what Mr Buecheler calls the 'unbegreifliche Verse' preserved by Probus at vi 614. Our text runs thus:

hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala  
uendit 610  
philtrā, quibus ualeat mentem uexare  
mariti  
et solea pulsare natis. quod desipis,  
inde est,  
inde animi caligo et magna obliuio  
rerum,  
quas modo gessisti. tamen hoc tolera-  
bile, si non  
et furere incipias, ut auunculus ille  
Neronis, 615  
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia  
pulli  
infudit.

'tamen hoc tolerabile si non semper aquam portas rimosa ad dolia, semper istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis, quo ravidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti. sed hi tres uersiculi in multis non sunt codicibus. quos in antiquissimo legimus codice et Probus etiam refert' Valla. The verses are still found in several MSS. They should be written thus:

tamen hoc tolerabile, si non  
semper aquam portas rimosa ad dolia, semper  
<peius>onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis,  
quo ravidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti,  
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli  
infudit.

*pei*' has been absorbed by *-per*: this seems better than to retain *istud* and substitute *peius* for *ipsis*. 'Yet this is endurable, if one is not always carrying water to leaky jars, always lifting that burden, worse even than the urns of the Danaids, maddened by which you, Caligula, to whom Caesonia administered hippomanes, displayed the character of a Phalaris instead of a Roman monarch.' Some philtres cause merely stupor; but there is a worse sort, such as Caesonia gave Caligula (Suet. Gai. 50 creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore ama-

torio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem uerterit), producing an endless recurrence of aphrodisiac excitement which is compared to the labour of the Danaids and leads to downright madness; and to this the poet traces the atrocities of Caligula's reign. The construction *Phalarim dedisti* is

the same as Ter. Ph. 476 'Phormio ... strenuom hominem praebuilt,' where C.F.W. Mueller in Dziatzko's edition cites many similar examples, such as Petr. 97 'ut saltem ostenderet fratrem.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS IN ARMENIA, A.D. 51—63.

### III.—THE YEARS A.D. 61—63.

(With a Chronological Summary for all the Years A.D. 51—63).

IN contrast with the second period, this third and concluding period presents the curious difficulty, not of too few points of time marked in the Tacitean narrative, but of too many. And throughout, although different systems are presented, yet the arguments for or against their conclusions have not been set forth save very scantily by any writer. It is, therefore, my concluding task not only to discuss the conclusions, but also to invent the arguments for and against them.

#### A. Order of Events in Tacitus:—

The end of Book xiv. is concerned with events in Rome of the year A.D. 62.

A. Book xv. opens with a continuation of the account of the Armenian wars and with the words  
'*Interea rex Parthorum Vologeses*' etc.—xv. 1. 1.

viz.: Vologeses hesitates whether or no to interfere again in Armenian affairs, when he is roused to action by

A'. Tigranes' invasion and devastation of Adiabene. Monobazus its satrap appeals for aid and Tiridates urges intervention.—1. 2–5.

B. Vologeses' plan of campaign:—

(a) Monaeses with the aid of Parthian cavalry and auxiliaries from Adiabene to invade Armenia and expel Tigranes thence.

(b) He himself to threaten the Roman provinces.—2.

C. Corbulo, hearing of these preparations, takes the following measures:

(a) Two legions (IV. and XII.) under Verulanus and Vettius are despatched to assist Ti-

granes, but with secret orders not to be in a hurry to fight.

(b) He had already written to Nero, requesting that a special commander should be sent out 'qui Armeniam defenderet,' as Syria through Vologeses' menaces was in greater peril, 'acriore in discrimine.'

(c) The remaining legions (viz. III. VI. X.) are posted on the Euphrates: provincial militia are armed *en masse*: garrisons are placed at all the fords and the wells are guarded by forts, streams buried by sand, etc.—3.

C' During these preparations Tigranes, anticipating a Parthian attack, threw himself into Tigranocerta.—4. 1. 2.

D. Monaeses and the Parthians cut off a convoy and appear before the city. An attempt to storm it is repulsed with loss. Blockade of Tigranocerta.—4. 3–6.

E. Corbulo hears of the siege of Tigranocerta and sends to Vologeses threatening an invasion of Mesopotamia unless the siege is raised. This message reaches Vologeses at Nisibis.—5. 1. 2.

F. Vologeses, being in straits for fodder for his horses, owing to a recent locust storm, replies he will send envoys to Rome. Meanwhile he recalls Monaeses from the siege of Tigranocerta and himself retires.—5. 3–5.

G. Tigranes quits Armenia.

[A discussion follows on the real significance of these Corbulo-Vologeses negotiations—in the course of which the question is raised 'Cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum? cur



deserta per otium quae bello defenderant? *An melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti?* Dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo merita tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret. Nam, ut rettuli, proprium ducem tuendae Armeniae poposcerat, et adventare Caesennius Paetus audiebatur.'—(6. 2-4).

These questions imply necessarily past events. Hence we deduce the following :—]

- G'. The Roman army is withdrawn from Armenia and winters in hastily constructed quarters on the Cappadocian frontier.  
Suspension of hostilities.
- H. Arrival of Paetus in Cappadocia. He is given Leg. IV. XII. and Leg. V. is summoned from Moesia. Local levies are ordered to assist him. Paetus declares he will annex Armenia as a province.—6. 5. 6.
- H'. 'Sub idem tempus' Vologeses' envoys return from Rome after a fruitless mission.  
'Bellumque propalam sumptum a Parthis.'—7. 1.
- I. Paetus invades Armenia, despite unlucky omens, one of which was the escape of an intended victim from the winter quarters which were being built, but were yet unfinished :  
'Hostiaque, quae muniebantur, hibernaculis adsistens, semifacta opera fuga perripuit seque vallo extulit.'—7. 2-5.
- J. Paetus' expedition. He crosses Taurus 'reciperandis, ut ferebat, Tigranocertis vastandisque regionibus quas Corbulo integras omisisset.' Some forts are taken — capta quaedam castella—Paetus makes long marches—longinqua itinera—But he is forced to retreat '*instante iam hieme*' back to his winter quarters.—8. 1-3.
- K. Paetus in winter quarters on the River Arsania (at Rhandaia [Dio]). Many furloughs granted.—8. 3. 9. 2.
- K'. 'Interim' Corbulo strengthens his garrisons on the Euphrates and occupies strongly the hills on the farther bank, despite the presence in the vicinity of the enemy in large numbers.—9. 1. 2. Hence :

- L. Vologeses abandons his plan of invading Syria ; and marches against Paetus, who is 'imminentium nescius.'—9. 2.
- M. Paetus in winter quarters hears of Vologeses' advance and seeks to concentrate his army.—9. 2.-10. 2.
- N. Paetus moves out to attack the enemy. A scouting party is cut off by the Parthians, whereupon he falls back again. But Vologeses not pressing the pursuit, Paetus divides his forces, posting 3000 men to guard the passes over Taurus where the enemy's approach was expected, cavalry in 'part of the plain,' and non-combatants with a military guard in the fort Arsamosata.—10. 2-6.
- N'. Paetus reluctantly sends to inform Corbulo of the approach of the enemy.—10. 7.
- O. Corbulo receives the message and does nothing save issue orders for a force of about 8000 men to get ready for a march.—10. 7. 8.
- O'. Parthian advance against Paetus. All Roman isolated detachments, etc., overcome. The main camp holds out.—11. 1. 2.
- P. Urgent message from Paetus to Corbulo praying for relief.—11. 3.
- Q. Corbulo leaving garrisons on the Euphrates makes forced marches day and night to relieve Paetus, while Vologeses presses the assault of the entrenchments.—12. 13.
- Q'. Negotiations of Paetus and Vologeses for surrender of the camp.—14.
- R. Roman evacuation of Rhandaia and retreat towards Cappadocia, Corbulo on the day of evacuation being within three days' march.—15-16. 2.
- S. Meeting of Corbulo and Paetus on the Euphrates. Corbulo refuses to invade Armenia again.—16. 3-17. 3.
- T. Corbulo returns to Syria. Paetus winters in Cappadocia.  
'*Exim Paetus per Cappadociam hibernavit.*'—17. 3.
- U. Agreement between Corbulo and Vologeses (who has quitted Armenia). The former withdraws all his garrisons to the Roman side of the Euphrates : the latter all his garrisons from Armenia.—17. 4. 5.
- V. 'Veris principio,' A.D. 63. Arrival of Vologeses' envoys in Rome. The Parthian demands are rejected and Corbulo is appointed to sole command of the war. Cestius is sent to relieve

him of civil government of Syria and Paetus is recalled.—24. 1–25.

W. Corbulo concentrates a large army at Melitene.—26.

X. Corbulo invades Armenia by Lucullus' old route. Friendly reception of envoys from Vologeses and Tiridates, who are sent back with an escort and appeal for an agreement. Meanwhile Corbulo ravages the forts and lands of the hostile Armenian 'Megistanes'.—27.

Y. Meeting of Corbulo and Tiridates at Rhandaia. Tiridates agrees to go to Rome to do homage to Nero for the crown of Armenia.—28–30.

Z. End of the war. Tiridates before his Roman journey visits his brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses in Ecbatana.—31.

### B. The Rival Schemes :—

Alike the beginning and the end of the chronology of these events admit of no dispute.

That xv. 1. 1. connects immediately with xiv. 26 is undoubted. Hence Tigranes' invasion of Media may be placed in 61 A.D., as xiv. 26 belongs, as we have seen, to A.D. 60. And although recounted amid events of A.D. 62, yet to ascribe this to the preceding year is justified by Tacitus' opening word 'Interea.' (A)

Thus A' = spring A.D. 61.

Again xv. 24. 1. (V.) is the 'beginning of spring,' A.D. 63. Thus

V–Z = events of A.D. 63.

This all being generally admitted there remain for the events A'–U but two campaigning years between which to divide them : viz. :

A.D. 61 ending in the winter of A.D. 61–62.

A.D. 62 „ „ „ „ A.D. 62–63.

Thus there are but two winters for which to make account.

The difficulty of the chronology of this period consists in the fact that we have three separate mentions of a winter in the Tacitean narrative A'–U ; viz. :

(1) That of G–G'. 'An melius hibernavisse' &c.

(2) That of I–J. Paetus' 'hibernacula' and the 'instans iam hiems' which enforces his retreat.

(3) That of T. 'Exim Paetus per Cappadociam hibernavit.'

It follows therefore that the second of these winters must be identical either with the first or with the third. And hence we have two rival arrangements of the chronology of these years according as the one or the other of these identifications is accepted.

I. EGLI. (P. 291–292).

Mommsen (*Hermes* IX. P. 136 N. + E.T. II. P. 58–60).

II. FURNEAUX (P. 115, N. 10).

Following Nipperdey. (*Notes ad locc.*).

Tigranes' Incursion A' = spring A.D. 61.

Locust swarm in F = June–July A.D. 61.

Hence Parthian envoys absent on mission to Rome from July–Sept. A.D. 61.

Their return coincides with Paetus' arrival.

Hence Paetus' expedition I. = autumn A.D. 61.

And Paetus thus has to hasten his raid having but a short time.

Thus the winter of J = winter of G.

G clearly implies that Corbulo's army had already passed the winter before Paetus' arrival. (Cf. *supra*—ad G.)

Thus the 'arma dilata' (G') = winter 61–62.

And Paetus arrives in spring A.D. 62 : invades in summer ; retires on approach of that winter.

Thus L–T all belong to the end of that same year A.D. 62—these events not implying long duration of time.

Thus the winter of J = the winter of T.

### I.—SUMMARY II.

| A.D. 61      | A–K'          | A–G'          |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 61–62 winter | G. G' + J. K. | G. G'         |
| 62           | L–S           | H–S           |
| 62–63 winter | T. U.         | T. U. + J. K. |
| 63           | V–Z           | V–Z           |

*C. Consideration of the Rival Schemes :—**I. The Egli Scheme :*

This scheme which identifies the winter which compelled Paetus' retreat with that of A.D. 61-62 involves more than one difficulty.

- (1) It leaves the passage in xv. 6. 2—the question asked 'An melius hibernavisse'—unexplained.

The locust swarm which partly compels Vologeses to enter into negotiations with Corbulo is dated in both schemes in the summer of A.D. 61. These negotiations result, as is necessarily implied in the passage xv. 6. 2-4, in the Roman evacuation of Armenia. (G.) We learn from this passage that this evacuation was a fact, and that hostilities were, as a fact, suspended. The past tense too of 'hibernavisse' cannot be disregarded. 'Why *had* the Roman army been withdrawn from Tigranocerta? Why *had* that been abandoned in peace which they had defended in war? Was it better to *have* wintered on the Cappadocian frontier...instead of in the capital of a realm just recovered? No! The reason for this suspension of hostilities was &c.'

This passage implies, not a question of future policy, but past facts now undergoing criticism.

It follows that the army evacuated Armenia and spent the winter in Cappadocia, while Vologeses sent his envoys to Rome. Corbulo, from whatever motive, was waiting for Paetus' arrival. Presently Paetus does arrive and makes his preparations; the Parthian envoys return; the war begins again. All this implies time spent, viz.: *after* the winter spent in Cappadocia.

But on this first scheme this winter is entirely disregarded. The negotiations are in the summer of 61: Paetus' arrival in the autumn. What has become of the winter which the Romans, after the negotiations but before Paetus' arrival, *had* spent on the Cappadocian frontier?

- (2) The scheme then continues to suppose that Paetus, after a hurried incursion, being forced to return to his

winter quarters by the approach of winter, stays in these undisturbed and is only attacked by the Parthians in the following spring, viz.: of 62 A.D. To this there are numerous objections:

- (a) The events allotted to A.D. 62 are insufficient and have to be spread very thinly over the months from spring to autumn, as Egli arranges them. Or rather, keeping more closely to the Tacitean narrative, we are left with an autumn on our hands barren of events. For the whole affair from the first advance against Paetus to the evacuation of Rhandaia and the meeting of Corbulo and Paetus a day or two later can hardly, at most, carry us from the spring of 62 A.D. further than July. After the meeting Paetus 'forthwith'—*exim* (T)—wintered in Cappadocia. What has become of the rest of the campaigning year?

This by itself is not a very forcible argument, inasmuch as Paetus is found proposing a renewed invasion of Armenia to Corbulo, as though time for this in that year still remained.

But on the other hand it is notable that the fact of the Roman evacuation of Armenia is not known in Rome itself till the early spring of A.D. 63 upon the arrival of Vologeses' envoys in the city (xv. 25. 1). It is true that a despatch from Paetus had arrived it seems in A.D. 62 (xv. 18. 1. 25. 1) which had concealed the fact of the evacuation. But if this, *ex. hyp.*, had been effected by July 62 A.D. it is well-nigh incredible that no news of it, if not from Corbulo, then from pri-



vate sources, had reached Rome six months later. Everything, again, in the narrative points to the fact that Paetus is attacked unawares when he thinks that the winter has closed all operations for the year (cf. xv. 9. 2): viz.: just after he has withdrawn to his winter quarters at the beginning of winter. Hence the news reaches Rome only at the beginning of spring. And Paetus' plans for a new invasion of Armenia must have been projected for the following year. This then is the winter of A.D. 62-63, the winter which drove Paetus to retire to those same winter quarters (J. K.). To suppose a Parthian attack in spring gives us far too much time.

- (b) Another sentence in the Tacitean narrative points to the supposition that the Parthian attack on Paetus occurs at the beginning of a winter, not at the opening of a fresh year's campaign.

Tacitus brings it as a charge against Paetus that he makes his raid into Armenia in a hurry '*nequm satis firmatis hibernaculis*' (xv. 8. 1). It is to these unfinished entrenchments that he subsequently retires.

When he hears of the Parthians' approach he sallies out to meet them, declaring '*non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed corpora et arma in hostem data.*' (xv. 10. 3).

This proud declaration on Paetus' part is not very probably a mere Tacitean invention. Accepting its genuineness, we remark that there is very great point in it if it be made by way of encouragement and ex-

planation by the general to troops who are looking gloomily and apprehensively upon entrenchments unfinished and fortifications begun and not completed. There is very much less point in the declaration if the general is sallying out of a camp where he has been quietly staying for six months, and whose fortifications, we must necessarily under these circumstances suppose, had been long since completed. '*Adversus urgentes casus*' (xv. 10. 2) is a strange phrase to use of a Roman general and army under these conditions. But it is more justified if the army has but just returned to inadequate entrenchments and a large number of furloughs have just been given, while one entire legion has been sent off to winter elsewhere. If the Parthians find Paetus thus dismayed, and thus justifying a spurious confidence despite dismay, the probability again is strong that they descended upon him at winter's beginning, not in spring.

- (c) Further, during all Paetus' raid, meanwhile—'*inter-ea*'—i.e. before the winter which sends him back, Corbulo has been guarding the Euphrates and, driving the enemy from the further bank, has seized and fortified it. It is because of this his rapid success that Vologeses changes his whole plan of operations and decides to fall on the unsuspecting Paetus.

It is not easy to suppose that an entire winter elapses between Corbulo's demonstration over the river and the Parthian

sudden descent upon Paetus which is the result of this demonstration.

All these considerations lead us to conclude that the Parthian attack on Paetus is made at the end and not at the beginning (as this first scheme supposes) of a year's campaign. If so, this must have been the year A.D. 62, as the news of its results is first surely known in Rome in A.D. 63. The Parthian attack is thus consequent upon his own raid into Armenia. This then must be placed in the autumn of A.D. 62. But to place the raid in the autumn of A.D. 61, and the retaliation in the spring of A.D. 62, as do Egli and Mommsen, runs counter alike to the Tacitean narrative and the probabilities of the case as deduced thence.

## II. *The Furneaux-Nipperdey Scheme* :—

These two objections to the first scheme are serious, and are entirely avoided by the second scheme, which admits the wintering of the Roman army in Cappadocia in A.D. 61–62: places Paetus' arrival in A.D. 62: his raid in that year and the Parthian retaliation at the beginning of its winter.

To this second scheme it is also possible to make two objections :

- (1) Too many events are crowded into the early winter of A.D. 62. For ex. hyp. after Paetus has retired 'instante iam hieme' there occur in this same winter all the events M–S, viz. the Parthian advance, Paetus' concentration of troops; his march out against the foe, retirement, and new dispositions; the Parthian attack; siege of Rhandaia and its evacuation; and Corbulo's vain march to its relief.

Can, it may be asked, all these events take place after winter's pressure has been, if not already felt, yet immediately anticipated?

On the other hand it may be remarked :

- (a) That the question of supplies contributed to cause Paetus' withdrawal from his raid, as well as the approach of winter, and he thus may have retired to his winter quarters all the earlier.—xv. 8. 3.
- (b) The whole events M–S sketched above do not necessarily imply the duration of much time.

On the contrary the impression of the entire narrative is one of surprise and speed, with conflicting hopes and fears chasing one another in succession across Paetus' mind. Both the Parthians and Corbulo know there is no time to be wasted. Moreover the Parthians would prosecute a campaign in the beginning of winter with more readiness than the Romans.

This objection then is not very serious.

- (2) Paetus makes his raid into Armenia after he has at least begun to erect winter quarters. (I) Surely then, it is argued, this must have been in autumn. Now Paetus is in a great hurry to attack as soon as he arrives. He does not even wait for the arrival of one of his legions it seems, from Moesia (xv. 6. 5. compared with xv. 7. 2.). What then, on this theory, has become of the spring and summer of A.D. 62?

An answer to this objection is not difficult. We may suppose that Corbulo having requested in 61 A.D. the sending of a separate commander to Cappadocia, Paetus does not set out till the next year, and thus arrives only in the early summer of 62 A.D. Moreover, however eagerly he hurries his preparations on, these must none the less have consumed some little time.

But it is better to deny the inference from the erection of winter quarters that the Roman raid began only in autumn. Paetus' raid was not so brief an episode. There are forts taken, and 'long marches' made. Necessarily, too, he requires a fortified base of operations on which in case of need to retire, even though he starts from this in summer, and the more so as this itself is in hostile territory.

Because therefore he begins to fortify the position he chooses for this purpose before his raid, it by

no means follows that winter is not very far off.

In all probability Paetus arrives in the spring of A.D. 62 and sets out on his expedition in the summer, retiring again in late autumn. This objection also is of no great merit.

*Note: Mommsen's View:*

This can hardly be regarded as a separate objection to the second scheme, but must here be shortly noticed.

Mommsen, in *Hermes* ix. p. 136 Note, represents Paetus as actually taking Tigranocerta. This, he declares, is implied in Tacitus' words 'reciperandis Tigranocertis' and confirmed by Dio's words in lxii. 21, seeing that *in the next spring* Vologeses began with the siege of this city. The 'longinqua itinera' and apparent success of the expedition (the 'quasi confecto bello' of xv. 8. 3) coincide with this view.

This note of Mommsen's is misleading and by no means convincing. Dio's words are simply: 'ὁ Οἰολόγαισος τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις προσέμιξε καὶ τὸν Παῖτον ἐπιβοηθήσαντα σφισιν ἀπεώσατο.' There is no single word in Dio's narrative implying that Vologeses attacked the city in spring!

Did Paetus during his raid capture Tigranocerta? This is very improbable. Tacitus ascribes this to him as his professed object and then merely says that he took 'quaedam castella' before his retreat. Had he taken Tigranocerta, Tacitus is bound to have known the fact. Most certainly this large and strong city is not included in the 'quaedam castella' category.

Neither is its capture implied in Dio's words. For the Parthians under Monaeses had failed entirely in A.D. 61 to take the city. Naturally therefore, the town has to be dealt with by Vologeses on the next Parthian incursion thither in A.D. 62. Paetus sets out earlier to 'recover it,' i.e. throw anew a Roman garrison, such as had helped Tigranes there, into it. And on hearing of Vologeses' advance,

he naturally sets out to help the friendly city, but then retires again. But it is not improbable that Dio has simply confused Paetus' first raid and subsequent march out against Vologeses, so far as Tigranocerta is concerned.

I should then, as against Mommsen, declare that nothing at all in the Tacitus-Dio narrative warrants the conclusion either that:

(a) Paetus in his raid captured Tigranocerta

or (b) Vologeses descended upon Armenia and Paetus in the spring.

*D. Conclusion:—*

Despite therefore the apparent weight of modern authority in favour of the first, the Egli scheme, I think that the second scheme is decisively preferable. This authority's weight is for the most part apparent only. Thus Schiller not only follows Egli with his customary fidelity, but, apparently for once conscious of the possibility of a different view, only fails entirely to understand what Nipperdey's proposed arrangement of these years really is. And Mommsen's hypotheses seem to me, for the reasons already given, not convincing.

Thus, looking at the two schemes side by side, it appears that the first runs counter to the Tacitus narrative, and the probabilities of the case in two great respects, from which blemishes the second is quite free. No really serious objection that I can discover or devise may be urged against the latter. And so far as the fair distribution of events between the two years A.D. 61–62 is concerned this again has the superiority.

Following Nipperdey, therefore, I propose this scheme for the most probable chronology of the years A.D. 61–63:—

A.—G'. A.D. 61

Tigranes' incursion into Adiabene. Monaeses' siege of him in Tigranocerta. Evacuation of Armenia by Romans and Parthians.

G. G'. winter 61–62.

Romans winter in Cappadocia.

H.—S. 62.

Paetus' arrival and raid. His withdrawal.



|                    |     |                                                                          |                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                    |     | Corbulo in Syria. The disaster of Rhandaia. Roman evacuation of Armenia. | by any one modern writer or group of writers. Thus:—                                                                    |
| T.U. winter 62-63. |     | Romans winter in Cappadocia and Syria.                                   | (1) For A.D. 51-54 it seems we must reject both Egli and Nipperdey-Furneaux, and devise another arrangement of our own. |
| V.—Z.              | 63. | Corbulo's invasion of Armenia. Agreement with Tiridates. End of the war. | (2) For A.D. 54-56 there is no controversy.                                                                             |
|                    |     |                                                                          | (3) For A.D. 57-60 we reject both Mommsen and Nipperdey-Furneaux, and follow, with some slight modifications, Egli.     |
|                    |     |                                                                          | (4) For A.D. 61-63 we reject Egli-Mommsen, and follow Nipperdey-Furneaux.                                               |

*General Conclusion.*

The result of the entire analysis of the years of the Armenian wars A.D. 51-63 is that I find myself unable to accept throughout the chronological arrangement proposed

The general chronological scheme then in brief will be as follows:—

ARMENIAN WARS: A.D. 51-63.

| YEAR.      | EVENTS.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | TACITUS.                    |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A.D. 51    | Invasion of Armenia by Radamistus: Death of Mithradates. Radamistus on the throne.                                                                                                                                                                       | xii. 44-48.                 |
| 52         | Invasion of Armenia by Vologeses: Flight of Radamistus. (Winter): withdrawal of Vologeses.                                                                                                                                                               | xii. 49. 50.                |
| 53         | Return of Radamistus and harsh rule in Armenia.                                                                                                                                                                                                          | xii. 50. 4.                 |
| 54         | Rising against Radamistus and his expulsion: Return of Tiridates. Preparations at Rome (winter).                                                                                                                                                         | xii. 50. 51.<br>xiii. 6.    |
| 55         | Revolt of Vardanes in Parthia. Vologeses evacuates Armenia. Arrival of Corbulo in Cappadocia. Agreement of Corbulo and Vologeses.                                                                                                                        | xiii. 7-9.                  |
| 56)<br>57) | Tiridates in undisturbed possession of Armenia. Corbulo's preparations for war, and winter (57-58) under canvas in Armenia.                                                                                                                              | xiii. 34. 35. 36.           |
| 58         | First campaign of Corbulo against Tiridates. Corbulo's two plans of action are neither very successful. (Winter): Fruitless negotiations with Tiridates. End of Vardanes' Revolt in Parthia.                                                             | xiii. 37. 38.               |
| 59         | Second campaign of Corbulo and his third plan of action. Capture of Volandum and the forts. Surrender and destruction of Artaxata. March to Tigranocerta. Surrender of Tigranocerta (autumn). Storming of Legerda. (Winter): Corbulo in Tigranocerta.    | xiii. 39-41.<br>xiv. 23-25. |
| 60         | Tiridates' invasion of Armenia from Media. Corbulo compels his retreat and overruns Armenia again. Arrival of Tigranes and settlement of the country. Corbulo withdraws to Syria. (Winter): Corbulo in Syria: Tigranes in Armenia: Tiridates in Parthia. | xiv. 26.                    |

| YEAR. | EVENTS.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | TÁCITUS    |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 61    | Tigranes' invasion of Adiabene. Monaeses' siege of him in Tigranocerta. Negotiations of Corbulo and Vologeses. Evacuation of Armenia by Romans and Parthians. Tigranes quits the country for good.<br>(Winter): Romans in Cappadocia and Syria.                                                                  | xv. 1-6.   |
| 62    | Paetus' arrival in Cappadocia and raid into Armenia. Corbulo active on the Euphrates in Syria. Withdrawal of Paetus to Rhandaia. Parthian attack. The Disaster of Rhandaia. Roman evacuation of Armenia.<br>(Winter): Romans in Cappadocia and Syria. Tiridates restored in Armenia. Parthian envoys go to Rome. | xv. 6-17.  |
| 63    | Corbulo's invasion of Armenia. Conference at Rhandaia and agreement with Tiridates.<br>End of the War.                                                                                                                                                                                                           | xv. 24-31. |

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## REVIEWS.

## OSIANDER'S ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

*Der Hannibalweg.* Von WILHELM OSIANDER.  
Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.  
1900. Pp. 204. Price 8 Mk.

THIS is a treatise full of industry and abundant in citation of authorities; but it adds nothing of any importance to the controversy, and, it is to be feared, only tends to obscure the issue. There is in the whole book a want of logical argument and a failure to appreciate the real value of whatever evidence is brought forward at each step. In his conclusion Professor Osiander agrees with the view maintained, though not, I believe, in exactly the same form, by several previous writers—that the Mont Cenis was Hannibal's pass. This is a theory for which a good deal is to be said. The arguments against this pass are not nearly so strong as those against the Little St. Bernard. As I remarked in an article which appeared in the *Classical Review* in June 1899, the chief reason for rejecting the Cenis is that, if that route is chosen, all attempt to retain Livy's account must be abandoned. Some previous supporters of that route have said in effect, 'Well and good: Livy is a poor authority: throw him overboard.' Professor Osiander rightly declines to do this; rightly he recognises that, while Polybius is the chief authority, Livy comes next to him, and that it is our duty, if possible, to bring

both into line. But I venture to think that no judicious critic will approve of the expedient which he adopts to get over the difficulty.

Livy brings Hannibal to the Druentia; but the Druentia, now called the Durance, flows from Mont Genève and nowhere comes near the Cenis route. Well, then, says Professor Osiander, let us suppose that what Livy calls the Druentia was really the Drac and not the Durance. This theory was, I believe, invented by M. Larauza about eighty years ago, and was adopted by Mr. Ellis in 1854. Professor Osiander has resuscitated it; but the arguments by which he seeks to justify it are singularly weak and even misleading—Livy's Druentia must be an affluent of the Isère which borders the territory of the Vocontii, because Silius, who is 'the echo of Livy,' writes: 'Jam rura Vocontia carpit: Turbidus hic truncis saxisque Druentia, &c.' But Silius does not mention the Isère at all in this connexion, and clearly cannot be taken to mean anything more precise than that Hannibal came upon the Vocontii and afterwards reached the Druentia; for Livy, whom Silius 'echoes,' and who may be allowed to speak for himself, says 'per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit.' It is obvious that, if the

Druentia was the Drac, Hannibal would have struck it before he reached the Tricorii; and it is rather surprising that Professor Osiander does not mention the Tricorii in this particular argument. The Drac, he continues, was called in the middle ages Drancus or Dracus—and so there is no reason why it should not have been called Druentia by Livy. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Druentia of Livy's contemporary Strabo is undoubtedly the Durance, and there is not the least probability that Livy would have ignored it in favour of the much smaller river Drac. It is curious how his confidence in this very arbitrary transference of names grows as he proceeds. It is put before us on page 74: at the top of page 100 the Drac is called 'Druentia-Drac, and by the time we reach the bottom of the same page it is 'Druentia' without further ceremony.

Of an entirely new argument in favour of the Mont Cenis route it is unnecessary to say much. Livy is speaking of the sights which inspired terror—the mountains, the snows, etc., and adds the words 'cetera visu quam dictu foediora.' These words, says Professor Osiander, must refer to the characteristics of the dwellers in the valley: it must, therefore, be a physical deformity: Desjardins states that goitre is worse in the Maurienne than anywhere else; therefore, Hannibal must have traversed the Maurienne, *i.e.*, he must have crossed the Cenis. It might be suggested that, whether or not *most* prevalent in the Cenis route, goitre is unfortunately prevalent enough in all the competing routes to strike the traveller with dismay. But it is really beside the question, since most readers of Livy would be as little prepared to connect the idea of physical deformity with the word *foedus* in this passage as in Sallust's words (about quite another region) 'loca tetra, inculta, foeda, formidolosa,' or with Livy's 'foedae tempestates.' The use, apparently in sober earnest, of such an argument surely weakens the case which it is desired to support.

There are many minute points of no real import on which the author dwells, as if they were a corroboration, in a manner which is rather irritating to the serious inquirer. A local road-surveyor remarked that the gorge near St. Jean de Maurienne was 'Hannibal's ravine.' 'So finden sich auch hier Lokaltraditionen über Hannibal, die jedoch nicht, wie die meisten andern, an Reste von Kunstbauten, sondern an eine natürliche Schlucht anknüpfen.' What if the road-surveyor had got his 'local tradi-

tion' from an inquiring traveller, with 'Ball's Alpine Guide' in his hand? If Professor Osiander ever becomes a convert to the Traversette theory, he may be expected to produce with equal triumph the fact that an inn near Abries has the sign 'l'Eléphant.'

A great deal of course is made of the possibility of a view over the plain of the Po from the top of the pass, or rather from a point near it. This possibility he regards as a 'Kardinalpunkt.' Need we suppose more than that Hannibal pointed to a downward course—no more uphill path, but a valley leading to the plains? *Must* they actually see Lombardy? ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδιά . . . ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης αὐτῆς τόπον ὑποδεικνύων (*Pol.* iii. 54); and if stress is laid on the compound prepositions, with the inference that the one participle is of things in sight, the other not, let me quote another passage from Polybius himself, 'καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁράσεως εἰθίσμεθα συνεπιστρέφειν αἰεὶ τὰ πρόσωπα πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἔνδειξιν ὑποδεικνύμενον' (iii. 38). In this passage both compounds are of something actually visible, and so we have no right in chapter 54 to make an arbitrary distinction. They could not actually see Rome; how can the Greek sentence prove that they did actually see the Lombard plain?

The route traced by Professor Osiander is familiar for the most part to all who have read Ellis or Professor Bonney or other advocates of the Cenis route. In one or two points he differs, not, as far as I can see, with any advantage. The beginning of the ascent is placed near Aiguebelle: the native town which Hannibal took is St. Jean; the white rock is l'Esseillon (too near St. Jean, I should have thought, for his purpose). But the chief novelty is that, whereas some Cenisians have fixed on the pass of the Cenis proper, and some on the Little Mont Cenis, Professor Osiander takes both at once. From arguments, which I do not quite follow, but which seem to be a misinterpretation of the very simple military narrative in *Pol.* iii. 53, 9, he deduces that Hannibal took part of his army up the Mont Cenis proper, and that the rest of his army went up the Little Mont Cenis, contriving to join the headquarters on the top of the main pass. The historical gain I do not perceive any more than the philological necessity; the controversial advantage is that the Cenis is the only competing pass which has two routes at all near one another separated by only a slight intervening ridge. On the improbability that the two portions



of the army would separate here for a time, or that, if they did, Polybius should not say so, it is needless to dwell.

The author does not bring fresh arguments of any weight against the Genève route. His strongest objection is to the 'beginning of the ascent' being placed at St. Bonnet. That view, which I upheld as correct, was originated, I think, by Létronne and adopted by Mr. Freshfield, whose arguments on that point I followed mainly in my article. I need not repeat them here. Professor Oslander says that if this is maintained, and Hannibal is taken over the Col Bayard into the Durance valley, he has a long descent to follow the beginning of his ἀναβολὴ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, and then a fresh ascent to the final pass. This he calls 'ein Nonsense,' which M. Létronne and his followers may bear with all the greater equanimity because it happens that Mommsen is chargeable with just the same kind of 'nonsense' when he approves of the theory that Hannibal found his ἀναβολὴ at the Mont du Chat, which (according to that view) he crossed and then made a steep descent to the Lac de Bourget before he reascended towards the Little St. Bernard. In truth this difficulty is evidently born from a want of familiarity with mountain tracks. Those who have that familiarity need not be told how often the traveller ascends long distances only to descend and reascend. Would anyone who knew what he was talking about hesitate to say that he 'began his ascent' to Chamonix at Martigny le Bourg? Or if he were making for the Genève from Bourg d'Oisans would he object to the statement that he began his ascent to the Alps at the foot of the Col du Lautaret?

Another objection put forward is that if Hannibal had turned southwards from the Isère to reach the upper valley of the Durance, he would have played into the hands of the Romans because he would then give Scipio 'die beste Gelegenheit ihn zuvorzukommen und den Weg über die Alpen zu verlegen.' This is a very strange argument. How could the intelligence that Hannibal had turned up the valley of the Drac reach Scipio in time to make any interference in the Durance valley possible? Hannibal did not know that Scipio had given up all idea of cutting him off, and that neither he nor his army would have been found in the Rhone by any such message. But consider what he certainly did know. The distance from Vizille, where he found himself, to the point where he had left Scipio completely baffled, is more than twice the distance

which he himself would have to traverse before he reached the upper Durance, and he knew well enough that there could be no risk of any Roman force first receiving intelligence through Gallic messengers, and then marching up the 100 miles of the lower Durance valley to intercept him below Chorges. In fact he would have been over the Genève long before. Professor Oslander cites Niebuhr as saying that 'Hannibal would have done good service to the Romans by a march through the Durance valley.' There is no reference given, and I cannot find the passage. The context would probably show that Niebuhr was speaking of quite different circumstances. What Niebuhr does say, that is germane to this subject, is 'Had Scipio ventured to follow his enemy, Hannibal would certainly have defeated him, and Scipio would have been lost among the Gallic tribes.'

But when we come to another 'proof' the error is different. Zonaras (viii. 23) says that Hannibal from the Rhone passed by the shorter routes and took another way. These shorter routes, says Professor Oslander, must be the coast road and the Genève, therefore Hannibal did not take the Genève. The conclusion, if we make Zonaras an authority, is by no means this. When Hannibal had crossed the Rhone, his *shortest* route to reach the Genève was to follow the Durance all the way: he passed by the opening to this valley for reasons which are sufficiently indicated by Polybius and Livy. Zonaras does no more than echo Livy's 'non quia rector ad Alpes via esset.'

When Professor Oslander relies on minute examination of Greek or Latin words for his argument, I fear that he often goes wrong. In his twelve axioms he lays it down that the hill town (Livy's 'castellum, caput ejus regionis') of the first conflict must be on the same level, because Polybius says, 'εἰς τινὰ παρακειμένην πόλιν,' and *παρὰ* implies 'weder über noch unter, sondern auf gleichem Niveau.' Are there many Greek scholars who would assert that by *παρακειμένην* anything more than *neighbourhood* is implied? No less extravagant is the contention in another 'axiom' that when Polybius says that the Allobroges occupied places 'δι' ὧν εἶδε τοὺς περὶ Ἀρνίβαν ποιέσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν,' we must exclude anything which is a pass over a ridge, because the preposition *διὰ* requires a 'Durchmarsch durch ein Engpass.' However, if he is to press the force of the preposition, he may be asked if every pass properly so-called is not a passage between two higher points.

Equally few scholars will agree with his view that the words 'incolunt prope Allobroges' mean that 'die Beiwohner sind nahezu (lauter) Allobroger'—a sort of adjectival force for the adverb, for which he seems to find support strangely enough in 'fere' (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 3. 96). Two pages further on he seems to think that the word *maxime* in 'Campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes pervenit' gives a superlative force to *campestri*.

It may be interesting for various reasons to examine two other contentions, though I confess I cannot see how on any grounds of ordinary logic they affect the question of Hannibal's route. Professor Osiander insists at considerable length that from Livy v. 34 we must conclude that the Celtic army under Bellovesus, which crossed the Alps early in the fourth century B.C., came over the Cenis and not over the Genève. I fail, as I have said, to see what his argument would gain by this, even if the facts were so. He lays down as an axiom that Hannibal's route must be one already opened by the Celts. That is true: but he extends this to postulate a route already opened by Celtic *armies*, which is not a necessary condition, and, more arbitrarily still, he claims that Roman writers must have known and recorded, every such ancient passage of a Celtic army. Obviously it was only necessary that Hannibal's guides should know of an existing practicable pass. But, apart from the futility of the argument, exception may be taken to his comments on the passage of Livy. He cites 'Ipsi (Galli) per Taurinos saltusque Juliae (altae) Alpīs transcenderunt.' He should have admitted that the text itself is much too uncertain to support any topographical theory; and it is curious that while he mentions various conjectures he takes no notice of Madvig's reading 'vallemque Duriæ' which would indicate the Genève more clearly than the Cenis. I do not say that Madvig here is convincing, but he is not a man to pass over in silence anywhere. But, further, there are no valid arguments to show that if Julia, or Julia alta, is the true reading, it meant the Cenis—indeed Bellovesus seems to have been directing his march to the south of the Isère. (Has any emendator, I wonder, suggested Aptæ Juliae?)

The discussion of the name Julia has a fatal attraction for our author, which brings me to a second contention with which I should be disposed to quarrel. He cites St. Odilo's Life of St. Maiolus, 'Ingens multitudo Saracenorum ab Hispania per Alpes Julias ad jugā Poeninarum Alpium

rapido cursu pervenit,' by way of showing that mediaeval writers called the Cenis 'Alpes Juliae.' The argument would be worthless as regards Hannibal's route; but, apart from that, his theory is extremely doubtful. St. Maiolus was captured by Saracens on Mons Jovis or Jovinus. There seems little reason to doubt that this means the Great St. Bernard. Dr. Dubi says it certainly does. Mr. Coolidge more cautiously says it probably does though it cannot be absolutely proved.<sup>1</sup> When a place is named, it may be assumed to be the place ordinarily so called unless there are circumstances which make that impossible or at least improbable. The name Alpes Juliae properly belongs to the Eastern Alps; the name Mons Jovis or Jovinus to the Great St. Bernard. As far as I can discover there is no reason why Professor Osiander should take Alpes Juliae to be the Cenis, or why (as he does on another page) he should suppose the 'Cenisstock' to be the Mons Jovis (the 'summum Jovis culmen' in Sil. iii. 510, which he erroneously quotes in support, clearly refers to Rome, not to the Alps). St. Maiolus journeying from Rome to Cluny might have crossed the Cenis but there is no reason to suppose that he did, or that he did not cross the Great St. Bernard. Indeed, the fact that the Maurienne had been overrun by the Saracens from Freinet (Fraxinetum) and the passes of the Graia and Cottian Alps held by them as early as 906 may of itself have induced the abbot of Cluny to choose a more easterly route in returning as well as in going. We know that he went to Rome by Chur. Why may we not suppose that the Mons Jovinus by which he returned is the Great St. Bernard? And, as we know further that the Saracens were overrunning the upper valley of the Rhine, east of Dissentis (which they did not touch) in 936, having obviously, as Mr. Coolidge points out, reached that district by eastern passes, there is no reason whatever to make the Alpes Juliae in this passage refer to the Cottian Alps.

The arguments about the other authorities which come later in the book are more connected with the subject, but need only a brief mention. I do not think that Professor Osiander's interpretation of the well known passages in Varro and Sallust will commend itself. To make Varro's order of passes agree with his theory he argues, as far as I understand, that Varro puts the Cenis instead of the Genève next to the Ligurian,

<sup>1</sup> In an article on The Saracens in the Alps, *Alpine Journal*, vol. ix. 254.

or coast road, because the Cenis is 'more easterly and therefore nearer Italy'; and for the same reason the Great St. Bernard (which he takes to be Hasdrubal's pass) is placed before the Little St. Bernard. A difficulty, no doubt, there is; but I still believe that it is met by the solution which I proposed in the *Classical Review*. However that may be, no one can approve the desperate expedient which is here proposed.

Professor Osiander deserves all credit for the industry and research of his treatise;

and it is all the more to be regretted that he leaves the controversy just where he found it. The impossibility of the Little St. Bernard was already demonstrated by arguments which needed no repetition. The Cenis route would have a fair case if it were not for the passage of the Druentia, and he certainly has not got rid of that difficulty. He has neither strengthened the case of the Cenis, nor weakened that of the Genèvre.

G. E. MARINDIN.

### OSTHOFF'S SUPPLETIVWESEN D. INDOGERMANISCHEN SPRACHEN.

*Vom Suppletivwesen der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Erweiterte akademische Rede von HERMANN OSTHOFF. Heidelberg, 1900. 4 M.

IN this University address, delivered in a shorter form on the occasion of the birthday festival of the Grand Duke of Baden by Professor Osthoff in his capacity as Pro-rector of the University of Heidelberg, a very interesting problem is discussed, and one which lends itself, comparatively speaking, to popular treatment. It is in short an attempt to answer the question 'why do we say *am*, *was*, *been*, making one verb out of three, or again *good*, *better*, *best*; *bad*, *worse*, *worst* with the comparative and superlative from a stem different from that of the positive?'

The pamphlet of 95 pages falls into three parts. In the first, extending to page 40, the problem is propounded in all the varieties of form which it takes; in pages 41 to 52 will be found the solution; the remaining pages are occupied by references to the literature of the subject and by the index.

The problem itself is subdivided under five heads, according as it appears (1) in the verb, (2) in the formation of feminine words, (3) in the adjective, (4) in the numerals, (5) in the pronoun. In each and all of these there appear examples not a few where one or more alien stems have become part and parcel of a series of forms with which originally they had no connexion. In all cases it is noticeable that the words thus treated belong to the commonest elements of the language, and are those which are most frequently in use. In the verb system it is just the verbs expressing the most common actions which fall into this category; verbs of eating: *ἔδω* and *ἔσθίω*,

*ἔδομαι* but *ἔφαγον*; verbs of giving and bringing: *φέρω*, *fero*, but in Greek *οἶσω*, *ἡνεγκα*, etc., in Latin *tuli*; verbs of going and coming: *ἔρχομαι* but *ἐλεύσομαι* and *ἦλθον*, *go* but *went*; *τρέχω* but *ἔδραμον*; verbs of saying and speaking: *ἔρῳ*, *ἔρηκα* but *εἶπον*; verbs of hitting: *ferio*<sup>1</sup> but *percussi*; verbs of seeing: *ὄράω* but, on the one hand, *ὄψομαι* and *ὄπωπα*, on the other, *εἶδον*, etc.

In the feminine formations it is remarkable that in the nearest relationships the feminine is rarely a derivative from the masculine form: *father*, *mother*; *husband*, *wife*; *son*, *daughter*. Only in Latin where the old words are lost do we find *filius* and *filia* from the same stem. More distant relationships like *grandson*, *grand-daughter* are expressed by forms from the same stem: *nepos*, *neptis*, for father-in-law, mother-in-law: *ἐκνρός*, *socer*; *ἐκνρά*, *socrus*. Yet son-in-law and daughter-in-law: *γαμβρός*, *gener*: *νρός*, *nurus* are from different stems. In the naming of the lower animals also the most familiar have names from different stems for the masculine and feminine forms: *horse*, *mare*; *bull*, *cow*; *boar*, *sow*, etc. Of wild quadrupeds only the deer, *hart* and *hind* are so distinguished in Old High German.

In the adjectival comparison it is noticeable that, in most languages, adjectives (and adverbs) expressing *good*, *bad*, *little*, fall into this category; in the numerals specially *one*, *first*; *two*, *second* and so in other languages. In the personal pronouns there are different stems for singular and plural; in the demonstratives, stems in the nominative different from the oblique cases, *ὁ*, *ἡ*: *τόν*, *τήν*, and so in the personal pronouns *ego*: *me*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This verb, however, as distinguished from *verbero* is aoristic by nature and is explained by Plutarch as equivalent to *πληξαι* (*Romulus* 16).



Full details for the whole of the Indo-Germanic languages are given in the first part of the address to illustrate these headings. The explanation offered is briefly this: that, where interest is close and personal, the human mind individualises each detail, where the interest is more remote, it classifies in series. Hence therefore there are separate and individual forms for the actions of most frequent occurrence, for the nearest relationships and so forth. That

the explanation supplies a *vera causa* seems undeniable; whether, however, the cause supplied is the only cause is perhaps more doubtful. Be this as it may, the author has given us a most interesting study of a large number of seemingly isolated peculiarities which the ordinary grammar is content to label as irregularities, and has shown us that here as elsewhere there is a unity in things which at first sight appear exceedingly diverse. P. GILES.

### GILES' COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

*A Manual of Comparative Philology.* By P. GILES, Reader in Comparative Philology in the University of Cambridge. Second Edition, Revised. Pp. xl., 619. Macmillan, 1901. 14s.

A HEARTY welcome will be given to the new edition of a book which has long since established its position as an interesting introduction to a difficult subject and a valuable instrument of higher education. The main lines of the first edition are preserved, notably the frequent use of changes and idioms in modern English and its dialects to illustrate similar developments in ancient languages. The appeal from the unknown to the familiar is always refreshing, and is doubly so here, since even the facts of the history of our own language, particularly in Syntax, are still extremely difficult to find. The result is that even the special student of English Philology will probably find more help in Mr. Giles' lucid sketch of the general principles of the subject than in any of the professed hand-books of English Grammar; while the classical student, who is apt to feel that he has come into a rather arid region when he begins Philology and turns his back upon the wealth of literary association that surrounds even the linguistic part of his Classical training, discovers that the range within which he may find such interest has not been narrowed, but greatly extended, by the light which the historical method throws upon the modern literature and the everyday speech of his own and other countries.

To write a text-book on a subject so full of controversies and pitfalls is a feat rather like building one's own house, which, it is said, is generally much better done the second time than the first. Mr. Giles is

to be congratulated both upon the conspicuous success of his first attempt, which, besides other testimony to its value, earned the somewhat rare honour of a German translation, and upon the admirable use he has made of the present opportunity for improvement. One feels in turning over the pages that one is under the guidance of a scholar whose method of stating his subject has the freshness and precision whose value can only be learnt by constant experience in teaching it; and in the six years that have passed since the first edition the author has, perhaps insensibly, discarded what has been felt as its only real weakness, the ultra-sceptical, almost contemptuous tone which then appeared in his discussion of the more intricate points. *Tout savoir est tout pardonner*; in other words, the longer one works at difficult problems, in this subject at least, the more hopeful one grows of their ultimate solution and the more patient meanwhile of half-successful attempts to grapple with them. It is not that the present edition draws the reader into a larger number of unsolved questions than the first: indeed Mr. Giles' success in avoiding matters which are unprofitable to a beginner is quite as striking as before. But where important questions not yet finally determined have to be mentioned, they are now presented in a thoroughly spirited and hopeful tone from which the student can draw nothing but encouragement. The volume is slightly increased in size, but the change is more apparent than real, and due mainly to the use of larger type. The actual additions, besides a brief and welcome appendix with the text of the fragmentary "Forum Inscription," are generally put into footnotes, which often present in a very

happy form the fruit of the voluminous research of recent years; for example the note on page 260 gives all the main points of Wheeler's acute and convincing essay on the development of grammatical Gender (in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 1899 (ii.) p. 528). And even this is not the most recent research which Mr. Giles has made accessible; light is thrown on many points from work only published last year, for example, on p. 520, the reader has the benefit of the results of Mr. Arthur Evans' most recent discoveries in Crete, bearing on the history of the Greek alphabets. The treatment of the changes of I.-Eu.  $\eta^*$  in Greek on p. 125 may be quoted as an example of the author's readiness to

accept the best view available though it involves the abandonment of his previous doctrine. One may regret in passing that Osthoff's wild speculations as to the 'double' treatment of sonant  $\eta$  and  $\eta$  are still given with so much prominence (p. 148), though there is some reserve in their statement. In § 45 a rather fundamental question ('Is Philology an exact science?') is still left without a very explicit answer, and on p. 226 there seems some obscurity in the description of 'the new accent' (in Greek nouns). But these are trivial blemishes in an admirable book.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, May 1901.

### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Euripides Hippolytus*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. E. HARRY. Pp. xlv, 175. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1899. 6s.

It is strange that so seldom appears a new edition of the *Hippolytus*. The press positively reeks with notes on the *Alcestis* or the *Hecuba* or the *Medea*, while not more than about once in ten years does anybody find anything to say in English on the *Hippolytus*—almost the greatest, if not the greatest, monument of Euripides' genius. However, one is content to wait for a good book, and Prof. Harry has given us one.

The introduction is full. The life and opinions of the poet are dealt with at length and then follows a good section on Euripides' 'dramaturgy,' in which the editor defends the Euripidean prologue. From the Euripidean point of view Prof. Harry makes out a good case, though from the artistic standpoint there is little can be said for it. Then follows a criticism of the poet's shortcomings as exemplified in the use of the *deus ex machina*; in the break in interest which occurs in some of the plays; and in the ineffectiveness of the choruses dramatically considered. A brief account of Euripides' style and language succeeds and the remainder of the introduction is taken up with an analysis of the characters of the play, an account of the myth, and a description of the illustrations, eight in number, which occur in the volume. The whole of the introduction is interesting and useful.

The text and notes show Prof. Harry to be a conservative critic. He does not bracket or transpose lines simply because a better sense (as it appears) may be obtained by doing so, nor does he admit emendations needlessly. An emendation is too often made to cut the knot which sympathy with the poet and close study of his thought might have untied. Sometimes however the editor is almost too conservative, as for instance when he retains 32-3. He defends them on p. 148 though in the note below the text he remarks that the text is corrupt. One or two other points may be noticed; in 111,  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$  calls for something more luminous than 'more circumstantial and cautious than simple  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  or  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ .' It might seem from the note that  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  might take  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the construction, which the editor certainly would not intend. 167.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\nu$ . To the references given might be added *P.V.* 645. There is a good note on  $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$  (200) in which the femininity of Phaedra's character is well brought out. 246.  $\delta\mu\mu\alpha$  surely means 'face' here; cf. 'shame hath covered my face.' 270. Is it not rather too strong to say that the use of  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is an innovation of Euripides? There are three instances at least in Aeschylus—*P.V.* 867, 929. *Pers.* 215. 328.  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon \mu\grave{\eta} \tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  is taken in the sense of 'fail to keep thee' = to lose thee, instead of 'fail to gain my request from thee.' The following lines, too, taking Prof. Harry's interpretation of the thought, make good sense without transposition or omission (Nauck). There seems no sufficient reason

for omitting them. 513-15 are in brackets. The editor here has followed Nauck and most editors. But we may be sure that the poet knew what he was doing when he made the nurse indulge in a bit of folk-lore. 1167. Another example of sigmatism might have been quoted from the play 295, as well as the line from the *Medea*. 1186. Some explanation of λέγοι without ἄν should have been given. The references quoted for the construction do not seem strictly parallel. But there is little room for fault finding. The notes throughout are clear and to the point. A feature which cannot pass without remark is the great number of apposite quotations which Prof. Harry has collected from modern authors in illustration of the thought of the play. They certainly add much to the interest of an excellent edition.

H. ELLERSHAW.

*Xenophon de Vectigalibus V. 9 und die Ueberlieferung vom Anfang des phokischen Krieges bei Diodor.* Von Oberlehrer AEMILIUS PINTSCHOVIVS. Hadersleben, 1900. Printed by W. L. Schütze.

THE starting point of this dissertation is the passage in the Πόροι of Xenophon; it is, however, chiefly concerned with the account in Diodorus of the origin of the Sacred War. The author's conclusions may be summarised as follows. The seizure of the temple at Delphi is to be put in the archonship of Agathocles, 357/6, and took place about June 356; so that the war, which was regarded as ending with the φθορά τῶν διαειμαμένων τὰ ἱερὰ χεῖματα (Diod. xvi. 14), i.e. with the devastation of Phocis in August 346, lasted in reality a few months over the

ten years. He argues at length in favour of Volquardsen's view that the inconsistencies and repetitions in Diodorus xvi. 28 ff. as compared with Ch. 23-27 indicate a difference of source. He regards Ephorus as the authority followed by Diodorus in the earlier part of book xvi., down to the end of ch. 27, except in the chapters relating to Philip, which he assigns to Theopompus, from whose Philippica he supposes the latter part of the book to have been, in the main, derived. The Sicilian chapters in this part of the book come from Timaeus, although he maintains that Ephorus is the authority followed for Sicilian affairs down to ch. 27. He asserts the Xenophontic authorship of the Πόροι, and suggests the summer of 355 as the date of its composition, the passage in V. 9 being inspired by the Phocian embassy which he supposes to have been sent to Athens by Philomelus about this time.

The dissertation is a conscientious piece of work, marked, unfortunately, by an absence of method and style which one has come to associate with compositions of this sort. The most important contribution which the writer makes to the solution of the difficult problems of which he treats is his hypothesis that the whole of the thirtieth book of Ephorus' work was written by his son Demophilus. It has hitherto been inferred from the references in Diodorus that Ephorus carried down his history to the siege of Perinthus, and that Demophilus was responsible only for the account of the Sacred War. A strong case is made out in favour of this hypothesis; and, if it is accepted, it would furnish a plausible explanation for Diodorus' parting company, at the end of ch. 27, with Ephorus, to whom he has been so faithful up to that point.

E. M. WALKER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### CLASSICS IN EDUCATION.

[We print below underneath a covering letter of Dr. GRANGER of University College, Nottingham, the first of two communications whose contents seem likely to excite both interest and dissent among readers of the *Classical Review*:—ED. C.R.]

These two letters upon Classical Education were not written, in the first instance, in order to be published. Their writer chose this way of expressing his objections to the discipline to which, as will appear, he was subjected in the usual course at Oxford. The letters summarise from one side a rather lengthy correspondence in which two



of his friends took the other side, and, perhaps, may be of service to lovers of the classical tradition by showing where that tradition has borne somewhat heavily in a typical case. It is with this intention that my friend has allowed me to submit his criticisms to the editor of the *Classical Review*.

The somewhat surprising references to Latin accent in the second letter relate, I understand, not to stress, but to tone. For that matter Dr. Key, when he was headmaster of University College School, used to have Plautus and Terence chanted by the sixth form. At least I am so informed by one of his old boys.

F. GRANGER.

## TWO LETTERS TO A CLASSICAL FRIEND.

### I.

My Dear —,

I am dissatisfied to leave our discussions on the Classics and their place in Education, at the stage which we have at present reached. I am reluctant that you should credit me with a love of letters, and especially of Poetry, inferior to your own, though of course I make no pretension to your scholarship, and though Literature, while it is a great and permanent interest in my mind, yet is not with me, as it has been I think with you, the chief business of the intellectual life. And it is because I find myself unable to make the study of the Classics, in any substantial measure, subservient to the love of letters, that I have, in our former conversations, directed my attack against the system of Classical Education. Such a conclusion is quite as disappointing to me as it must be disagreeable to yourself, and yet my personal experience leaves me no choice but to draw it. I want to make it more plain to you than I could in desultory talk, that I must not be understood to pass judgment on the classic texts, from any other point of view than that of the learner. Indeed, and this is an important part of my case, I feel that, after all the labour I have bestowed upon them, I am still incompetent to apprehend or weigh their merits and defects. The only question upon which I have formed an opinion is not, 'What is the intrinsic value of Classical Literature?' but this humbler, if to me more pressing enquiry, 'What is the learner likely to get out of it?'

You will remember that my education was unusual, although I fear that the result, so far as the Classics are concerned, is

typical; typical, that is, of the experience of the majority. Being as a lad very delicate, I was brought up at home, in a rather solitary fashion. I knew neither Greek nor Latin, nor did I begin them until I was eighteen years of age. But I read English verse with avidity, and wrote it with enthusiasm, as a boy should. Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Cowper: all that the Globe editions on our shelves could afford me was read and taken in to the best of my ability. I read through the *Faerie Queene* from beginning to end. I read through *Paradise Lost* three times, though I must admit that I did not begin to appreciate it until the third reading. In French I read sundry plays of Corneille and Racine and Molière, I think with some, though no doubt with imperfect appreciation. But I have never looked at them since. I wanted to read all the great poets of the world. I read Cary's translation of the *Divine Comedy*. I read Virgil in a crib. I read right through Cowper's tedious translation of Homer, in which nothing moved or interested me, except the last book of the *Iliad*, where Priam goes to Achilles to beg the body of Hector. And then, at eighteen, I went to a tutor, and began Greek and Latin, and for four years I did nothing else. In my twenty-first year I matriculated at Oxford, and at twenty-two I took a third in Moderations. What did I gain by this four years' work?

Bear in mind that I approached the study of the Classics with the keenest love of poetry, and with the strongest prepossession in their favour. For Matriculation I took up two plays of Euripides. I got nothing out of the *Hecuba*. Out of the *Alcestis* I got perhaps as much as I might have gained by reading 'Balaustion's Adventure,' not more. I remember that at Matriculation I had the cheek to turn a passage of Euripides into verse. Indeed I eagerly, though vainly, desired to assimilate what I read, as Poetry. What else was the good of reading it? In the midst of these tasks, I sought and gained some comfort, in learning by heart the magnificent passage of Milton which begins:

Thus far these beyond  
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed  
Their dread commander.

Will you bear with me when I say that these eighty lines have been to me of more value than all the classics put together?

At this time I also read Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, I. II. and IV. It would be ungrateful to pass over the Latin prose

texts, Caesar, B. G. I-IV. and Livy, XXI. XXII.; for they helped to teach me the Latin language, and to them I have returned in later years. I now took the Oxford and Cambridge Certificate Examination, so that when I came into residence, the field was clear for Mods. I decided to go in for Honours, chiefly, I think, because I wanted to read the great texts. I was still not strong; I worked very slowly, with painstaking accuracy. I had not learned to measure the labour required for a given task. I recollect sitting up till five o'clock one morning over a piece of Latin Prose, which I could not lick into shape. This was no doubt due to a fastidious judgment, with resources inadequate for its satisfaction.

I began Homer. I was completely baffled by the difficulties of the language, and unable to keep up with the lectures, of which I recall only the lecturer's sardonic remark that 'Nothing new and at the same time true can possibly be said about Homer.' Of the twelve books of the *Odyssey* (XIII-XXIV) which I offered for examination, I never read more than seven. And my Homer paper got a Second! At least this might gratify my sense of humour. But what concerned me more was that in these seven books I never experienced the least gleam of poetry. I dreamed, however, of a return to Homer under more favourable circumstances, with no lectures and no examinations.

I took up two-thirds of Virgil:—the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the first half of the *Aeneid*; and I read these through most carefully, with the abridged edition of Conington. I found no poetry in the *Eclogues*. Of the *Georgics* I retain one line:—  
*Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.*  
 That charmed me, partly because it set me thinking of that 'haunt of ancient Peace,' the Bishop's Palace at Wells, familiar to me from childhood. But I had to hurry on to the *Aeneid*. This could not but leave upon my mind a certain impression of stateliness and majesty, amid much convention, comparable to the dignity of *Paradise Lost*. I learned by heart the lines

*O socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante mavorum, et cetera*

for the sake of the encouragement contained in them, which truly I much needed. And as with Homer, so with Virgil, or at least the *Aeneid*, I thought some day I would read it again. But the predominating impression which Virgil left upon my mind, was that of sheer fag, of the stiffest piece of

grind which I had ever gone through. And you know I still retain the opinion that grind is one thing, and poetry quite another, as different (to put it briefly) as Martha and Mary.

Demosthenes *De Corona* I read in the Long Vacation, among the ruins of Bramber Castle. I liked it well enough, but it did not rouse my enthusiasm. I don't think I ever quite finished it, and I have never looked at it since. Cicero's letters (Watson Part V.) interested me, and the *Philippics* (I-VII.) increased my knowledge of Latin, perhaps of Rome. And I read the *De Senectute* for my own pleasure; also, I think, the first book of the *Tusculans*.

I took up for examination Aristophanes and Juvenal. Of these texts I only accomplished a part, but the reckless humour of the first, and the bitter satire of the second, chimed in precisely with my mood, and gave it a kind of expression. At the same time I found a powerful intellectual stimulus in the vast collections of Prof. Mayor. But the consequence was that out of thirteen satires I only read seven. It was of more value to me to gain the idea of learning.

Somehow I scraped through Mods. Nay, I did more than scrape through, for six of my papers (Latin Prose, Homer, Virgil, Aristophanes, Juvenal, Unseen) got a Second. But I was too much discouraged and dis-illusioned to care about anything beyond getting through. I had now to consider whether I should go in for Greats. Without much hesitation I decided in the negative. It was neither the Philosophy, nor the History, nor the Language, but the Literature, and above all the famous Poetry of Greece and Rome, which had in the first instance attracted me. I had since come to see that the study of the Classics was a highly technical and traditional study, which could not with advantage be approached except by those who had already in boyhood been initiated into the classical education of our public schools. It required not four years' work but fourteen. The product of this system was *l'homme moyen classique*, the average classical man. An outsider could not hope to put himself on a level with the men of this type, nor in truth did I greatly desire to do so. I felt, rightly or wrongly, that the study of the classics was not pursued for its own sake, but as part of an established system of education, of which the value and importance were rather taken for granted than really felt or proved. To me, and to most others on my own level of attainment, it was just mere cram and grind

and shop, and could by no possibility be anything more. There was nothing in all this to gratify the love of Letters, the love of Nature, the love of Beauty. No experience could be less Hellenic, or less Humane. The classics, I then felt, and I feel still, were hackneyed to death, and nothing short of a miracle could impart to them the least touch of freshness. A classic text to me both was and is, a thing of verbs and adjectives; of the grammar and the lexicon; and the study of it had no more to do with Poetry than it had to do with Chemistry. Indeed the one solid result which I brought off from four years' work was not literary but scientific;—a certain grip of the Latin language and an elementary knowledge of Greek. It is a curious reflection that the only Greek book which has ever been of any real value to me, is the Greek Bible.

I therefore *chucked* the classics with a

βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας, with mingled feelings of mortification and relief. For myself the grapes were sour, and I gladly turned to other and, on the whole, more congenial subjects. Yet there has always remained with me, lurking in the background of my mind, an unsatisfied desire to return once more to the classical literature, and if possible to find there some part at least of the treasures which it is supposed to afford the student. And the occasion of our discussions has arisen out of my very unsuccessful efforts to achieve this result, efforts which, as you know, have only revived and strengthened the painful conviction that *Classical Books should be left to Classical Men.*

I remain, my Dear—,

Your assured friend,

G. H. S.

October, 1900.

(To be continued.)

#### ΣΜΙΝΘΕΥΣ, PESTILENCE AND MICE.

*A propos* of Mr. Godley's note on Σμινθεύς in the May *C.R.*, it is a curious coincidence that in the May number of the *Expository Times* there is a paper by a medical missionary, the Rev. J. C. Gibson, M.A., M.D., of Swatow, designed to prove that the fifth and sixth chapters of the first book of Samuel describe an outbreak of bubonic plague, and that the 'mice that mar the land' are rats, mentioned because of their carrying disease. Dr. Gibson observes that Hitzig recalled in this connexion the association of Apollo with plague, under the epithet Smintheus. He tells us that bubonic plague is commonly called 'rat plague' in China to-day. The independent confirmation of an interesting theory thus supplied seems worthy to be brought to the notice of readers of the *C.R.* who may not have seen it.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

In a paper upon some Homeric questions in the May number, Mr. Godley discussed the connection between mice and pestilence, and would explain it as the result of the knowledge acquired from Egypt of the fact that mice and rats carry disease. Is it not simpler to explain this connection as the result of an oriental metaphor? With the same suddenness and thoroughness that mice destroy crops, does pestilence destroy

men. It is noticeable that in almost every instance where the connection has been found the mouse mentioned has been the shrew-mouse. We know how great are the ravages of mice in corn-land from the elaborate spells found in Teutonic mythology to get rid of them. A possible explanation of the differing accounts of the destruction of Sennacherib is that the Assyrian folk-tales or chronicles described the destruction of the army by 'pestilence,' using what to them may have been the common metaphor of 'mice.' In after ages when the metaphorical signification of mice had been lost, the story of them gnawing the bowstrings was invented, to explain how mice could work the destruction of an army. It is significant that the Philistines, when they sent back the ark, were advised by their priests and diviners to 'make images of your emerods and images of your mice that mar the land,' (Sam. i. v. 9), though no mention of the ravages of mice is made. The words 'that mar the land' seem almost to be inserted in an explanatory way to show why they were included in the offering.

The story of the gnawing of the bowstrings in the Troad and the similar story in Chinese legends, both referred to by Mr. Lang, may have originated in the same way, or merely be other forms of the same story.



The connection between mice and disease being established by this metaphor, it is a short step to the idea that mice have some control over disease; and therefore the author of the Homeric poems regards it as quite natural to address Apollo in his capacity of the mouse-god, when he has afflicted the Greeks with a pestilence.

A. T. C. CREE.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

[Mr. Cree's explanation of the puzzling passage in the First Book of Samuel (not the least of whose difficulties is the discrepancy between the Hebrew and LXX. texts) would appear to be the same as that

of Prof. Wellhausen, and, after him, of Prof. Driver in his '*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*' (on I. Sam. vi. 21), viz. that the mouse is a symbol (Bild) of pestilence. There is a somewhat similar legend in the Arabic chronicle of Tabari of the destruction of the Abyssinian army when marching against Mecca. 'So God sent birds like swallows in swarms from the sea; each carried three stones, one in its beak and two in its claws, of the size of a chick pea or lentil. Those who were struck died: but not all were struck.' Other accounts, however, represent the army as attacked by small pox. See Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 213 sqq.—Ed. C.R.]

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### BERNOULLI'S GREEK ICONOGRAPHY.

*Griechische Ikonographie, mit Ausschluss Alexanders und der Diadochen.* Von J. J. Bernoulli. Erster Theil: Die Bildnisse berühmter Griechen von der Vorzeit bis an das Ende des V. Jahr. v. Chr. München. 1901. 16 M.

GREEK and Roman portrait sculpture has been for many years sadly neglected in comparison with other branches of Archaeology. Since Visconti's *Iconographie Grecque* was published in 1808, there has appeared no important work dealing with the portraits of celebrated Greeks, until a few years ago Dr. Arndt began the issue of his splendid series of plates called *Griechische und Römische Porträts*. Even Arndt only adds a few lines of text to each plate; portraiture as a branch of ancient art has only been treated of in a few short papers by Michaelis, Winter, Six and others. Hence every one interested in ancient art must have been delighted to hear that Prof. Bernoulli of Basel, whose *Römische Ikonographie* is so valuable a work, was preparing a kindred book on Greek portraits.

Prof. Bernoulli's book is of great value, a solid and laborious piece of work. If I point out some respects in which it does not fulfil all one's hopes, I must not be supposed to underrate its undeniable merits.

There are two lines of study in relation to Greek portraits which claim attention;

first, the history of portraiture as a branch of art, second, the recovery of the features of great men. The second of these lines of study is that to which the book before us will most contribute, and it is the most obviously attractive; and yet some previous attention to the first is a necessary preliminary; for until the date and artistic character of a statue is determined, it is of unknown value, and we cannot decide how far to trust it, or what allowance to make for the personal bias of the sculptor.

It is thus greatly to be regretted that Dr. Bernoulli does not preface his work by a summary history of portrait-sculpture among the Greeks; had he done so, he would have handled Greek portraits with more decision and more insight. Taking these up as he does one by one, with no formulated principles to refer to, he sometimes falls into inconsistencies. His plan is to discuss the certainly or probably identified portraits of eminent Greeks in the order of their historic succession. But it is certain that the date of their life is by no means always the date of the portrait which we possess, and thus from the first we are apt to lose touch with chronologic succession. The first portrait discussed is that of Homer. But of course the portrait of Homer is a mere fanciful invention, dating from Hellenistic days. The earliest contemporary portrait which we can with confidence attribute is that of Pericles, which comes about the middle of Prof. Bernoulli's book. Thus it is clear that the arrangement of the work, though no doubt

it has some practical advantages, is such as to mix up styles and periods of art. If it was impossible to preserve a chronological succession from the point of view of art, which is probably the case, at all events mere fancy portraits of persons who lived, or were supposed to have lived, before the days of portraits, should be placed in a separate class.

On the other hand Prof. Bernoulli successfully defends himself against those critics who would have had him leave to the notes or an appendix all such portraits as are not certainly authentic. As he observes, such a rule would have taken away three fourths of his subject. One only regrets the number of distinctive portraits of known date and character which his plan has obliged him to reject, because it is not clear whom among half a dozen possibilities they really represent.

In collecting his materials Prof. Bernoulli is excellent. He seldom omits any known evidence, and seldom fails to record and consider the opinion of any recognized authority. His judgment is usually sane and trustworthy. It may however be expected, after what has been already said, that he is somewhat less satisfactory in dealing with really difficult questions as to the relations of various portraits of the same person to one another, and as to their authors. We can perhaps best do justice to the work before us by examining in somewhat closer detail the sections of it dealing with two groups of portraits, those of Sophocles and those of Euripides.

The portraits of Sophocles fall naturally into three groups, first, those which represent him in advanced age, of which group perhaps the best example is the herm in the British Museum, second, those grouped about the magnificent standing statue of the Lateran, in which he is greatly idealized, and third, heads of an earlier type which may date from the fifth century, of which there are examples in the British Museum, at Berlin, and elsewhere.

These portraits Dr. Bernoulli had already discussed in a paper in the *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* for 1896; and in so doing he had burdened himself with a most unnecessary assumption, that it was impossible (*geradezu unbegreiflich*) that the Greeks can have handed down to us two different portrait types of the same man. Why so strange a thesis should be maintained does not appear. The thesis is not only arbitrary, but contrary even to historic evidence; for we are told by Plutarch with regard to Alexander the

Great that many artists represented him in various styles, until he finally chose Lysippus as his court sculptor. And the statement of Plutarch is fully confirmed by the great variety of extant portraits of Alexander. It surely stands to reason that other eminent men would be sculptured at various times of life and by various hands. But Dr. Bernoulli in the paper referred to is so much a victim of his *a priori* principle that he denies that the elderly portraits of Sophocles represent him at all, because they differ from the Lateran portrait.

In the work before us, Dr. Bernoulli so far relaxes the rigour of his one-type view that he allows the authenticity of the elderly portraits, which indeed can scarcely be denied. But on the other hand he feels constrained to deny that the Lateran statue is a portrait in the strict sense of the word. It is 'eine selbständige Neuschöpfung.' And the third group of portraits he regards as not representing Sophocles at all, but only someone resembling him. I cannot see any need for such procedure. Dr. Bernoulli would certainly have come nearer to the truth if he had proceeded on less rigid lines, and contented himself with the generally received view as to the portraits of the second and third groups, that the heads of the third group are copies of a contemporary portrait of the poet, and the Lateran statue a noble but not unfaithful transcript of them in the style of the fourth century.

In the case of the portraits of Euripides, also, I think Dr. Bernoulli's too determined search for a type has misled him. He regards the two well-known heads at Naples and at Mantua as going back to one original, 'deutlich auf das gleiche Original zurückgehend.' This may be the case; but the Mantua head is of a quite different and a distinctly later style of art than that of Naples. The Naples head may be a copy not greatly modified from a contemporary portrait; the Mantua head is a work of Hellenistic style, with marked expression, naturalistic rendering of the skin, and undercut locks of hair. All this Dr. Bernoulli has not noted.

It is evident that all portraits of noted Greeks who lived later than the middle of the fifth century must be dependent in a considerable degree on true contemporary portraits. To study the manner in which these contemporary portraits are translated and altered by sculptors of later ages and various schools would be a most important piece of work, and one which would greatly further our knowledge of ancient sculpture.

However it is more pleasant, instead of noting what Dr. Bernoulli has not attempted, to thank him for what he has accomplished. He has put together in most useful form the mass of evidence as to early Greek portraiture, and his work, combined with the plates of Arndt's great series, may help towards still further progress in this most interesting branch of archaeology.

P. GARDNER.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### GERMANY.

*Naundorf in Hochwald*, near Trier. Remains of a Roman temple have come to light, including over 100 well-preserved votive figures in terracotta, mostly female deities with attributes, some with remains of colouring; also eight bronze figures (four of Mars, one of Jupiter, and one of Mercury).<sup>1</sup>

### ROUMANIA.

*Konstanza*. A large tomb which has lately been found contained wall-paintings on the stone walls which were covered with stucco. On one wall three figures were preserved: Herakles, a woman with a roll, and a seated woman behind whom is an elephant; on another wall, two Victories, a youth seated by a ship, and a boy with a basket of fruit.<sup>2</sup>

### ITALY.

*Pompeii*. The remarkable bronze statue recently discovered has now been placed in the Naples Museum. It is 3 ft. 10½ in. high and is entirely covered with a coating of silver, the eyes being in white marble with inlaid pupils.<sup>1</sup>

*Rome*. Sig. Lanciani writes to correct a statement made by him in previous notes (see *C.R.* for April, p. 192). The new fragment of the marble plan is not from the first edition of Vespasian's time, nor does it represent the older Pantheon, but it forms part of the Baths of Agrippa and dates from Septimius Severus like the rest.<sup>3</sup>

### GREECE.

*Athens*. In a disused well 100 vases of the Roman period have been found, resembling those discovered

by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in the Fayûm, with incised geometrical patterns; one has painted yellow and brown ornaments. On the spot where the Ilissos is crossed by the middle line of the Long Walls a cemetery of about 400 B.C. has been excavated. Each tomb contained a marble or terracotta sarcophagus containing a coffin of wood with bronze nails; the ashes in many cases were placed in marble vessels or urns of bronze and terracotta. Among the painted vases found were lekythi, pyxides, etc. of the usual types, also several *loutrophoroi*, one with an Amazonomachia; a lebes with a flute-player and dancers; and a *pelike* with Theseus and the Marathonian bull. Other finds which may be mentioned are sundry bronze objects, leaden *dirae* inscribed with imprecations, marble vases and inscribed *stelae*, and various terracottas (figures of Pan and Seilenos, birds and dogs, and gilt rosettes).<sup>2</sup>

*Eretria*. Tombs have come to light containing fifth-century lekythi, and a considerable number of gold ornaments, including necklaces of acorns and animals' heads, a diadem with reliefs, and finger-rings. Others date from the seventh century, and contained early amphorae, one of the Dipylon class with a funeral procession. Among the white-ground lekythi was one with the subject of Hypnos and Thanatos.<sup>2</sup>

*Thera*. Hiller von Gaertringen has finished excavating the plan of the upper city, which consists mainly of private houses. One was of a complicated plan and contained in one chamber a number of Hellenistic terracottas; in two of the rooms were wall-paintings, resembling the First or Incrustation style of Pompeian wall-decoration. Other discoveries range from polygonal walls of an early period to remains of Byzantine times. The Agora has been shown to consist of three distinct terraces extending for about 120 yards north and south; on the middle one was a temple of the Ptolemies and Caesars, and on the north side three exedrae erected by persons in the Augustan age, as shown by inscriptions. Two high columns which evidently formed a pair bore an honorary inscription of the second century B.C., together with a long list of *procenti*. On the road leading down from the Agora were found a quantity of early inscriptions cut in the rock; one in iambic trimeters which relates to a Carneian festival established by one Agloteles has been published in *Hermes*, 1901, p. 134.<sup>2</sup>

*Aegina*. It is reported that no fewer than nine heads have been found belonging to the pedimental sculptures of the temple which are now at Munich; the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of May 4 was to contain full details of these finds, but at the time of writing is not to hand.

H. B. WALTERS.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

*American Journal of Philology*. Vol. xxi, 4. Whole No. 84. 1900.

*The Athenian Democracy in the Light of Greek Literature*, A. Leach. *The Ocean in Sanskrit Epic Poetry*, W. Hopkins. *The Greek in Cicero's Epistles*, R. B. Steele. *On the Wedding Stanza, Rig-Veda*, x. 40, 10, M. Bloomfield. *The Manuscripts of the Letters of Cicero to Atticus in the Vatican Library*, S. B. Platner. *Note on Acharnians 947*, C. Bonner. *On Greek and Latin Negatives*, F. H. Fowler. *On*

*the Septuagint Text of I. Samuel 20, 3 and Epistle of Jeremiah 26*, J. W. Rice.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Schmalz's *Latinsche Syntax und Stilistik* (E. B. Lease), Koch's *Kaiser Julian der Abtrünnige* (W. C. France), Rothstein's *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius* (K. F. Smith).

*Revue de Philologie*. Vol. 25, 2. April 1901.

*Les jeux en l'honneur du proconsul Q. Mucius Scaevola*, P. Foucart. An inscr. from Olympia.



*La famille d'Herode Atticus*, P. Foucart. An inscr. from Athens. *Plantus* Asin. 99, 100. Th. Kakridis. Suggests in 100 *venari item lepuseulum in medio mari*. *Terentius Phormio*, L. Havet. Critical notes. *Platon et l'origine des minéraux*, F. de Mély. Certain passages of the *Timaeus* quoted and discussed, in which we may recognize the beginning of the science of mineralogy. *Plin.* N.H. viii. 165, E. Chatelain. *Profundius* is a gloss and is not found in a palimpsest of P. in MS. 24 of the Grand Séminaire of Autun. *Langue et style de Victor de Vita*, F. Ferrère. A contribution to the study of African Latin. *Baris*, B. Keil. On the mention of this town in an inscr. found near the temple of Apollo Didymaeus and lately published by B. Haussoullier. *Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen*, B. Haussoullier. Further inscriptions, of the reign of Seleucus II. *Une nouvelle borne milliaire de Lydie-Le proconsul Dulcinius*, B. Haussoullier. An inscr. from Koz-bounar between Ephesus and Sardis.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.**  
1901.

17 April. *Thucydidis Historiae*, rec. H. S. Jones. II. (S. Widmann). 'Handy, though not of much importance.' *Ciceros Reden gegen Catilina und für Archias*, erkl. von K. Halm. 14. A. von G. Laubmann (W. Hirschfelder), very favourable. R. Thiele, *Horaz und sein Säkulargedicht* (W. Hirschfelder), 'Much to be commended.' E. Wölfflin, *Zur Komposition der Historien des Tacitus* (G. Andresen). 'Reaches only a negative result' Guil. Heydenreich, *De Quintiliani institutionis oratoriae libro X, de Dionysii Halicarnassensis de imitatione libro II, de canone qui dicitur Alexandrino quaestiones* (O. Kröhnert), unfavourable.

24 April. *Festschrift*, C. F. W. Müller zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet (C. Haebler). Contains the following: Max Treu, *Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Magistros*; A. Ludwig, *Beiträge zur Homerischen Handschriftenkunde*; F. Skutsch, *Zur Wortzusammensetzung im Lateinischen*; R. Wünsch, *Zu Sophrons Tal γυναικες αἱ τὰν θεὸν φαντι*

ἐξελαῖν; K. Dziatzko, *Das neue Fragment der Περικειρομένη des Menander*; W. Kroll, *Studien über die Komposition der Aeneis*; R. Förster, *Die Kasusangleichung des Relativpronomen im Lateinischen*; and F. Marx, *Digitis computans*. F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*. 4. A. (V. Prášek), favourable. M. W. de Visser, *De Graccorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam* (H. Steuding), favourable. J. Schöne, *De dialecto Bacchylidea* (C. Haebler). 'Deserves cordial recognition.' *Demetrii Cydonii de contemnenda morte oratio*, ed. H. Deckelmann (C. Fries). 'Welcome to specialists on Byzantine literature.' A. Uppgren, *De verborum peculiaribus et propriis numeris*. III. (H. D.), unfavourable. *Cicero, I tre libri de oratore*, da A. Cima. *Libro I*, sec. ed. (W. Hirschfelder), very favourable. *Ovidii Metamorphoses*, Auswahl von J. Meuser. 7. A. von A. Egen (C. Fries), favourable. D. Detlefsen, *Die Beschreibung Italiens in der Naturalis Historia des Plinius* (J. Müller), favourable. P. Natop, *Was uns die Griechen sind* (O. Weissenfels), favourable.

1 May. J. B. Bury, *A history of Greece to the death of Alexander the Great* (A. Höck) I. Gualth. Sanell, *Quaestiones Platonicae* (M. Wohlrab). On the attempt to determine the order of Plato's writings from the evidence of language. *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearb. von G. Wissowa. 7. Halbband (F. Harder. Zusatz von G. Andresen).

8 May. E. Kammer, *Ein aesthetischer Kommentar zu Homers Ilias* (G. Vogrinz), very favourable. J. B. Bury, *A history of Greece* (A. Höck) II. 'Very stimulating and full of learning.' R. Frese, *Beiträge zur Beurteilung der Sprache Cäsars* (H. Ziemer). 'An excellent treatise.' Th. Fitz-Hugh, *Outlines of a System of Classical Pedagogy* (H. Ziemer), favourable.

15 May. A. Solari, *Osservazioni sulla pretesa potenza marittima degli Spartani* (A. Höck), favourable. J. Valaori, *Der delphische Dialekt* (P. Kreschmer), favourable. *Horati opera*, rec. E. C. Wickham (W. Hirschfelder). 'A careful and well-considered edition of the text.' A. Romano, *Osservazioni Pliniane* (F. Münzer), unfavourable.

# The Classical Review

JULY 1901.

THE Executive Committee of the British School at Rome have issued an appeal (dated May, 1901) from which the following are extracts—

The project of founding in Rome a recognised British centre of study and research, offering to British students the advantages which German, French, Austrian, and American students already enjoy in the institutions provided by their respective countries, has been frequently mooted both in this country and by residents in Rome.

Early in 1899 it was taken up in a definite form by the Committee of the British School at Athens; a strong General Committee was formed for the purpose of bringing the scheme before the public and inviting promises of support; and a small Executive was appointed 'to take such further steps as may be necessary pending the transfer of the proposed School to the Committee of the British School at Athens.'

The intention indicated in a circular which was widely distributed in November, 1899, to issue in the spring of the following year an appeal for the Schools at Rome and Athens jointly, was necessarily abandoned owing to the prevailing national emergency. But a small fund was raised which enabled the Committee to make a tentative beginning; a Director (Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford) was appointed, and proceeded to Rome in November, 1900; an excellent set of rooms was acquired in January, 1901, in the Palazzo Odescalchi, Piazza SS. Apostoli; and the School was formally opened by Lord Currie, H.M. Ambassador to the Quirinal, on April 11 last.

The work of the School has already begun. The Director, in addition to a full report on the recent excavations, published in the *Times* of January 9, and to assistance given to visitors to Rome at Easter, has delivered an exhaustive lecture, which will shortly be published, on the ancient Church of Santa Maria Antiqua. A monograph on the 'Roman Roads in the Campagna,' by Mr. T. Ashby, late Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, and now a student at the School, is also nearly ready for publication.

The School, it should be remembered, will not be exclusively classical and archaeological. On the contrary, it is intended to be a centre for all British

students in Rome; and the Provisional Scheme, approved by the General Committee, provides that every period of the language and literature, antiquities, art and history of Rome and Italy shall be considered as falling within its province.

Funds are urgently needed, in the shape both of annual subscriptions and of donations. If the School is to be maintained in a really efficient manner an annual income of at least £1,000 is required. The Committee desire to obtain also a capital sum of not less than £3,000, for such purposes as the extension of the library, the furnishing of the rooms, etc.

Up to the present the annual subscriptions amount to only about £250, and the donations to about £760.

Upon the need for the new School, our correspondent in Rome, Mr. Ashby, writes as follows. The experience which he has gained upon the spot gives his opinion a special value:

I am sure, from my own experience, that for archaeological and other students here in Rome, such a School is a necessity. During the period of my residence here I have met with unflinching kindness from the heads of the German, French, and American Schools, and from Italian archaeologists; but I have always felt the need of some centre for British students; and the warmth and enthusiasm of the welcome which the representatives of other nations have offered to our new School and its director, form in themselves a sufficient proof that its desirability is recognised on all hands, and that its prosperity, if this can be secured, will be beneficial to students and workers of other nations as well as of our own.

We would earnestly commend the appeal to all friends of scholarship and archaeology in this country. Subscriptions may be sent to Dr. Walter Leaf, 6 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

*Was muss der Gebildete vom Griechischen wissen?* is the title of a book which appeared in the same year as 'G. H. S.' penned

his two remarkable 'Letters to a Classical Friend,' the second of which appears in our present issue: and the answer which 'G. H. S.' there returns to the question is an unfaltering *Nichts!* To all of us who hope for the classical literatures, and for Greek literature in particular, a not less magnificent rôle in the future than they have played in the past, and who believe that a serious curtailment in the sphere of this influence will be a serious loss to human culture and education, the frank confessions and outspoken denunciations of this would-be friend who has become a foe, *donnent furieusement à penser*. The curious paradox of 'G. H. S.'s' intellect, his seeming ability to appreciate English poetry and his avowed incapacity to see anything in Greek, his love and admiration of Milton and Shelley and his repugnance to the ancient writings which Milton and Shelley loved and admired, need not trouble us here: this Review is not concerned with *lusus naturae* as such. It is very different with the matter of his criticisms; and *fas est et ab hoste doceri* is a saying the force of which Englishmen at the present time should be the first to acknowledge.

English scholars have heard a good deal lately of the evil effects of 'specialism' in classics. But now it is announced that classics itself is a study only fit for specialists. And this proposition emanates from a member of a University whose classical curriculum and examinations are generally thought to be excellently planned for keeping specialism in its proper place. The circumstance is notable.

Attentive readers of the strictures of 'G. H. S.' will observe that they refer to two quite separate matters. Part of them deal with defects in the modes and methods of classical teaching. Upon the question of particular criticisms there may be different opinions: but his complaint of the labour of learning Greek and Latin most people will consider well grounded. In the phrasing of his complaint, 'sheer fag,' 'grind,' 'labour,' and the like, we have the voice not of his opinions but of his experience; and unfortunately it is the experience of many. So far as the teaching of the schools is concerned, this labour cannot be alleviated by being spread over a larger number of hours. It is hardly possible that there will be more time in the future allotted to classics: it is

more than probable that there will be less. While these lines are passing through the press, a meeting is being held under the presidency of a Regius Professor of Greek 'to urge the necessity of giving modern languages a more prominent position in the educational curricula of the country.' The demands of these subjects can hardly be refused, and it is the classical time-table that must satisfy them. If then Greek and Latin studies are not to fall behind, the load they carry must be lightened.

Another complaint appears at first sight to refer to the character of the classics themselves. They are said to be 'hackneyed.' It is strange that the literature of races and civilisations so different in countless ways from our own should be 'hackneyed.' For unluckily our knowledge of it is not inherited; but every one has to gain it for himself. A great deal—no doubt a great deal too much—has been written *about* the classics; but on this showing the North Pole will be 'hackneyed' too. The solution of the puzzle is not far to seek. What classics has in common with modern literature 'G. H. S.' and others in his case find hackneyed, and the remainder unintelligible. This mixture of course produces nausea; it would be a miracle if it did not.

In reality the two causes of this nausea are intimately connected. What seems at first sight trite and commonplace in Greek and Latin literature, does so because its setting has been imperfectly understood. As intelligence of its surroundings grows, it gains in freshness and brightness, with often the apparently paradoxical result that the original form of a familiar thought appears the most novel of all. It is upon intelligence then that the whole question hinges. Can the classics be taught in such a way that the life and thought of ancient Greek and Roman times shall be a reality to the average student? If they can, he will gain, as the best judges in all countries since the Revival of Learning agree, intellectual profit which can be his in no other way. If they cannot, then classics will become what 'G. H. S.' declares it to be, a study only for the 'specialist': and only specialists will pursue it. This disaster, for such we believe it would be, it behoves all friends of the higher education to take speedy steps to avert.



## TWO ERRORS OF MEMORY IN THE TELEMACHY.

IN the Prolegomena to his book *de tribus Hom. Od. codd. ant.* pp. 14 and 22-5, Molhuysen shows how the scribes have often added or miswritten a line of Homer through untimely recollection of other passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, so that our MSS. of these poems display errors of memory, as well as errors of eye and ear. Thus, to take two of his instances, after *Od.* iv. 796, which ends δέμας δ' ἦκτο γυναικί, the good MS. P adds the verse καλῇ κ.τ.λ., which follows the same verse-ending *Od.* xiii. 288-9; and the Florentine F has in *Od.* xiv. 485 instead of ἐμπαπείως ὑπάκουσε, ἐμμ. ἀνόρουσε through recollection of *Il.* v. 836 ἐμμ. ἀπόρουσεν, the only other Homeric instance of ἐμπαπείως. These errors are probably the result of association affecting the mind of the copyist at the very time of writing. But a little consideration will show us that there were times when the scope was far greater for the influence of mental association on the Epic text.

For, at whatever date writing was first used in the transmission of Greek Epic, we may be sure that for a considerable period the written copy was not intended to delight private readers, or to be read to an audience, like the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. It served the same purposes as the copy of an actor's part, *i.e.* professional reciters learnt it by heart, and afterwards used it to refresh the memory. Of parts, at least, of their *répertoire* the Greek reciters no doubt took about with them MSS. which served the same purpose as the Oxford MS. of the Song of Roland:— 'it is' writes M. Léon Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland*, p. xxvi. 'one of the little volumes for the use of the *jongleurs* which they carried with them wherever they went, and in which they doubtless refreshed their memory.'

Besides reciting, the rhapsodist would also train pupils, for in primitive societies the same man both teaches and practises a craft; and he would give them his own written texts, or copies of them, to get by heart. But where the papyrus or parchment (cf. Herod. v. 58 and Birt, *d. ant. Buchwesen*, p. 47) was rubbed or torn or otherwise obliterated, he would have to supply the deficiency from memory; and he would again have to rely on memory, if he wished his pupils to learn any part of his *répertoire* that he had not by him in writ-

ing. For where should he procure copies? He would have to make the copy by writing or dictating from memory. Evidently, a text thus dependent on memory would be likely to contain such errors as are incidental to transmission by memory; and the mistakes of a popular rhapsodist would, through his pupils and pupils' pupils, obtain a widespread and enduring circulation.

So long as the Epics appealed only to the listening circle in the noble's hall or at a public festival, the only written texts must have been those produced for and through the reciters; for the demand regulates the supply. They alone, therefore, can have formed the written basis of those copies that were produced for private persons in ever increasing numbers as education developed; and to them, or immediately to the living voice of the rhapsodist, we must ultimately trace back our own MSS. of Homer. These, therefore, are likely to contain errors due to misrecollection on the part of the rhapsodists.

It is true that the rhapsodists were men whose memory was highly trained and developed. They may also have had some sort of *memoria technica* to assist them. But even a highly trained memory does not quite completely secure its contents against the subtle, half-unconscious influence of association; and I have, I think, found two lines in the Telemachy in which the right reading has been displaced by the influence of other passages that were associated in thought with these. If I am right, then, as the present readings are clearly those of the old vulgate, they may be safely referred to the period before the texts of the Epics ceased to be dependent on the memories of reciters.

The lines are ii. 251 and iv. 514. In the former πλεόνεσσι (so MSS. and Scholia, see Note B) has, I submit, supplanted περὶ δαυτῖ; and in the second, the universal Μαλειῶν should be Ἀθηναίων.

I.—*Od.* ii. 251.

At the third and final stage of the debate in *Od.* ii. Telemachos demands a ship that he may go in search of his father. Before any reply is made to this request, Mentor, an aged friend of the royal family, makes an appeal to the people to interfere on be-

half of Telemachos. This appeal is expressed in the form of a reproach and ends with the lines:

νῦν δ' ἄλλω δῆμῳ νεμεσίζομαι, οἷον ἅπαντες  
240 ἥσθ' ἄνευ ἅτ' αὐτὰρ οὐ τι καθαπτόμενοι ἐπέεσσι  
παῖρους μνηστῆρας κατερύκετε πολλοὶ  
έόντες.

To this speech a contemptuous reply is made by Leokritos son of Euenor (vv. 243-51), after which he winds up the debate by dismissing the assembly and refusing Telemachos' request for a vessel (vv. 252-6). The difficulties of the first part of this speech, the reply to Mentor, are notorious; and for the results of previous efforts towards a solution, I may be allowed merely to refer to Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang* on ii. 243; the editions of Merry,<sup>1</sup> and of v. Leeuwen-da Costa; and a note at the end of Butcher and Lang's translation. As a preliminary to setting forth the present proposal, I will quote the passage.

τὸν δ' Εὐηνορίδης Λειώκριτος ἀντίον ἤδα·  
Μέντορ ἄταρτηρέ, φρένας ἤλεέ, ποῖον  
εἶπες  
ἡμέας ὀτρύνων καταπανέμειν. ἀργαλέον δέ  
245 ἀνδράσι καὶ πλεόνεσσι μαχέσασθαι περὶ  
δαιτί.  
εἰ περ γάρ κ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἰθακήσιος αὐτὸς  
ἐπελθὼν  
δαιννύμενος κατὰ δῶμα ἐὼν μνηστῆρας  
ἀγανούς  
ἐξελάσαι μεγάροιο μενοινήσει' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,  
οὐ κέν οἱ κεχάροιτο γυνή, μάλα περ  
χατέουσα,  
250 ἐλθόντ', ἀλλὰ κεν αὐτοῦ ἀεικέα πότμον  
ἐπίσποι,  
εἰ πλεόνεσσι μάχοιτο· σὺ δ' οὐ κατὰ μοῖραν  
εἶπες.

The logic of this reply is as follows. Mentor has urged the people 'being many' to check the 'few' suitors by words, *καθαπτόμενοι ἐπέεσσι*, a colourless phrase, which is as suitable to friendly as to unfriendly address (cf. 39). But, obviously, the suitors are not men to be influenced by words, or by anything short of force. Accordingly, Leokritos wastes no time discussing a policy of diplomatic representations. Tacitly assuming (a shrewd stroke of debate) that interference means fighting—the Epic, let us always remember, not needing to be as explicit in respect to the readily obvious, as, say, a Government

report—he tells Mentor that he is a downright fool to urge the people to stop the suitors, inasmuch as to pick a quarrel at a feast is a grievous matter, even for men that have numbers on their side.

The clause *ἀργαλέον* δέ κ.τ.λ. is a justification of the preceding abuse. *ἀργαλέον* has the meaning, less of 'difficult,' than of 'burdensome,' 'grievous,' 'more than can be expected of a man,' as in *Od.* xiii. 15—

ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἓνα προικὸς χαρίσασθαι.

καὶ has the same force as in *Il.* xx. 356—

ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἰφθίμῳ περ ἔοντι  
τοσσούτ' ὁ ἀνθρώπους ἐφέπειν καὶ πῦσι μάχεσθαι.

The use of *μαχέσασθαι* without an expressed object is common enough; e.g. we have *ὀτρύνων μαχέσασθαι Il.* v. 496, vi. 105, xi. 213. On this point and on the force of the aorist, 'to begin,' 'take up the combat,' cf. Mutzbauer, *Grundlagen d. gr. Tempuslehre*, p. 88.

In *περὶ δαιτί* the local force is alone present, as is usual in Homer, or is, at least, predominant; for the only effective means of stopping the feastings of the suitors would be armed interference at the banquet itself.

Leokritos goes on to show how the general proposition *ἀργαλέον* δέ κ.τ.λ. applies to the particular case of the Ithacan *ἄῃμος*. 'For even,' he says, 'if Odysseus of Ithaca should return himself and desire to expel from the hall the lordly suitors as they feasted in his house, his wife would have no joy in him, though she should be very desirous of him, on his coming, but he would meet an unseemly fate on the spot' (vv. 246-50). So far the reasoning is clear and pertinent, though it is not fully set forth. Plainly, if the suitors would not brook interference at the banquet from Odysseus himself, they would not submit to it from the *ἄῃμος*, not even in face of superior numbers, without first taking some lives; but to risk their lives in this fashion is more than can be expected of the people.

But the MSS. go on with v. 251, 'if he (sc. *Od.*) should fight against superior numbers.' This cannot be right, for Leokritos and his audience are not concerned with the danger involved in an attack on a majority, but with the danger to that majority to which Mentor has appealed, if it attacks the suitors at the feast. We must either excise the line, as do many editors, or emend it. Now, if we excise it, we lose the words *σὺ δ' οὐ κατὰ μοῖραν εἶπες*, which round off very

<sup>1</sup> Merry's theory that Mentor is the subject of the infinitive *μαχέσασθαι*, might incline one to read in v. 245 *ἀνδράσι σε πλεόνεσσι* for *ἀ. καὶ πλ.* of MSS.

fittingly the part of the speech dealing with Mentor; but if, instead of εἰ πλεόνεσσι μάχοιτο, we read εἰ περὶ δαιτὶ μ., it seems possible to explain readily both the line and its corruption.

εἰ περὶ δαιτὶ μάχοιτο briefly repeats vv. 246–8 εἴ περ γάρ κ'... δαινυμένους... ἐξελάσαι μεάρου μενούησι, which is itself a repetition of the more general expression μαχέσασθαι περὶ δαιτί in 245. The corruption was easy for two reasons. In the first place, πλεόνεσσι and περὶ δαιτί agree in their first and last sounds, and in the number and the quantities of their syllables. In the second place, there occurs six lines above πλεόνεσσι μαχέσασθαι περὶ δαιτί, which would tend to make the memory hesitate in 251 between the two expressions πλ. and π.δ. and would suggest πλ. μάχοιτο for that line rather than π.δ.μ.: cf. the reading, noted by Molhuysen, *l.l.*, p. 24, of Eustathius and one or two other authorities of *Od.* xiv. 21 ἔκτος ἴανον instead of αἰὲν ἴ., because ἔ. ἴ. has come just before in v. 16. But in the case of ii. 251 the decisive factor in the corruption was, probably, the half-unconscious influence on the rhapsodist of other Odyssean passages where a majority and a minority are contrasted, the suitors being in these the majority, not their assailants. Such passages are:

xvi. 244.

ἄνδρε δὺω πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισι μάχεσθαι.

xx. 30.

μοῖνος ἐὼν πόλεσι.

xxii. 12.

τίς κ' οἶοιτο μετ' ἀνδράσι δαιτυμόνεσσι  
μοῖνον ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι κ.τ.λ.

The remainder of the speech is not difficult. I deal in Note A with the question, who was Leokritos, and in Note B, with a supposed reading of Didymus and Aristarchus in ii. 251.

## II.—*Od.* iv. 514.

In Proteus' account of the return and death of Agamemnon, we read that he escaped shipwreck, for (δὲ adding an explanation) Here saved him (vv. 512–3). The passage continues

514 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλειῶν ὄρος  
αἰπὺν  
ῖεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

As we have just been told of Here's protection, we should expect to find that Agamemnon was about to reach some point on his

proper course; but this would not take him to Malea. Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang*, suggest that he followed the Phoenician sea-route from Asia through the southern series of islands to Malea; but this would be a very roundabout way from Troy. He would naturally go to the southern Euboean promontory, Geraistos, either, if the weather was fair, leaving Psyrie on his left, or by the route between Chios and Cape Mimas on the peninsula of Erythrai (cf. *Od.* iii. 169–178 and Tozer, *Hist. of Anc. Geogr.*, p. 23). From Geraistos he would pass on to Sounion, like Menelaos and Nestor (iii. 278). But while they had to round Malea, in order to reach the Laconic Gulf and Pylos respectively, any one returning to Mycenae would coast round the Argolis, making for some point at or near Nauplia; or, rather, in the days when Argos and Tiryns were as independent of Mycenae as Pylos or Athens, he would sail up to the head of the Saronic gulf and reach the capital along one of those three Cyclopean highways connecting Mycenae with Corinth, and 'pointing to Corinth' as the northern base of which the Pelopid Mycenae was an outpost' (cf. Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 16 and 35–8).

Dr. Merry (*ad. loc.*) suggests that a storm (*Od.* v. 109) first drifted Agamemnon south, and he worked up again until he sighted Malea. But, on this view, the passage omits details that are not obvious from the context, and is not worded with the usual Homeric lucidity.

If, however, we read <sup>2</sup> ἔμελλεν Ἀθηναίων instead of ἔμελλε Μαλειῶν, all becomes clear. Ἀθηναίων ὄρος αἰπὺ is Σούνιον ἶρόν . . . ἄκρον Ἀθηναίων (*Od.* iii. 278) which is on the natural route from Troy. The change to the vulgate was possible because of the similarity in sound, the difference being only -ma-lei-ā- for -na-thē-nā-, and was caused by recollection of the parallel passage in the account of Menelaos' return:—

*Od.* iii. 286.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος ἰὼν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον  
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφύρησι Μαλειῶν ὄρος αἰπὺ  
ῖξε θέων τότε δὴ στυγερὴν ὁδὸν κτλ,

For another corruption in the account of Agamemnon's return, I refer to Note C.

<sup>1</sup> In connecting Corinth, etc. rather than Argos, with Mycenae, the Catalogue (559–80) is in harmony with the results of modern investigation.

<sup>2</sup> Rather 'if we "hear"' since recollection of a text is recollection of sounds, rather than of writing, especially on the part of a reciter who probably learnt the text by repeating it many times aloud.



## NOTE A.—LEOKRITOS.

We receive no information in *Od.* ii about this person, though we are told something about all the others that we first meet at the debate, Aegyptios, Halitherses, and Mentor—we have already found Antinoos and Eurymachos among the suitors in Bk. i. It is usual to regard him as a suitor, since one of the same name and patronymic is mentioned among the killed in xxii. 294. Besides, Telemachos' demand for a boat seems to be addressed to the suitors (ii. 212). On the other hand, a label so rarely used might be attached inadvertently to two minor personages in passages so far apart—the composers of early Epic had no convenient *index nominum* to prevent such slips—and the name ('Chosen-of-the-people') would be very suitable in ii for a spokesman of the people. Besides, both the grammar and sense of the speech are in favour of the speaker not being a suitor. The order of words, coupled with the fact that Mentor has just been urging the people to check the suitors, makes it more natural to construe *ἡμέας δ' ὀτρύνων καταπαύμεν* 'urging us to check (the suitors)' than 'urging (the people) to check us.' If Mentor gives bad advice to the people, it is rather for them to reproach him with folly than for the suitors; and the statement that the suitors would kill *Odysseus*, if he interfered with them while they feasted, is in marked contrast with the affectation of right that the suitors have in the previous speeches maintained; it would come far better from one who was not a suitor.

The logic of the speech is the same in both cases.

NOTE B.—AN ANCIENT EMENDATION OF *Od.* ii. 251.

The scholia show that the line was emended to *πλέονεσσιν ἔπειτο* instead of *πλ. μάχοιτο*, on the principle that if *Odysseus* 'went along with many,' many would be going along with him, and so the suitors would be the minority as Mentor suggested (v. 241). After deducting the emendations of Buttmann and Dindorf, we get the following scholion:—

εἰ πλέονεσσιν [ἔπειτο] εἰ πολλοὶ αὐτῷ ἔπειντο ἢ εἰ πολλοὺς ὁπαδοὺς ἔχει. τινὲς δὲ γελοίως γράφουσι μάχοιτο. It is strange that Buttmann and later editors have not seen that the lemma is perfectly sound, and shows, perhaps a naive, but an intelligible correction of the ordinary *μάχοιτο*; and, as a note on the reading *πλ. ἔπειτο*, the scholion is necessary and correct. The Buttmann-Dindorf change to *πλέονές οἱ ἔπειντο* renders the note 'if many accompanied him, or if he had many attendants' superfluous and inept: it makes necessary Dindorf's insertion of *εἰ πλέονεσσι* before *μάχοιτο*, besides being itself impossible in Homer because the opt. 3 pl. *ἔπειντο* is un-Homeric, as v. Leeuwen-da Costa point out in their note. When Ludwich writes '*πλέονές οἱ ἔπειντο* (Aristarchus ?) Didymus,' he wrongs those worthies.

NOTE C.—*Od.* iv. 519-20.

According to the vulgate, (1) Agamemnon is swept away by a storm to the neighbourhood of Aigisthos (vv. 515-8); (2) the wind changes, and he reaches home (519-23); and (3) he is invited to Aigisthos' house and murdered (524 *seq.*). Of these three stages in the story, it can hardly be doubted that (1) was intended to lead up to (3), whereas in the existing version it has no bearing at all on (3). Some editors, therefore, transpose 517-8 and 519-20, so that the stages become (1) Agamemnon is swept away by a storm (515-6), (2) a favourable wind brings him home to the neighbourhood of Aigisthos (519-20, 517-18, 521-3), and (3) as before. But with this arrangement, *οἰκαδ' ἵκοντο* at the end of 520 is immediately followed, as by an explanation, by *ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατὴν* at the beginning of 517. 'Home,' however, should mean the city, but the expression *ἀγροῦ κτλ.* means a place far from the city; cf. *Od.* v. 489.

It is more probable that vv. 519-20 beginning with the words *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ* were composed by a reciter as a substitute for vv. 514-8 beginning with the same words, *i.e.* 519 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖθεν* was composed to follow 513, and *κεῖθεν* meant from the storm in which Aias was wrecked. The change was made in order to suit hearers who believed that the murder took place at Mycenae.

After the removal of these lines the story becomes quite clear. Aigisthos, who had removed Klytëmmestre from the royal house in Mycenae (cf. iii 272) was living on his father's old estate at a distance from the capital (iv 517-8). For a year a man in his service had been watching, iv 527 *μή ἐ λάθοι παρὶν μνήσαιτο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*, *i.e.* lest Agamemnon should pass unobserved by him (the watchman, or perhaps Aig.) to the capital, find his wife gone, and prepare to attack Aigisthos before the latter had news of the husband's return. Fate favoured Aigisthos by carrying Agamemnon out of his course so that he landed at a distance from the city near Aigisthos' lonely dwelling. The watchman caught sight of him, gave word of his arrival, and there followed the paramour's invitation to the husband, who little suspected that his wife was living in his host's zenana.

We need not be troubled because Agamemnon, landing unexpectedly near Aigisthos' house, was seen by a man who was looking for him on the route to Mycenae. The watcher *ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδε* (524), *i.e.* the outlook is from the top of a hill whence a wide prospect is enjoyed of sea and land. Cf. II. iv 275, v 771, or take as an example of what the poet meant by *σκοπιή* the real ancient fort near Mycenae 'on the lofty summit of St. Elias, which served at the same time as a watch-tower and beacon-station,' and from which 'the whole Argolic plain and gulf and the mountain region to Corinth and beyond can readily be watched' (Tsountas and Manatt, *l.l.* p. 38).

C. M. MULVANY.

Benares, 1901.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES, *HECUBA*, LL. 1214-15.

'ΑΛΛ' ἡνίχ' ἡμεῖς οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει,  
καπνῶ δ' ἐσθήμην' ἄστυ πολεμίῳν ἱτο.  
ξένον κατέκτας.

It is impossible to render the second of these lines unless what Paley calls 'a singular ellipse' be assumed. The editors of elementary editions say that a participle is to be supplied. But Nauck saw that no satisfactory defence had been put forward, and fell back on conjecture.

The scholiast says that ἐσθήμην' is for ἐσθήμηνε τὸ ἡμᾶς μηκέτι εἶναι ἐν φάει, and the note looks as if he read the passage correctly punctuated, as follows :

'ΑΛΛ' ἡνίχ' ἡμεῖς οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει  
(καπνῶ δ' ἐσθήμην' ἄστυ) πολεμίῳν ἔπο,  
ξένον κατέκτας.

The parenthesis is thrown in to show how Polymestor knew that the Trojans were

lost, and it heightens the bitterness of the reproach. οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει πολεμίῳν ἔπο go together. It should be added that the change of tense—ἐσμὲν, ἐσθήμην'—becomes clearer with this explanation, which, I hope, disposes of the inferior reading ἦμεν.

A very similar correction of *Phoenissae* l. 275 was made by Weil in the *Journal des Savants* for April 1889, where for

'ΑΛΛ' ἐγγὺς ἀλκή· βώμιοι γὰρ ἐσχάροι  
πέλας πάρεισι, κοῦκ ἔρημα δώματα,  
φέρ' ἐς σκοτεινὰς περιβολὰς μεθ' ἑξίφος

he gives

'ΑΛΛ' ἐγγὺς ἀλκή (βώμιοι γὰρ ἐσχάροι  
πέλας πάρεισι) κοῦκ ἔρημα δώματα,  
φέρ' ἐς σκοτεινὰς περιβολὰς μεθ' ἑξίφος.

This seems to me clearly right.

E. C. MARCHANT.

## PLATONICA.—III.

(Continued from p. 116.)

## EUTHYDEMUS.

276 E ὦ Ζεῦ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἥ μὴν καὶ τὸ πρότερον γε καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη.

καλὸν should I think be ἱκανόν, a word often confused with it. The point is that one such dialectical display was quite enough. Cf. 278 D.

277 C πότερον οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ λαμβάνοντες ὅτι οὖν οἱ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἢ οἱ ἂν μὴ; οἱ ἂν μὴ ἔχωσιν.

Schanz writes 'ἔχωσιν delevi, post ἢ οἱ ἂν μὴ transposuit Budham.' Another alternative is to leave ἔχωσιν alone, but in the preceding sentence to write ἢ οἱ μὴ, omitting ἂν.

282 E For ὥσπερ Hermann writes ὥς γάρ, Schanz ὥς ὥσπερ. I would suggest ὥς ὅπερ. Cf. 305 A.

295 A ἠδιστα ταῦτα ἐξελέγχομαι.

The context excludes the possibility of this being a general statement, nor can it refer to the present moment, as the ἔλεγχος has not begun. It ought therefore to be in the future, corresponding to the ἐπιδείξω and

ἐπιδείξεις before and after. I do not find the future passive ἐξελέγχομαι anywhere, but either that or ἐξελέγχετο <θήσ>ομαι ought to be read.

301 C ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα μοι δοκεῖτε, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὁ ἐκίστοισι προσήκει ἀπεργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ διαλέγεσθαι παγκάλως ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

Heindorf was inclined to omit the first ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Rather alter it to ἀπεργάζονται, which has been accidentally assimilated to the other. To say nothing of any other objection, the cacophony is intolerable.

302 D οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτοι σοὶ θεοὶ ἂν εἶεν;

Add οἱ before θεοί. σοί alone is predicate. So just below καὶ ζῶα εἰσὶν οὗτοι οἱ θεοί. Perhaps there should be a γε after πρόγονοι.

303 D τούτους τοὺς λόγους πάνν μὲν ἂν ὁ λόγι ἀγαπῶν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὕτω ροοῦσιν B }  
ἀγνοοῦσιν T }

αἱ τοῖς ὅτε κ.τ.λ.

Neither ροοῦσιν nor ἀγνοοῦσιν makes any sense and various substitutes have been proposed. (δυσχερ) αἰνοῦσιν would be very suitable.

305 C οἱτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν μὲν, ὦ Κρίτων, οὓς ἔφη Πρόδοκος μεθόρια φιλοσόφου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ πολιτικοῦ, οἷονται δ' εἶναι πάντων σοφώτατοι ἀνθρώπων.

οὓς should probably be ὧς. That will give the point better, and with οὓς ἔφη we should certainly look for εἶναι. οὓς ἔφη can hardly stand for 'whom he called.'

#### PROTAGORAS.

322 C εἰς ἔχων ἱατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἱκανὸς ἰδιώταις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοί.

Heindorf remarks here, *ipse haec narrans Plato scripsisset, opinor*, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοὶ ὡσαύτως, a comment which I do not quite understand. That word or something like it seems necessary to the sense, and Plato must have written it.

327 C ὅστις σοι ἀδικώτατος φαίνεται ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐν νόμοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις τετραμμένων... εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἐστὶν, μήτε δικαστήρια, μήτε νόμοι κ.τ.λ.

Besides the awkwardness of ἀνθρωπος (which Plato could quite well have omitted) with ἀνθρώποις, it will be seen that νόμοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις is a curious combination, which could only be justified by a contrast with animals or other infra-human creatures, whereas Plato goes on to give as the antithesis men of a lower kind without laws &c. You cannot contrast νόμοι καὶ ἄνθρωποι with ἄνθρωποι οἷς μὴ εἰσὶ νόμοι. Schanz cites the suggestions ἐν ἐνόμοις ἀνθρώποις, ἐν νόμοις καὶ ἐννόμοις ἀνθρώποις, ἐν νόμοις καὶ ἐν τρόποις, himself adopting the first.

It would seem to me most likely that ἀνθρώποις has been substituted for some other word by the accident common in all writing of putting one word for another, the word actually used being in the writer's mind for some other reason.<sup>1</sup> Thus here ἀνθρώποις is due to ἄνθρωπος preceding and perhaps also to ἀνθρώπων which is coming. I shall suggest below that in *Gorg.* 509 B βοήθειαν is a similar error due to the neighbourhood of βοηθεῖν. In such a case the two words confused need not resemble one another, though no doubt some resemblance facilitates the error. It is therefore harder and often impossible to restore the right word with any

<sup>1</sup> Within fifteen months I noticed the following cases of this in the work of pupils of mine. One wrote 'a wretched mariner instead of a mariner' in translating Eur. *Andr.* 457: another 'put his last entreaties to his kinsman into the hands of his kinsman' in translating Tac. *Ann.* 2. 30. 4: a third wrote in an essay 'in Book 7 (of the *Ethics*) Aristotle's conclusion seems to be that pleasure is the chief book' (for good).

confidence. Here perhaps all we can safely say is that it was a substantive, probably of three or four syllables and plural. Cf. on 361 c and on *Gorg.* 509 B.

334 A Read ἂν ἀνθρώποις <τὰ> μὲν ἀνωφελῆ ἐστι· τὰ δέ γε ὠφέλιμα. See Heindorf's note, but I cannot think, as he seems to do, that μὲν with ἀνθρώποις has any propriety here. There is no antithesis to it. Cf. 343 E ὧς ἄρα ὄντων τινῶν τῶν μὲν ὧς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν, τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

341 B δεινὸν πλούτου κ.τ.λ. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 967.

349 B πότερον ταῦτα, πέντε ὄντα ὀνόματα, ἐπὶ ἐνὶ πράγματι ἐστίν... ἔφησθα οὖν σὺ οὐκ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ ἐνὶ εἶναι ἄλλ' ἕκαστον ἰδίῳ πράγματι τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων ἐπικεῖσθαι.

Is it not clear that with οὐκ ὀνόματα we want some word to express plurality, 'a number of names for one thing'? I suggest that before the ε of ἐπὶ or εἶναι an ε' = πέντε has dropped out.

358 B αἱ ἐπὶ τούτου πράξεις ἅπασαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλύπως ζῆν καὶ ἡδέως, ἅρ' οὐ καλαί;

It does not appear that ἐπὶ with a genitive is used to express *end* and *object*, except in the case of actual movement, *ίέναι ἐπὶ* etc. Can it be applied to action aiming at a particular end? If it cannot, then either some word expressive of metaphorical movement (such as Mr. Adam's ἀγούσαι) has been lost, or we might suggest that a dative or accusative case should be written in both places, τούτῳ and τῷ or τοῦτο and τό.

361 C βουλοίμην ἂν ταῦτα διεξεληθόντες ἡμᾶς ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅ τι ἐστίν.

Ἐξελεῖν seems an erroneous repetition of δι-εξελεῖν. Read something like ἐπελεῖν, comparing the note on 327 c.

#### GORGIAS.

451 A ἴθι νῦν καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἣν ἡρώμην διαπέρανον.

'The answer which I asked' is hardly a possible expression. For ἦν read ἥ 'in the way I put the question.'

456 A Adopting Madvig's insertion of τί, I should like to add δέ and read τί δ' εἰ.

457 C οἶμαι, ὦ Γοργία, καὶ σὲ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πολλῶν λόγων καὶ καθωρακέναι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιόνδε, ὅτι οὐ ραδίως δύνανται περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσωσι διαλέγεσθαι διορισμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους... οὕτω διαλύεσθαι τὰς συνουσίας.

To provide a subject for δύνανται, λόγων has been altered to λογίων (Madvig), ἀνθρώπων (Cobet), φιλόλογων (Schanz). But



ἐμπειρος with a genitive of persons is very unusual, whereas λόγων ἐμπειρος is a combination that Plato uses more than once elsewhere. I would rather suggest that τινές, πολλοί, οἱ πολλοί, or something similar, has been lost in the clause beginning with ὅτι.

460 D εἰν ὁ πύκτης τῇ πυκτικῇ χρῆται τε καὶ ἀρκεῇ;

χρῆται alone does not give the point. Read χρῆται τε <μὴ ὁρθῶς>. So three lines below οὐκ ὁρθῶς χρωμένῳ τῇ ῥητορικῇ and three times in the same context (D, E, and 461 A) ἀδίκως χρῆσθαι. (The notes *ap. Bekker* seem to show that there is some authority for μὴ καλῶς χρῆται τε. Schanz is silent on this point.)

464 D In the fancy of a physician and a cook contending before a jury of children πότερος ἐπαίει περὶ τῶν χρηστῶν σιτίων καὶ πονηρῶν I should have thought that some word like βέλτιον was almost necessary with ἐπαίει.

467 B ΠΩΛ. οὐκ οὖν ποιοῦσιν ἃ βούλονται. ΣΩ. οὐ φημί. ΠΩΛ. ποιοῦντες δὲ ἃ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς; ΣΩ. φημί.

There is some authority for omitting δέ and some for reading ποιοῦσι δέ. But possibly ποιοῦντές γε is what Plato wrote. Cf. 496 E ΣΩ. οὐκοῦν κατὰ τὸ πίνειν χαίρειν λέγεις; ΚΑΛ. μάλιστα. ΣΩ. διψῶντά γε; ΚΑΛ. φημί.

ιβ. C εἰ μὲν ἔχεις ἐμέ ἐρωτᾶν, ἐπίδειξον ὅτι ψεύδομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς ἀποκρίνουν. ΠΩΛ. ἀλλ' ἐθέλω ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ εἰδῶ ὅ τι λέγεις.

Should not ἔχεις be ἐθέλεις? Written ἔθεις or ἔλεις by accident, it might be corrected to ἔχεις.

470 A It seems clear that we must either omit the first τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι with W. H. Thompson or substitute for it something like τὸ ποιεῖν ἃ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ.

472 A-C In C ἔστιν μὲν οὖν οὗτός τις τρόπος ἐλέγχων... ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλος.

Cobet thought we should read εἰς for τις, and certainly either εἰς or εἰς τις seems preferable to simple τις. It occurs to me whether in A ἐνίοτε γὰρ ἂν καὶ καταψευδομαρτυρηθεῖ τις ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δοκοῦντων εἶναι τί we ought not also to read εἰς. Cf. the εἶνα τινά just before and the εἰς ὧν in B.

476 D ΣΩ. τούτων δὲ ὁμολογουμένων, τὸ δίκην διδόναι πότερον πάσχειν τί ἐστιν ἢ ποιεῖν; ΠΩΛ. ἀνάγκη, ὡς Σώκρατες, πάσχειν.

This stands very awkwardly for ἀνάγκη (αὐτὸ) πάσχειν (εἶναι). We shall do better

to write ἀνάγκη. Cf. *Prot.* 357 B ἐπεὶ δὲ μετρητικὴ (ἐστίν), ἀνάγκη δὴπου τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη; [*Xen.*] *R.A.* 3. 7 ἀνάγκη τοῖνυν... ὁλγιοὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔσονται τῷ δικαστηρίῳ.

481 C εἰ... τις (πᾶς τις Cobet) ἡμῶν ἴδιον τι ἔπασχεν πάθος ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι.

It is difficult to believe that Plato wrote ἴδιον... ἦ. One would expect ἰδίᾳ διαφέρον or ἰδίᾳ ἕτερον... ἦ or ἴδιον... πάθος <ἕτερον> ἦ.

484 A καταπατήσας τὰ ἡμέτερα γράμματα καὶ μαγγανεύματα καὶ ἐπωδὰς καὶ νόμους τοὺς παρὰ φύσιν ἅπαντας.

For γράμματα Valckenaer conjectured περιάμματα, Cobet πλάσματα. Observing just above κατεπαδόντες τε καὶ γοητεύοντες, I think γοητεύματα may be the word. Cf. Hesychius (quoted in Thompson's note) μάγαν· φάρμακα, δίκτυα, γοητεύματα. Plato is fond of γόγης and its derivatives.

491 C νῦν δ' αὖ ἕτερόν τι ἡκεις ἔχων· ἀνδρείότεροί τινες ὑπὸ σοῦ λέγονται οἱ κρεῖττους.

For ἔχων read λέγων, comparing 518 A ἡκεις δὲ ὀλίγον ὑστερον λέγων κ.τ.λ.

In *Phaedrus* 232 A Badham's ἔχειν for λέγειν is adopted by Schanz, and the latter himself changes ἔχοιμ' ἂν ib. 272 C to λέγοιμ' ἂν. So in *Menex.* 243 A λέγονσι has been plausibly conjectured for ἔχουσι, and in *Menander Fragm.* 482 (Kock) παύσασθε νοῖν λέγοντες for παύσασθε νοῖν ἔχοντες.

493 A This passage will be greatly improved, if we insert ὅτι or something similar before τυγχάνει and put a comma instead of a full stop after κάτω. τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς τοῦτο is then resumed in καὶ τοῦτο and becomes the object of ὠνόμασε. The words τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς... κάτω, as they stand, are very pointless as something that Socrates learnt from a wise man along with the doctrine of σῶμα σῆμα. What he learnt is contained in διὰ τὸ... πῶθον, a play upon words parallel to the other.

496 E λυπούμενον χαίρειν λέγεις ἄμα, ὅταν διψῶντα πίνειν λέγῃς... ἢ οὐχ ἄμα τοῦτο γίνεται κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ χρόνον εἴτε ψυχῆς εἴτε σώματος βούλει;

If we read χρόνον καὶ τόπον, the genitives will have something to depend upon.

506 A λέγω μέντοι ταῦτα, εἰ δοκεῖ χρῆναι διαπερανθῆναι τὸν λόγον· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλεσθε, ἐῷμεν δὴ χαίρειν.

Both the context and the form of this sentence call imperatively for λέξω, like δίδεμι five lines above. Or it might be ἐρῶ, which is also confused with λέγω.

509 B πολλή ἀνάγκη ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αἰσχίστην βοήθειαν, μὴ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν μήτε αὐτῷ μήτε τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις.

It is not difficult to see what has happened here, and the extensive omissions proposed are not at all necessary. The copyist has been misled by the coming βοηθεῖν into writing βοήθειαν for another word, which word can hardly be anything but ἀδυναμίαν. Cf. 522 D εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμέ τις ἐξελέγχοι ταύτην τὴν βοήθειαν ἀδύνατον ὄντα ἐμειπῶ καὶ ἄλλω βοηθεῖν, αἰσχυροῖμιν ἄν...καί, εἰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ἀποθνήσκωμι, ἀγανακτοῦν ἄν. Cf. on Prot. 327 C.

511 E εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς βελτίους ἐξεβίβασεν ἢ οἷοι ἐέβησαν.

B and T give οἷ; οἷοι is supplied by the second hand in T. Schanz after Winckelmann adopts οἷ, which I confess seems to me very dubious. Would it not be better to read simply ἢ ἐνέβησαν, taking the pronouns as added to explain?

525 B οἱ μὲν ὠφελούμενοί τε καὶ δίκην διδόντες ὑπὸ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

The stress being on ὠφελούμενοι, the fact that punishment is for their own good, it would seem that we ought to omit τε καὶ and make δίκην διδόντες subordinate to ὠφελούμενοι, 'benefited by receiving punishment': or, perhaps better, read something like ὠφελοῦμενοι <κολαζόμενοι> τε καὶ δίκην διδόντες.

ib. E Is not something lost after ἐξῆν αὐτῷ?

I add a few things which need no or almost no comment.

456 B Read ἂν (for καὶ) εἰς πόλιν. Cf. Schanz, *Notae Commentationes* p. 102. So in 482 B we want κρείττον <ἂν> εἶναι, as χορηγοῖν shows.

465 D ἀκρίτων ὄντων τῶν τε ἱατρικῶν καὶ ὑγιεινῶν καὶ ὀψοποικῶν <καὶ ἡδέων>?

468 E ὅ τι δοκοῖ (or δοκοῖ)? In 469 E δοκοῖ must, I think, be right and ἂν is either to be omitted, or possibly changed to δῆ.

469 A οὔτε τοὺς ἀζηλώτους ζηλοῦν οὔτε τοὺς ἀθλοῦς <εὐδαιμονίζευν>! cf. 473 C.

473 E-474 A Omit the second ἐπιψηφίζευν. So in 523 C omit the second κρίνονται.

486 B Perhaps μὴ τι αὐτὸν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.

509 A δόξειαν?

519 B Insert εἰ, either as Heindorf suggested, after πάσχουσιν or before ἄρα.

# HIPPIAS MAIOR.

281 A Ἱππίας ὁ καλὸς τε καὶ σοφός, ὡς διὰ χρόνον ἡμῖν κατήρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

The first words are, I imagine, taken to be a nominative doing duty as vocative, like *Sympr.* 218 B οἱ οἰκέται...πύλας τοῖς ὡσὶν ἐπίθεσθε: Ar. *Ach.* 242 πρόθ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον, ἢ κανηφόρος. But, though the grammars fail to tell us so, this nominative with the article (quite distinct from ὁ φίλος, ὁ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενος, etc. and also distinct from e.g. Ar. *An.* 30 ὄνδρες οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ,) is only used with an imperative, expressed or understood, or with something equivalent to an imperative, or now and then with a question. Examples with the imperative expressed are given above. The imperative is understood in Ar. *Ach.* 54 (οἱ τοξόται), 61, 94 (something like ἔλκετε αὐτόν in 54 and πρότε in 61, 94). In *Ach.* 824 ἀγορανόμοι, τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐ θύραζ' ἐξείρετε; and 864 οἱ σφῆκες, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν; the equivalence of οὐ with the second person of the future to an imperative is familiar. The last example therefore should not be written οἱ σφῆκες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν; as though the verb understood was in the third person. Finally, just as πρὸς θεῶν goes with an imperative, but goes also with a question, where we may if we like supply mentally something like *tell me*, so we may occasionally find such a phrase as Ar. *An.* 1628 ὁ Τρίβαλλος, οἰμῶξεν δοκεῖ σοι; What is common to all these varieties of phrase is that some one is addressed suddenly. In the passage before us the presence of the nominative Ἱππίας, and that coming first certainly makes a difference. At the same time the words are by no means equivalent to an ordinary vocative (ὦ Ἱππία everywhere else in the dialogue). They seem rather to be a wondering question, *Is this Hippias?* and should perhaps be punctuated off from what follows. At the beginning of the *Symposium* the words of the friend are perhaps ὁ (not ὦ) Φαληρεῖς, οὗτος Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐ περιμενεῖς; or ὁ Φαληρεῖς οὔτος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐ περιμενεῖς; like *Ach.* 824 and 864 quoted above.

*Ibid.* Elis chooses Hippias as envoy, ἡγομένην δικαστὴν καὶ ἀγγελον ἱκανώτατον εἶναι τῶν λόγων οἱ ἂν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάστων λέγῃται.

Δικαστὴν is obviously wrong, and neither Burges' *διαιτητὴν* nor Naber's *δοκιμαστὴν* is a satisfactory correction. I venture to suggest ἀκροατὴν, though it is further from the MSS, and though I cannot account for the corruption, unless *δικαστὴν* was the

conjectural emendation of a half-erased word. Hippias seems to be alluding to his retentive memory (285 E). The word ἄγγελον shows that his functions are mainly those of a reporter.

283 A The old conjecture, ἀνόνητα for ἀνόητα, well deserves consideration.

290 B εἴπερ χρυσοῦν γε δὴ ὄν κ.τ.λ. Stallbaum explains the neuter, referring to τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, by saying it is as though τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς preceded. The simple explanation is that Athena is a statue, ἀγαλμα. In speaking of statues Pausanias constantly violates strict concord the other way, e.g. 4. 31. 7 Διοσκοῦρων ἀγάλματα, φέροντες κ.τ.λ.

295 D ἀποβλέποντες πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἢ πέφικεν ἢ εἰργασται ἢ κείται. Should it not be διακείται? cf. 286 A

## ION.

530 C οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε ῥαψωδός, εἰ μὴ συνείη κ.τ.λ.

There is no proper subject for γένοιτο and the meaning seems to me otherwise inadequately expressed. One would expect something like οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε ῥαψωδός <οὐδείς ἀγαθός>. Cf. the τοῦτο καλῶς ποιεῖν following.

A few lines below should not ὥς οὔτε be ὥστ' οὔτε? ὥς can hardly mean ὥστε here, and ὥς since takes the thing too quietly for granted.

531 B πότερον σὺ κάλλιον ἂν ἐξηγήσαιο ἢ τῶν μάντεων τις τῶν ἀγαθῶν; ION. τῶν μαντέων.

Add τις in the answer. The genitive must have something to depend on.

532 A τὸν μὲν εὖ γε, τοὺς δὲ χεῖρον.

Γε is quite out of place and should be omitted as in the *Marcianus*.

532 D σοφοὶ μὲν πού ἐστε ὑμεῖς..., ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τάληθῃ λέγω, οἷον εἰκὸς ἰδιώτην ἄνθρωπον. ἐπεὶ...θέασαι ὥς φαῦλον καὶ ἰδιωτικόν ἐστι καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς γινῶναι ὃ ἔλεγον.

τάληθῃ cannot be right. *Hipp. Mai.* 288 D is not parallel, though we might be tempted to argue from it. The meaning obviously required here is *commonplace*, *trivial*, corresponding to the φαῦλον &c. following. Schanz reads εὐήθῃ, but that means *foolish* and goes much too far. Madvig's τὰ πλῆθῃ, though at first sight tempting, is not really quite what we want, especially with οἷον εἰκὸς ἰδιώτην ἄνθρωπον. I would suggest what is farther from the MSS. but more in place here, εὐτελῇ or τὰ εὐτελῇ.

In Xen. *Cyneget.* 12. 7 I have suggested that ἐν ἀληθείᾳ (παιδεύεσθαι) should be ἐν εὐτελείᾳ.

536 B ἐπειδὴν μὲν τίς <τι> ἄλλου του ποιητοῦ ἄλῃ.

Schanz is probably right in inserting τι, but *Wasps* 269 may be quoted in support of the ellipse: ἡγεῖτ' ἂν ἄδων Φρυγίχου.

## MENEXENUS.

234 A Omit καὶ before ἀπό, and 237 A insert τήν before τροφήν.

237 C In this very carefully composed oration it is difficult to accept such an anacoluthon as the infinitive κείσθαι. It seems much more probable that a participle parallel to ἀποφηναμένη and governing κείσθαι has been omitted, e.g. παρέχονσα or ἑῷσα. Or we might insert ὥστε before καὶ νῦν.

238 C Omit the first ἀριστοκρατίᾳ (after καὶ νῦν). The force of the passage will be greatly enhanced by the name being kept to the end.

239 C τούτων περί μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐπαινοῦντά τε καὶ προμνόμενον ἄλλοις ἐς ᾧδός τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν αὐτὰ θεῖναι πρεπόντως τῶν πραξάντων.

Should not ἄλλοις be ἄλλους? Jebb *ad Soph. O.C.* 1075 explains these words to mean 'commending them and wooing them for others (i.e. for the poets), with a view to their putting them into verse.' But does Plato (if it is Plato) mean that the poet woos the subject or that the subject woos the poet? He has just said that the subject ἐτι ἐστὶν ἐν μνηστείᾳ, which I suppose in point of Greek might mean either. If the poet woos the subject, then the speaker ought to mean that a certain number of poets are actually addressing themselves to it, which it is plain was not the case. Also the orator's 'wooing for others' would consist (I suppose) in his giving a sort of rhetorical treatment by way of anticipation of the more elevated poetical treatment to come. But how forced, obscure and false all this is! and how awkward the infinitive θεῖναι! Surely it is the subject that woos or invites poets to treat it. It has been courting poetical treatment for a long time past and is courting it still (ἐτι ἐστὶν ἐν μνηστείᾳ; the *Persae* seems strangely forgotten or undervalued). The orator will add his efforts and on its behalf woo the poets to put it into verse. This certainly seems the sense and the accusative ἄλλους would then appear to be necessary, as there is no reason why



the person wooed or invited should be in the dative. In Xen. *An.* 7. 3. 18 τοιαῦτα προῦμνῶτο ἑκάστῳ προσίων the dative may very well go with προσίων.

244 C διανοομένη δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀμύναι μὴδ' Ἑλλησι κ.τ.λ.

On ἂν Schanz remarks *addubito*. There is probably no example forthcoming of ἂν with a tense after διανοοῦμαι *resolve*, *be minded*, for we must distinguish this from the sense *think*, *suppose*. If then ἂν is wrong, we might perhaps substitute the emphatic δὴ. Cf. *Πiad.* 10. 447 μὴ δὴ μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ: *Dem.* 18. 11 οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο: *Thuc.* 7. 71. 7 ἦν τε... οὐδεμιᾶς δὴ... ἐλάσσων ἐκπληξίς. The confusion of AN and ΔH is familiar.

245 A Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς.

Perhaps κὰν Σαλαμῖνι. Σαλαμῖνι and Πλαταιαῖς are probably never used as locatives like Μαραθῶνι. The locative of Πλαταιαί is Πλαταιαῖσι.

245 B τειχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐκδεξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειδὴ ἡναγκάσθη πολέμῳ, ὑπὲρ Παρίων ἐπολέμει Λακεδαιμονίοις.

ὑπὲρ Παρίων is a great difficulty as Athens certainly did not wage war at the time referred to on behalf of Paros. The only states that could very well be mentioned would be Thebes or Corinth, and it is not apparent how Θηβαίων or Κορινθίων could have been so corrupted. But it is not really very natural to say that Athens waged war *on behalf of* anybody, if she was forced into it (ἡναγκάσθη). The two things are not exactly incompatible, but they do not go very readily together. I should therefore look rather for something descriptive of the war or its conduct, and ὑπὲρ Παρίων might disguise an adverb in -ως. It has however occurred to me whether the words are not a corruption of ὑπερόριον. If the π had been repeated by error, ὑπερόριον might easily change into ὑπὲρ Παρίων. But this is a mere possibility. Cf. *Dem.* 18. 241 πόλεμος ὁμορος, &c.

249 AB The anacoluthon of the infinitive ἄρχεσθαι is quite as awkward as that of κίεσθαι in 237 c, and, like that, calls for the addition of a participle, e.g. βουλομένη. In any case the sentence is a cumbrous one, the participles being already in excess.

The last letters of ἐπιτηδεύματα seem to have absorbed a τά which is necessary to ὅργανα.

## CLITOPHON.

408 B Read δικαστική τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη.

There is no possible construction for the accusative.

408 C For ὅπως δέῃ we should expect ὅπως δὴ δέῃ or ὅπως ἂν δέῃ.

## ALCIBIADES I.

110 B σὺ δ' εἰ τύχοις ἀγνοῶν εἴτ' ἀδικοῖτο εἴτε μὴ τότε λέγεις τί σε χρή ποιεῖν;

This refers to past time. 'Do you mean, what were you to do if (i.e. whenever) you did not know?' Read therefore χρήν for χρή.

111 D ὁρθῶς ἂν αὐτὸν πέμποιμεν εἰς διδασκαλίαν τούτων τῶν πολλῶν.

πέμπειν (φοιτᾶν) εἰς τινός is the regular phrase, the suppressed substantive being not διδασκαλία but οἰκία or an equivalent. Whether or no such a phrase as πέμπειν εἰς διδασκαλίαν τινός is possible, I should conjecture εἰς τούτων to be right here.

112 B ταῦτα <τὰ> ποιήματα.

So in 117 D probably τὰ ἀμαρτήματα <τὰ> ἐν τῇ πράξει.

117 A For διὰ ταῦτα read διὰ τοῦτο.

So τοῦτ' αἴτιον just above.

119 E Socrates says ironically πάνν σοι ἄρα ἄξιον ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βελτίων εἶ, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἡγεμόνας ἀποβλέπειν, ὅπότε ἐκείνων βελτίων γέγονας σκοποῦντα καὶ ἀσκοῦντα πρὸς ἐκείνους.

The last clause is obviously wrong, and Schanz cites two or three essays at emendation, e.g. Heindorf's ὅπη τε ἐκείνων βελτίων γένοιτο. I think the error is in ἐκείνων or ἐκείνους, one being an accidental repetition of the other. We should read either ὅποτε τούτων or πρὸς τούτους. The meaning is 'since you are now better than the former, thinking of and training yourself for the latter.' Alcibiades' rejoinder is λέγεις δὲ τίνας τούτους; which is, I think, consistent with either change, though it may seem to favour the second.

123 B πρὸς τοὺς Περσικοὺς (πλούτους) καὶ <τὸν> τοῦ ἐκείνων βασιλέως.

124 B οὗτοι εἰσὶν <οἱ> ἀντίπαλοι ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗς σὺ οἶε.

ιβ. D ἐπιμελείας δεόμεθα, μᾶλλον μὲν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀτὰρ νῶ γε καὶ πάνν σφόδρα.

μᾶλλον μὲν is devoid of meaning, and I conjecture μᾶλλον to be a mistake for πολλῆς. 'We need care, a good deal all of us, but you and I very much indeed.' Cf.

*Symp.* 178 Α θαυμαστός...πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κ.τ.λ.

127 Β δοκεῖ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' <αὐτ'> αὐτοῖς φιλία ἐγγίγνεσθαι.

ἰδ. D εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἦσθου πεπονθὼς <ὦν> πεντηκονταετής!

134 C οὐκ ἄρα ἐξουσίαν σοι οὐδ' ἀρχὴν παρασκευαστέον σαυτῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν βούλῃ.

ἐξουσία can take an infinitive after it (*power to do*) as in E below, not so ἀρχήν. The two words should therefore change places, οὐκ ἄρα ἀρχήν σοι οὐδ' ἐξουσίαν. Cf. on *Gorg.* 496 E above.

#### ALCIBIADES II.

138 Β οὐκ οἶε τοὺς θεοὺς, ἃ τυγχάνομεν εὐχόμενοι καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία, ἐνίστε τούτων τὰ μὲν δίδόναι, τὰ δ' οὐ, καὶ ἔστιν οἷς μὲν αὐτῶν, ἔστιν δ' οἷς οὐ; αὐτῶν is incompatible with the first person τυγχάνομεν. Should we read αὐ? We might think of αὐ τῶν <εὐχομένων>, but this seems unlikely.

A few lines below αὐτοῖ also seems wrong, because quite pointless. Perhaps αὐτῷ. So in 146 Β ἂν μὲν πράττῃ ἃ τις οἶδεν the subject of πράττῃ anticipates τις.

143 Ε ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας εἰπεῖν εἰ ἔνδον ἐστί.

Nothing is wrong here, but εἰπεῖν is used in the late sense of *ask*, and this is one of the indications of date.<sup>1</sup> That sense is for instance found several times in Diogenes Laertius. *Ar. Rhet.* 2. 23. 1398 b 26 may seem at first sight to have it, but I think not.

144 Β οἰηθείς ἂν MSS. Read perhaps οἰηθῆναι δῆ. Dobree conjectured δῆ for δεῖν after οἰηθῆναι in 144 D: cf. however 146 B.

145 Β οὐδ' εἴ τις τινα ἀποκτείναναι οἶδεν οὐδὲ (read οὐδ' εἰ) χρήματα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

146 Β C οὐκοῦν καί, ἂν μὲν πράττῃ ἃ τις οἶδεν ἡ δοκεῖ εἰδέναι, παρέπῃται δὲ τὸ ὠφελίμως, καὶ λυσιτελοῦντως ἡμᾶς ἔξιν καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ. 'παρέπῃται B, παρέπεται T' Schanz, whose punctuation I have reproduced. This gives very indifferent sense, and I should conjecture παρέπεται (or παρέπεσθαι governed by what precedes) δὴ τὸ ὠφελίμως καὶ λυσιτελοῦντως κ. τ. λ., only that ἡμᾶς is

impossible. Possibly ἡμῖν, as a dativus *ethicus*. (Dr. Postgate calls attention to a certain verbal similarity with *Gorg.* 470 A).

147 Α Β ἄρ' οὐχὶ τῷ ὄντι δικαίως πολλῷ χεიმῶνι χρήσεται, ἅτε οἶμαι ἄνευ κυβερνήτου διατελῶν ἐν πελάγει, χρόνον οὐ μακρὸν βίου θέων (so Stephanus: βίον θέων Β: βίον θεῶν T). Schanz reads πλέον for θέων, mentioning πρὸς βίαν θέων and βιοτεύων as other conjectures. I would suggest that θέων is quite right but should change places with διατελῶν. For θεῖν of persons at sea cf. *Xen. Hell.* 6. 2. 29 θέοντες ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο, and Xenophon several times has διατελεῖν as a transitive verb with βίον, χρόνον, ἔτη etc. (Dr. Postgate suggests to me that διατελῶν is a gloss on θέων).

148 Α μάργον τί μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς πολλῆς φιλακῆς.

μάργον is absurdly out of place. I conjecture ἀργαλέον *difficult* a word rare in prose, but we may go again to Xenophon and to Aristophanes, nor in this dialogue does it much matter. (Dobree thought ἔργον or μέγα ἔργον might do.)

150 C ἵνα μῃδ' should, I think, be ἵνα μῇ.

#### HIPPARCHUS.

226 Ε The construction of γλίχεσθαι with an accusative is so questionable that perhaps an infinitive *e.g.* κτήσασθαι, has been omitted, governing the accusatives and itself governed by γλίσχονται.

229 C The death of Hipparchus did not come about (Socrates says) διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀτιμίαν τῆς κανηφορίας. Whose sister? Grammar would point to Hipparchus. Has not Ἀρμοδίου been omitted?

230 Α Socrates offers to withdraw various propositions. Of the last of them, that gain is good, his friend says οὔτι πᾶν γε τοῦτί μοι ἀνάθου. I cannot find that any editor has had scruples about either the sense or the grammar of this. Yet οὔτι is impossible with an imperative, nor in the context does such a sentence make proper sense, since what the man wants to say is not that some gain is good, but that some is not. Can anything be clearer than that we should point it οὔτι πᾶν γε τοῦτί μοι ἀνάθου?

230 Β Read ταῦτον (for ταῦτα) ὄντα just as ταῦτὸ stands two lines below.

#### ERASTAE.

134 Ε Read καὶ τούτου <πέρι> τὸν γεωργὸν ὠμολογοῦμεν.

<sup>1</sup> Others are the words κεκυρηκότα 141 Β: ἥπερ for ἡ 141 D, 142 C, 149 Α: φάμενοι 142 D and φάντες 146 Β: κτήμα for κτήσις 144 D and 146 Ε: ἀποκριθῆναι 149 Β: perhaps τυχόν = ἴσως 140 Α and 150 C, and τὸ παρῆκον, the present 148 C: also ὅποταν ὀφής 146 Α, if the author wrote this and not ὅποτε.

135 A Read neither ἄττα with T nor αὐτά with B, but ταῦτα.

135 C ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ ἄκρον?

#### THEAGES.

122 D τί καλὸν ὄνομα τῷ νεανίσκῳ ; τί αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν ;

Schanz with Baiter omits καλόν. Is it not more probable that we should read καί? καί was confused with καλ and a symbol for ον, or ον may be a dittography. So in *Symp.* 197 E Schanz after Madvig reads καὶ ᾧδης for καλῆς (or καλῶς) ᾧδης.

Who are the *we* in προσαγορεύομεν? There seems no one present besides Socrates, Theages, and Theages' father, and Socrates would not ask the father 'what are you and I to call your son?' Read therefore προσαγορεύω.

126 D τί οὖν ἄν, ὦ βέλτιστε ἀνδρῶν, χρήσαιο αὐτῷ, εἴ σοι ἐπειδὴ γένοιτο ὑὸς τοιαῦτα πράγματα παρέχοι καὶ φαίη μὲν ἄν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι ζωγράφος καὶ μέμφοιτο σοὶ τῷ πατρί

ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλεις... τοὺς δὲ δημιουργούς... ἀτιμάζοι.

It is I think clear that καὶ φαίη κ.τ.λ. is not an independent clause but follows upon εἰ. That being so, ἄν cannot be right and should probably be changed to δῆ, φαίη μὲν δῆ being very suitable here. The same change seems called for a little below in 127 D ὁπόθεν δὲ ἐδοξέ σοι τοῦτο, ὥς ἐγὼ ἄν μᾶλλον τὸν σὸν υἱὸν οἶός τε ἦν ὠφελῆσαι... ἢ σὺ αὐτός, where ἄν is absolutely out of place. *Was able, not should have been able*, is the sense required. If with Ast and Cobet we read εἶην for ἦν, ἄν will still be very questionable. Its position in the sentence is quite unusual. In our first passage (126 D) τοιαῦτα should probably be τοσαῦτα and ἐθέλεις perhaps ἐθέλοις.

128 B ὁρᾷς, ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι Σωκράτης οὐ πάνν μοι δοκεῖ τι ἐθέλειν ἐμοὶ συνδιατρίβειν ;

Cobet would write ὁρᾷς; and omit ὅτι. Leave the punctuation as it stands and omit μοι.

H. RICHARDS.

#### ON THE FIRST BOOK OF HORACE'S SATIRES.

IN writing upon a book so much annotated as the Satires of Horace, one runs no little risk of setting down what may be already known to some reader. If this prove to be the case with certain of these notes, I would still plead that they have a *raison d'être*, as dealing with errors even now widespread and inveterate.

i. 108 sq.

illucunde abii redeo { qui nemo } ut auarus  
se probet ac potius laudet diuersa sequentis  
nemone }

The current readings and interpretations of this passage may be briefly despatched. Those who adopt the reading of the Blandinian MS. '*qui nemo ut auarus*' must take *qui* for *quomodo*, as in v. 1 of the Satire (Orelli-Baiter-Mewes), and are then in this dilemma: Either Horace asks a question in the beginning of his poem and repeats it at the end, only to leave it unanswered. Or else he answers it in the same clause in which he puts it. The first hypothesis outrages common sense, the second the laws of rational expression. Orelli-Baiter-Mewes prefer the latter, explaining *ut auarus* as *utpote auarus* (ὥς ἄν) and stating that the poet

says '*dicit igitur si denuo quaerimus quomodo fiat ut nemo sorte sua contentus sit, auarus est.*' The mere comparison of the words which I have placed in italics with the text proves that the poet says nothing of the kind. The absurdity of a second reading, the '*nemone ut auarus*' of the majority of the MSS., has been shown by Wachsmuth and Palmer. The question, or exclamation, 'What, no one contented with his lot?' imports that some one is. The third competitor '*nemo ut auarus*,' whose support in the MSS. is so weak that it must count as a conjecture, introduces for no apparent reason a hiatus without any real parallel in Horace, as Palmer has pointed out, and alien to the style of his Satires; and as we shall presently see, it fails to give the sense required. All three are open to the objection that they do not account for the variants in the MSS.

Let us briefly set out the contents of the Satire. Horace first states his problem 'Why is everybody discontented with his own station, as compared with that of his neighbour?' (1-14). 'Because his neighbour's would suit him better?' Not at all. Nobody would change if he got the chance



(14-22). What then? Look at their lives. Men say their motive for hoarding and amassing is the Ant's—a prudent regard for the future. But it is not: for, unlike the Ant, they never stop to enjoy their savings. It is greed' (28-40). Horace does not indeed say this totidem uerbis. He assumes continuity in his subject, and he takes for granted that his readers will recognise the person described in 39 *sqq.* 'cum te neque feruidus aestus | demoueat lucro neque hiemps ignis mare ferrum | nil obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter. | quid iuuat immensum te argenti pondus et auri | furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?' as an *auarus*. From 41 onwards to 100 he lashes the folly of the vice; and in 101 *sqq.* he guards himself from possible misconstruction by saying that he does not inculcate extravagance when he condemns—what? 'non ego *auarum* | cum ueto te fieri, uappam iubeo ac nebulonem.' From this digression he now 'returns' to his 'point of departure.' What is this? Why, that avarice is the cause of the universal discontent. This is the conclusion of the whole matter; and it must be put in clear and emphatic terms. The reading *nemo ut auarus* fails from this point of view also: for with it, *auarus* cannot be separated from *nemo*, and though it be true that no *auarus* is contented with himself, that is not the point here. *quod nemo, ut auarus*, which some one has proposed, is better; but it is open to the objection that *ut* 'seeing that' is not strong enough for the present passage. We want a particle which definitely means *because*. On these grounds I should prefer to read '*nemo ut, quia auarus, se probet.*' 'I return to my point, how that no one is contented *because* he is avaricious.' The ellipse of *sit* belongs to colloquial style; cf. vi. 8 'dum ingenuus' (*sit*), *ib.* 53 'quod te sortitus amicum' (*sim*). It remains to explain the MS. variants. The *a* of '*quia*' was lost before '*auarus*,' and *qui* was displaced; hence it appears before *nemo* in the Blandinian. The '*nemone*' of the vulgate may be, as others suppose, a metrical correction of *nemo ut* (*qui* having been lost). But *qui* and *ne* are variant readings at Caesar B. G. 7. 45. 7.

In iii. 9 *sqq.*

nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe uelut qui currebat fugiens hostem; persaepe uelut qui Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos, saepe decem seruos *e.g.s.*

Editors one after the other explain the

brachylogy as follows 'saepe currebat uelut qui fugiens hostem <*curreret*>, saepe <*incedebat*> uelut qui Iunonis sacra ferret'; and there an end. But a legitimate curiosity has much more to ask. It desires to know first what warrant there is for supplying the subjunctive *curreret* out of the indicative *currebat*; and indeed what ground there is for supplying *curreret* at all, beyond the circumstance that *ferret* follows. But it pushes inquisitiveness further and would fain know what sense there is in *curreret* when so supplied.

There are two modes of comparing an action in progress with some other action. First you may compare *two actors*; you may say that Tigellius runs like a man (who runs) (running) in full flight from an enemy; or, in Latin, with ellipse of one of the *currit*'s, 'saepe uelut qui fugiens hostem currit.' The two *currit*'s have not exactly the same meaning; for one is general and the other particular. But even we feel no difficulty about that. And, when the comparison is transferred to the past, though we hesitate to write 'Tigellius ran like a man *who ran*' this feeling must not be ascribed to the Roman, to whom it was natural to think of connected actions as falling within the same sphere of time.

This is the form which Horace had in his mind in the first sentence. Tigellius ran 'uelut qui *currit*,' or, 'with mental accommodation of the tense, 'uelut qui *currebat* fugiens hostem.' This mode of comparison requires the Indicative.

You may also adopt another mode of comparison. You may compare *two actions* of the same actor. You can say a present action is *like* a non-present, or imagined action; you can say accordingly, that Tigellius 'ran *as if* he *were* running from an enemy.' This mode of comparison requires the Subjunctive.

But you cannot combine the two. You must not attempt to say that 'he ran as a man who *might be* running away' nor 'he ran like the sort of man who *would run* away,' or anything else that may be devised to represent *qui* with the subjunctive. Why? Because you must not treat the comparison which you are drawing in order to make your thought clear to the reader, in the spirit of the Atheist's Prayer, 'O God, if there be a God, save my soul if I have a soul.' It is the task of those who deny this proposition to substantiate their denial: it is ours to restore coherence to the text of Horace. This task is happily easy. We

have only to observe that the second *uelut qui* has come from the first which stands immediately above it, and that Horace wrote *uelut si*, as at vi. 66 in exactly the same place of the verse.

It may perhaps be inquired why should Horace have varied the expression? A sufficient answer is, 'Being a poet, why should he not?' It may however be pointed out that the variation is appropriate. In accordance with usage in such matters the sacred emblems of the goddess Juno were carried by *women*: cp. Ov. Am. 3, 13, 27 sq. 'more patrum Graio *uelatae* uestibus albis | tradita supposito uertice sacra ferunt' and Hor. Serm. II. viii. 13 sq. When then Horace makes Tigellius walk, as if he were bearing the sacred emblems of Juno, he is clothing his meaning in the most appropriate garb that can be devised.

iii. 59 sq.

hic fugit omnes  
insidias nullique malo latus *obdit* apertum

I have already challenged the legitimacy of the current interpretation of this passage in a few lines published in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1895, p. 9; but as the brief protest appears to have been overlooked, I ask leave to expand it here.

Every commentator upon this passage known to me understands *obdit* as equivalent to 'obicit' 'offert' 'opponit,' and as meaning the man 'exposes' his flank to no evil or no enemy. But first there is *no other* passage in Latin where the verb has this meaning or anything approaching to it; and secondly, although it is true that there is a certain resemblance in the use of several compounds of *-do* and the corresponding compounds of *pono*, such resemblance is neither so strong nor so all-pervading as to form a valid ground for argument. If e.g. many of the usages of 'addo' suggest 'adpono,' and many of 'condo' 'compono,' those of 'trado' are far removed from those of 'transpono' and 'reddo' shows few which recall 'repono.'

This rarest of all the compounds of *do* is very limited and almost technical in sense. It is almost exclusively used of barring a door by means of *pessuli* or *serae*; e.g. 'pessuli foribus'—or 'fores pessulis obduntur.' In the first phrase 'opponuntur' is possible but not in the second. And only the second concerns us here. For 'obdere fores' may be quoted Pliny N.H. 6, 30 '*fores obditaе ferratis trabibus*' (of the portae *Caucasiae*), Ovid, Fasti 1, 279 sqq.

'ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto, | tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera. | pace *fores obdo*, ne qua discedere possit; | Caesareoque diu nomine clausus ero.' Plautus Cas. 893 'forem obdo.' As in all these passages and in other places MSS. corrupt the verb to the commoner *addo obdo* we should read 'obde forem' at Ov. Ars. Am. 3, 587 (uulg. 'adde') and Val. Fl. 2, 236 'obduntque domos' (uulg. 'adduntque'). But if of itself '*latus obdit*' could hardly mean anything but 'bars' or 'closes' his side, a fortiori must it mean this when it is connected with *apertum*. Compare Ter. Haut. 276 'anus quaedam prodit; haec ubi *aperit* ostium | continuo hic se coniecit intro, ego consequor.

| *anus foribus obdit pessulum* (that is, *obdit fores*), ad lanam redit.<sup>1</sup> We must then 'dare to be wise' and connect 'nulli malo' with 'apertum' and not with 'obdit.' Grammatically indeed it might be taken with 'obdit' as in Ov. Ex Pont. 2, 2, 42 'nec rigidam timidus uocibus obde forem.' But then it would be an admirable description of a man who is '*incautus*.'

iii. 88 sqq.

fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,  
qui, nisi cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,  
*mercedem aut nummos* unde unde extricat,  
amaras  
porrecto iugulo historias, captius ut, audit.

The words in italics are explained to mean that the unfortunate debtor had to provide either the interest or the *capital*. He might have to provide both, but let that pass. What is not explained is why the capital should be 'coin' and the 'interest' not? We are only within our rights when we ask why, if this was his meaning, Horace did not write 'aut sortem aut mercedem.'

Let us try another path. Horace is describing what happens to the victims of the literary moneylender when the dreaded kalends come round (*cum* frequentative with the perfect). He must produce the interest, *that is* the cash; or he must listen to the compositions. Why then, when the meaning is so obvious, has interpretation gone so long astray? The words exclude the hendiadys which the sense demands. I have searched

<sup>1</sup> It seems not impossible that the phrase *fores obdere* is in part an imitation of the Greek ἐπιθεῖναι θύραν: cf. Plato, Symp. 213 B πύλας πάνυ μεγάλας τοῖς ὥσιν ἐπιθεσθε, Seneca Ep. 31. 2 'ad summam sapiens eris si cluseris aures' (the *obserratae aures* of Horace), quibus ceram parum est *obdere*. firmiore spissamento opus est quam in sociis usum Vlixem ferunt.'

in vain for a similar use of *aut*, and the unconscious witness of the commentators, to whom it has never presented itself as a possibility, is an indication not without weight that my search was foredoomed to failure; *aut* then must go and *ET* take its place. Of the confusion of the two conjunctions in the manuscripts of Horace, no less than eleven instances are cited in Keller's *Epilegomena*.

## iv. 19 sqq.

at tu conclusas *hirquinis follibus* auras  
usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis  
ut mauis, imitare.

On the strength of this passage it is frequently asserted, e.g. by Rich Dict. At. s.u. *follis*, Blümner *Technologie* ii. p. 191, that the ancients used the skin of the he-goat for making leathern bellows. But that this statement must be provided with a better foundation will presently appear. Certainly the usual material would seem to have been cow- or ox-hide; and we need not impute ignorance of this to the author of the *Georgics* because he has '*taurinis follibus*' in 4, 171, observing that neither in quantity nor quality would '*bübuli folles*' have suited his stately measure.

The expression here is metaphorical; and the *hircus* not the actual male of the goat, but a very different animal with whom the not over-delicate fancy of Roman poets met unseldom plays. Catull. 69, 5 sqq. '*laedit te quaedam mala fabula qua tibi fertur | ualle sub alarum trux habitare caper. | hunc metuunt omnes; neque mirum. nam mala ualde est | bestia.*' Horace *Epod.* 12. 5, '*polypus an grauis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis.*' As the *folles* are the labouring lungs of the energetic reciter (*Pers.* 5, 11, *Juv.* 7, 111), so is the *hircus* the accompaniment of his exertions. There is a like sarcastic play on *ala* in a very similar connexion, *Juv. Sat.* 10, 178 '*madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis,*' which is a parody of such expressions as '*madidis Notus euolat alis*' *Ov. Met.* 1, 264 (wrongly regarded by Mayor as a mere coincidence in language), and the same pun occurs with *alae hirquinæ* in *Plautus Poen.* 871 sqq.

There is a curious verbal parallel to our expression in *Pliny* if the *Moneus* is right, *N.H.* 12, § 81 '*ad hunc (ex aris fumum atque nidorem) ergo sanandum Sabaei styracem in follibus petunt hircinis suffiuntque tecta. adeo nulla est uoluptas quae non adsiduitate fastidium pariat.*' The other MSS. have *urunt styracem in pellibus hircinis,* with the same sense '*pouches.*'

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## iv. 32.

ne quid

summa deperdat metuens aut ampliaret rem.

The compound *deperdere* has two senses: (1) *to lose away*, i.e. *entirely*, (2) *destroy completely*. In neither sense can it take a simple ablative. Here, then, either it is an 'imperfect' or, if you like, 'spurious' compound, in which the preposition does all the work of regimen, as in '*rostra aduolare*' and other well-known examples of this survival from an earlier stage in language; or else, what seems a better solution, the *de* must be separated from the *perdat* and made to govern the substantive itself. This certainly should be done with *desurgat* at ii. 2, 76 '*uides ut pallidus omnis | cena de surgat dubia?*' a place where I formerly wrongly defended the compound (in the technical sense) for Horace although denying it for Lucretius (*V.* 703).<sup>1</sup> Examples of the postponement will be found in *Neue II.*<sup>2</sup> 789 sqq. and a number in *Munro* on *Lucr.* I. 841. The mobility of prepositions is, it may be added, a well-known feature of Greek; and these uses may be partly Graecisms.

## v. 73 sq.

nam uaga per ueterem dilapso flamma  
culinam  
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.

The smoke from the burning 'kitchen' seems to have blinded the commentators, for example, *Palmer*, who writes '*dilapso Volcano* means that the fire fell in pieces and that the logs of which it was composed slipped out on to the kitchen floor.' But *culinam* does not mean a 'kitchen' here; but a cooking stove or range which, being worn out (*ueterem*), fell to pieces and scattered the burning coals (*dilapso Volcano*) over the wooden floor. That *culina* may be used in this sense is shown by the portable *culinae* of *Seneca*, *Ep.* 78. 23 and *Juvenal*, 3. 250.

## vi. 30 sqq.

ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi  
et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Philology*, 1891, p. 288. I learn from Prof. Merrill, who recently proposed the same separation for '*desurgere*' in *Lucretius*, *American J. of Phil.* 1900, p. 185, that the correction is as old as *Lambinus*. In '*tanto emetiris aceruo*?' (*II* ii. 105) however, the abl. depends on the verb: for the compound is proper in this sense; see *Mon. Ancy.* 3. 12.



iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo, sic e.q.s.

Whether the point of this comparison is understood by the editors, I cannot tell; but no note that I have read betrays that intelligence. Suffice it to say that the word *morbis* (Hor. carm. 1, 37 9 sq. and Catullus 57, 6 with the commentators there) and the pointed reference to female rivals (*puellis*, with the emphasis of the verse upon it, as in I. ii. 83, 86, iv. 76, vi. 79, 82, vii. 25, 26) shows that the attractiveness which Barrus desired was that of a *Δῆμος καλός* (Aristophanes) or a *formosus Alexis* (Virgil).

I have some doubt whether *iniciat curam* is right; *iniciat c a u s a m* would correspond better with *cogit* (v. 37), and is more usual with the genitive of the gerund (Cic. Caec. 4), and the two words are often confused. But, as it may be argued that *curare* in v. 37 picks up *curam* here rather than *curae* in v. 34, I should not alter the text.

vi. 110 sq.

hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,  
*milibus atque aliis, uiuo.*

It has long been observed that the Latin for 'thousands of other things' is *mille alia*, not *milia alia*, which is 'other thousands.' But nothing better than the weak '*multis atque aliis*' of Lambinus has been proposed. I believe ATQVEALIS to have been corrupted from ETQVĀTIS, and would accordingly read '*milibus et quantis*!' 'In this respect and in how many thousands am I better off!' '*quanta milia*' was conversational Latin for '*quot milia*'; compare Prop. 1. 5. 10 'at tibi curarum milia quanta dabit!'

viii.—Not a little error and confusion has been imported into the criticism and interpretation of this poem by a misapprehension of the structure of its exordium. Verses 8–16 constitute a parenthesis of some length, it is true, but are not on that account surprising from the author of the complicated sentence of Epist. I. xv. 1–25; and verses 3 sqq. and 17 sqq. are in close connexion. To prove this it is only necessary to print these verses in sequence with italic type to show their correspondences.

deus inde ego, *furum auiumque*  
maxima formido: nam *fures* dextra coercet  
obscaenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine  
palus;

ast importunas *uolucris* in uertice harundo  
terret fissa<sup>1</sup> uetatque nouis considere in  
hortis: 7

cum mihi non tantum *furesque feraeque*  
suetae 17

hunc uexare locum curae sunt atque labori  
*quantum* carminibus *quae* uersant atque  
uenenis

humanos animos: *has* nullo perdere possum  
nec prohibere modo e.q.s.

The peculiar humour of the piece can now be appreciated. Its *motif* is that against the witches the god of gardens found his ordinary terrors wholly unavailing, and accordingly had to discover a new device for self-protection.

The parenthesis explain the *nouis-hortis* of 7, and should be punctuated as follows:

(huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis  
conseruus uili portanda locabat in arca;  
hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepul-  
crum,  
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti;  
mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in  
agrum  
hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne seque-  
retur:  
nunc licet Esquilii habitare salubribus,  
atque  
aggere in aprico spatium qua<sup>2</sup> modo tristes  
albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum).

If it be asked why the twentieth century is with us before this has been perceived, the answer is at hand. There was a *nunc* in v. 14 and a *cum* in v. 17: and the accident of this vicinity has betrayed scholars into joining these particles in an illegitimate union. It is the same influence which at vii. 10 sq.

hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti,  
quo fortes, quibus aduersum bellum incidit

has beguiled a phalanx of commentators into coupling with the adverbial *iure* the *hoc* whose sole concern is with its correspondent *quo*. Kruger and Smart are the only editors known to me who have explained this passage correctly; to whom may since be added Dean Wickham, *Cl. Rev.* 1888, p. 40 b.

In two passages of this Satire, it is, I fear, still necessary to defend the MS. text.

<sup>1</sup> Fea's correction of the MS. *fissa* seems certain. Compare Prop. 4. 7. 25 'nec crepuit fissa me propter harundine custos' = δ σχιζόμενος κάλαμος Schol. on κρόταλον Ar. Nub. 259 (quoted by Rothstein). In this case the wind served as *custos* to rattle the harundo.

<sup>2</sup> qua Bentley, quo MSS.

uideres

infernus errare canes Lunamque rubentem,  
ne foret his testis, post magna latere  
sepulcra.

The MS. reading has been assailed on the ground that there were no tombs on the Esquiline. A reclaimed burial ground such as Horace describes would, it has been contended, contain no tombs, whether great or small.

Grant this; what then? Did Horace suppose that any one would understand him to mean that the Esquiline was of the exact dimensions of the burial ground, viz., 1000 feet frontage by 300 feet deep? Could not a writer on a penny steamboat in the Thames say that the moon hid behind Westminster Abbey or St. Stephen's without being supposed to mean that these buildings were floating tabernacles? That the 'great' *sepulcra* (or *sepulcrum*, for the plural need mean no more) lay *outside* the common burial ground was perceived by Kiessling, and that in Cicero's time noteworthy monuments might be placed on the Esquiline, is proved by the quotation from Cicero Phil. ix. 17 given in Orelli-Baiter-Mewes. There is no reason to suppose the 'magna sepulcra' to be of any unusual size. The indications of time in the scene point to moon-rise. 21 'simul ac uaga luna decorum | protulit os' and the ruddy colour of the moon,<sup>1</sup> in which Horace would have us see the hue of shame, both suggest that it was near the horizon and therefore needed no very lofty structure to conceal it.

41 singula quid memorem quo pacto alterna  
loquentes  
umbræ cum Sagana resonarent triste et ac-  
cutum

I should not refer to this passage but for the amazing vitality of Bentley's error. In spite of *alterna loquentes* the world follows him in his attempt to reduce the imperfect to the level of 'ut—*abdiderint* furtim terris et imagine cerea | largior arserit ignis.' Syntax does not gain by the change: for the perfectly correct 'resonarent' compare 'uideo igitur causas esse permultas quæ istum impellerent. uideamus nunc, eaque facultas suscipiendi maleficii fuerit Cicero pro Rosc. Am. 92; and style and accident receive a staggering blow. For the perfect

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to prove this, but a parallel from a magical scene, in a poem of T. G. Hake occurs to me while writing. 'The curious moon, half rising, interweaves In heaven a blood-red ray' (*The Palmist*).

resonauit Bentley did indeed cite Manilius V. 566: but the imperfect which I have restored (*Silua* Man. p. 54) is pictorially as necessary there as it is here, and the MSS. of Manilius are far more corrupt than those of Horace. Here it is enough to put the Latin into Greek. *resonarent* is ἐπρίζον, *abdiderint* κατόρυξαν, *arserit* ἔλαμψεν. For the last perfect we may compare Virg. G. 4. 384 'ter.. flamma reluxit' and similar expressions elsewhere, e.g. Prop. 3. 10. 20 'luxerit (fut. perf.) et tota flamma secunda domo.' Palmer has an argument for *resonarint* which we must notice; '*resonui* is found nowhere.' If the normal perfect of a compound of *sono* be not found, it might well be argued that there was something in the meaning of that compound which discouraged its formation.

ix. 43.

Maecenas quomodo tecum?  
hinc repetit. paucorum hominum et  
mentis bene sanæ:  
nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes  
magnum adiutorem posset qui ferre se-  
cundas,  
hunc hominem uelles si tradere. dispeream  
ni  
submosses omnes.

It might have been thought a matter of common knowledge that in conditional sentences of the type before us the Latin imperfect and pluperfect indicate events which are either known or expected not to be realised. Yet this is the rendering of our passage by one of the most scholarly translators of Horace:

'*Twould be a good deed done if you could throw  
Your servant in his way; I mean, you know,  
Just to play second: in a month I'll swear,  
You'd make an end of every rival there.*'

CONINGTON.

and this is the elucidation which it receives in the last edition of one of the most meritorious commentaries that we have (the italics in both cases are mine): '*iam facile tibi erit mihi, homini centum artium, quales ille solet deligere, aditum ad eum parare ac facies hoc fortasse non sine proprio tuo commodo: ego enim te pro virili parte iuvarem adversos invidos atque iniquos tuos, qui ut reor interdum apud illum tibi officiant: immo ope mea quos uoles summovebis*' (Orelli-Baiter-Mewes).<sup>2</sup> Confusion such as

<sup>2</sup> Other editors who misconstrue *haberes*—*uelles* or *submosses* or both are Heindorf, Kirchner, Fritsche, Schütz, Palmer, Kiessling, L. Mueller and Wickham.

The only commentator known to me who has shown that he understood any of these verbs correctly is Doederlein who corrects Heindorf's mistake about *submosses*.

this allows us no choice of path. We must set out from the elementary principles of Latin grammar and consider what meanings the imperfect and pluperfect tenses can or cannot have in conditional sentences. Firstly, they *cannot* refer to a future event if that event is regarded as possible. In this case the present and perfect are required. We may learn this lesson from the Odes of Horace themselves. The writer of iv. 8. 20 *sqq.* knew it well—*neque | si chartae sileant quod bene feceris | mercedem tuleris. quid foret Iliae | Mauortisque puer si taciturnitas | obstaret meritis inuida Romuli?* Secondly, they *can* refer to a future event if it be suggested that this event is unattainable. The Bore might thus suggest that Horace would find him a very useful person to introduce to Maecenas, but that he despairs of an introduction. But why he should damn his own hopes beforehand, it is not easy to see. Thirdly, to cut the matter short, the reference may be to a past that was not realised, which is not without relation to the present. The Bore may mean 'As it is, you have *no* second fiddle and so you *have not* ousted your rivals: but you might have done so if you had chosen to give me an introduction to your patron.' In this sense the words are appropriate and effective. They would suggest to Horace the loss which he has already suffered by making no use of his interlocutor hitherto.

Suppose this to be allowed, it would seem clearly best to take the previous sentence to apply to the poet. The passage will then mean 'You have used your opportunities well, my friend. But think, if you had had me!' This necessitates the insertion of *te* before *usus* as Boissonade proposed: for otherwise the statement would apply to Maecenas, the subject of the previous sentence. It has been objected to this insertion that *te* is emphatic and so cannot be elided. The objection is unreasonable since the chief emphasis falls on *nemo* and not on *te*, as any one who reads the words aloud may see. And it is gain-said by actual fact. A single citation is enough to confute it. In Silius 3. 119 *sqq.* 'quippe nec Ausonios tantum nec tela nec ignes | quantum te metuo: ruis ipsos acer in enses | obiectasque caput telis nec <*te*> ulla secundo | euentu satiat uirtus, tibi gloria soli | fine caret,' a similarly 'emphatic' *te* is similarly elided in the same part of the verse and similarly omitted by all the manuscripts but (and here the similarity ends) restored to the author

by the unanimous agreement of his editors.

The course of our argument has now brought us back to the last problem of the passage, the assignment of the words 'paucorum—sanae.' It is clear that the exclusive and canny man in the Bore's description must be Maecenas. The breathless and indecent haste with which he develops his theme before Horace can stop him is an admirable piece of character drawing.

It seems to me that a good many difficulties in the Satires of Horace are diminished if we bear in mind their highly allusive character. An expression which is half one author's and half another's is apt to be misjudged should we fail to recognise its composite character. It will even seem discordant and incoherent when the clue to the reference is gone. To take a very simple instance 'adeo sermonis amari | Sisennas, Barros ut *equis praecurreret albis*,' I. vii. 8 the phrase, strange enough in itself as an equivalent of *longe praecurreret*, loses half its oddity if we put '*equis albis*' between mental marks of quotation.

This mode of explanation may be applied to I. i. 99 *sq.* 'at hunc liberta securi | diuisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.' The incoherence here is great and has caused much trouble. It disappears, if we assume that Horace is quoting or, it may be, parodying the end of a line which was familiar to his readers.

Parodies of Furius Bibaculus are recognised at Sat. II. v. 39–41 (see Orelli-B.-M.) and at II. x. 36 *sqq.* 'turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque | defingit Rheni luteum caput.' But the points of the criticism in the last case have, so far as I know, been only imperfectly appreciated. Horace jeers at Furius for applying to men a verb which the chief of Latin epic poets only uses of cattle, for coining the strange word *defingit* ('*defingit*' is devoid of meaning) and for misusing *luteus* in the sense of *lutulentus* ('*ut flueret lutulentus*' I. iv. 11), or *limosus*. *Luteus* can only mean 'made of mud' or 'plastered with mud' and hence Horace scoffs at the artist in language, who would describe the turbid source of a river but whose words really mean that he 'models its head in clay.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wickham, who rightly says there is a continuous metaphor, quotes Conington's translation 'gives his Rhine a head-piece of brown mud.' Conington's 'brown mud' reminds us that some commentators (the *alii* of Orelli-B.-M.) found *luteum* so puzzling that they must confound it with *luteum* and see in it an allusion to the yellow polls of the Germans, Pers. 6. 46.



At I. x. 57, quaerere num *illius* num rerum dura negarit | uersiculos naturamagis factos et euntis | mollius' *illius* has a quantity which occurs nowhere else in Horace who has *illius* eleven times. The prevalence of *illius* is too great to be accidental and must indicate a preference. If Horace had been indifferent to the quantity, we should have expected a ratio more like that in his

contemporary Tibullus who has *illius* four and *illius* two or perhaps three times. It is probable that the singular quantity is taken over from Lucilius, of whom he is speaking, and to whose own profession he makes direct reference just below, vv. 60-1, cf. iv. 9, 10.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## A SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF MARTIAL.

### III. (continued from p. 46).

THE MS. recently bought in Lucca for the Königl. Bibliothek, Berlin (lat. fol. 612) quite eclipses in interest all the MSS. of Martial with which we have been concerned. It is a twelfth century member of the second family, the family descended from Torquatus Gennadius' recension of 401 A.D. The other members of this family are Renaissance MSS., liable to the doubt and suspicion under which a text of Martial penned by a Renaissance scribe must always fall. Here we have a MS. removed by some centuries from the Renaissance period, and may congratulate ourselves at last on the possession of a Gennadius text that is above suspicion.

A brief account of the leading characteristics of the new MS. (I call it *L*) will be found in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of June 22. Here I will give its readings for all the passages in which *P*- or *Q*-readings have been cited in the two previous articles. A full collation I hope to be able to publish in a short time.

I. Epist. (in fol. i v. summo) 7 iocorum; 11 latina eloqui *m. 1*; i.-ii. (in fol. i. r. imo); iii. 2 uacent; v. 1 naumachias; viii. 2 saluus *ex* saluos *ut vid.*; x. 4 appetitur; xii. 10 parta; xiii. (*confl. cum xii.*) 4 tu quod; xiv. 2 hos; xx. 3 tanto uentri\*\* laeque (*corr. uentrique gulaeque*) (*om. tibi*); xxvii. 2 peractos; xxvii. 3. 7 procelle (*et in lemm. AD PROCELLUM*) 4 factam *ut vid.*, *corr.* factam; xxix. 4 hoc (*per compend.*); xxxiv. 5 testem; xxxvi. 5 si qui; xli. 4-xlvii. 1 *om.*; xlviii. 6 caueae; xlix. 11 breve, *corr.* -vi; 21 repetens; 41 uita; 42 Quem; li. 3 tauris; lii. 2 si tamen dicere; liii. 4 interposito—uncto; lv. 3 petet, 11 uillica *ex* uillica; lviii. 3 dolet hoc mea mentula mecum; lix. 1 baiana; lx. 5 dom. nem.; lxi. 1 \*amat, 3 aponi; lxiv. 3 dum; lxv. 1 ficus,

4 ficos *ex* -us; lxvi. 4 nummis sophos, 5 quaerere, 10 punicata; lxix. 1 maxima; lxx. 15 amat; lxxi. 2 lycis, 3 effuso; lxxvi. 10 semper inane, 13 adcircum pulpitata (*corr. -ita*); lxxviii. 7 scā romana, 8 rogo (*corr. rec. uita*); lxxx. 1 A seruo; lxxxvi. 7 iliacam, 12 ut inq.; lxxxviii. 3 Aspice—pondera saxo, 9 perne uerit; xc. 3 omnis et; xciii. 1 amicus, 6 raros; xevi. 1 Sinon est mol. te quod, 2 mamater\*o, *corr. materno*; ciii. 3 sqq. *post IV lxix. 2*; civ. 8 uisontes *corr. bis.*, 20 uenerit; cix. 8 nixa; cxi. 3 quid (*corr. qui*); cxiii. 1 quond. pu., 5\*\* polio; cxiv. 5 Et stugias (*corr. stig.*) sed (*per compend.*) dum fuerat; cxv. 1 inuidae; cxvi. 1 cinerem, *corr. rec. -rum*, 15 altero ueniendo nomen; cxviii. 2 deciliane.

II. Epist. 1 parum enim tibi prestamus, 3 uerbis dicere, 5 sua id est mala; i. 5 peragit; iv. 7 matremque (*man. 1*); v. 3 distinguunt; vi. 2 *post v. 3*, 3 spectasses cato collum; vii. 1 attale (*in lemm. AD ATTALVM*), 5 attice, 7 facis tamen, 8 quid sis hardalio *ex* ard.; xi. 2 sera, 4 tang. ind., 10 quae est; xii. 2 Quodque tibi est numquam; xiv. 6 pyllirides, 13 thermis iterumque iterumque iterumque; 15 europes tepida, 17 uector; xv. 2 hormone (*et in lemm. AD HORMVM*); xvi. 4 quis nisi, 5 demitte; xvii. *habet L*; xxiii. 2 Qui, 3 enim mihi ne; xxvi. 2 tuos *m. 1*, suos *m. 2*; xxix. 1 terentem; 3 quotiens *m. 1*, 10 quid; xxx. 3 fidusque; xxxi. 1 christinam; xxxii. 3 protas, 5 letoria; xxxiv. 6 pontica; xxxvi. 3 \*\*\*\* arum; xxxvii. 1 uer\*\*\*, 6 halica; xxxix. *habet L*; xl. 3 nunc, 5 siccentur annus coxit; xli. 10 manumue; xlv. 2 tres, 6 sed (*per compend.*) ut, 11 cum rogaris; xlviii. 3 et paucos sed (*per compend.*) ut; xlix. *cum xlviii confl.*; li. 3 non auferet; lii. *habet L*; liii. 2 potes; liv. 5 maligniusque (*ex-nusque*) est; lv. 3 sexte colo; lvi. 1 malaudit; lvi.

2 fedae; lxi. 1 tenera, 3 fastigia; lxii. 4 quod; lxiii. 3 amaris; lxiv. 2 taure, 8 potest; lxvi. 4 phlegusa, 6 Et sanum tangat, 8 tua; lxvii. 4 decam *m. 1*; lxviii. 9 *habet L*; lxx. 2 coyle quae *om.*; lxxi. 5 illud; lxxii. 4 Villa; lxxiii *hab. L*; lxxiv. 7 Fuficulenius; lxxvi. 2 dedit; lxxix. 1 uocasse; lxxxii. 1 Abscisa serum quod fugis *p. lingua*; lxxxiii *confl. cum lxxxii*, 3 truncis; lxxxv. 1 copte; lxxxvi. 10 inertiarum; xc. 5 uincere; xcii *confl. cum xci*.

III. ii. 4 madidas, 11 cocco; iii. *om.*; v. 1 cursus, 10 habere libet; vii. 2 conglarium; viii. 1 amat quam thaida luscā; xi. 3 dixi, 6 amet *ex amat ut vid.*; xiii. 1 Dum non uis piscem dum non uis carpere pullos; xv. 1 credit; xvi. 5 corio] satis est; xvii. 3 sabidi; xix. 2 pictae plata nona; xx. 5 locus, 7 sopheleis, 9 tinctus atticos, 10 hinc si res-  
sis teri, 12 rufus, 14 ambulat ue; xxi. 1 notatus; xxii. 1 apici; xxiii *confl. cum xxii*, 1 retro pueris; xxiv. 2 grata sacris, 8 manus, 10 hanc; xxv. 4 Neronianas is refr.; xxvi. 5 puto (*o ex corr.?*); xxix *hab. L*; xxxi. 4 mensa; xxxii. 1 quaerere matria, 3 niobe (*ut vid.*) matria *m. 1*; xxxv *habet L*; xxxviii. 3 cicerone disertius ipso *m. 1*, 4 par mihi nemo foro, 6 Norasse neutri; xlv. 3 circa, 4 quod sit scire; xlv. 1 mensas ph., 3 iste, 5 rhombos; xlv. 6 ingenuumque, 7 in causam narraberis, 11 -abis; xlvii. 4 plus illi, 6 ruris trahent, 8 porrum, 10 coram; l. 4 oxygarumque; liv. 1 possis, 2 multos *m. 1*; lv. 2 effusus, 3 cellia; lviii. 18 columbarum *ex*-narum, 24 carbo, 26 subdole, 29 hortus, 37 hinc uag. *m. hispidae fetum*, 42 auara seruat, 48 poscentis, 51 uocari debet; lx. 5 su—illos *m. 1*, sumo pusillos *m. rec. in ras.*; lxii. 3 deci, 7 credis magno; lxiii. 5 qui et gaud.; lxv. 1 malum tenera, 3 cum floret, 7 imbrem (*m. 1*); lxvi. 1 fartus; lxviii. 5 hinc; lxix. 5 nequam iuuenes; lxxi 2 sed (*per compend.*); lxxii. 3 pendent a pectore, 6 cynici, 8 uitium peius habes; lxxiii. 1 mutuniat, 2 phaebe, 4 credere te, 2. 6 *transp.*; lxxvi. 3 est haec, 4 ecaben; lxxxii. 2 sum memmia nascent inter, 5 gaignatus, 9 cuspidemque lentisce, 13 corpus, 15 *hab. L*, 16 sciscitator, 20 agri, 25 mythinisque, 26 fuscis; lxxxv. 4 mimis; lxxxvii. 1 te rumor chione; xci. 9 exciduntque, 11 fama est quondam; xciii. 2 sint *om.*, 10 noctua uidet (*det per compend., fort. dent.*), 15 admittit, 19 uirumque, 20 si satiae, 21 uocauit, 24 acoridet tr., 26 ustorquae taedes; xcv. 1 sed rides, 9 Esset; xcix. 3 Innocuos ludere, 4 non liceat licuit; c. 4 ille.

IV. i. 4 nite, 9 sed (*per compend.*); iii. 2 cesaris inque, 3 muto, 6 dis simulacre; iv. 1 palus, 12 quam quod; v. 1 bonus uerus,

7 circa, 9–10 *hab. L*; viii. 11 grassum met ire, 12 matutinos nostra thalia; ix. AD BVLLAM, 1 clunici bulla, 3 *χει σωτως*; xiii. 1 nupsit pudenti, 9 sedet ipsa maritum; xiv. 4 Astus, 14 marino; xix. 13 sidone; xx *post xix*; xxi. 3 haec; xxii. 7 insiluis; xxiii. 6 cecropio, 7 Romanae sale; xxv. 6 hausit, 7 requies portusque; xxvi. 3 uicinos ter puto; xxvii. 2 negat, 3 honerato non; xxviii. 3 et totam lepido totam; xxix. 2 opes, 3 pudent; xxx. 6 quid quod., 9 tremente; xxxi. 10 hippodamus; xxxii. 3 malorum; xxxiv. 1 dicit, 2 dicit; xxxvii. 3 sabellus, 5 ter ducenta; xxxviii. 1 satiatur nisi; xxxix *hab. L*; xl. 7 honorem, 9 serum talium; xlii. 1 roganti, 2 locare, 4 nequitiam, 6 esse solet, 9 breviter sit, 15 fallis, 16 dicens; xliii. 11 cunnilingi *svm*; xlv. 5 arbor; xlv. 7 tressae librae, 9 lacuna, 14 ceno; xlvii. 1 encastus; xlix. 1 nescis, 2 putas; l. 1 thais, 2 thais; li. 2 late, 3 decies tribuit; liii. 6 dat latratos; liv. 3 utaris, 5 nullis, 10 neget *m. 1 ut vid.*, -at *m. 2 ut vid.*; lv. 1 duorum, 18 peterē, 19 ripas, 20 suaeobos, 21 turgentisque l. tura si aequae, 22 paruo toutonissae, 23 pura teones (*corr. -nis*), 24 quos; lvii. 2 pumiceis latent; lix. 2 gemma, 4 uincta; lx. 3 cur latius; lxi. 3 inschola, 12 meridie, 13 male, 14 tam, 16 audire *om.*; lxiii. 1 aboculis, 3 neroni; lxiv. 2 heseridum, 4 eminent, 10 uitae, 14 facit, 19 patet, 28 compatet, 31 quae, 32 contento, 33 pendulum; 34 deditis aediam; lxvi. 8 rubens, 12 turba, 14 fluit; lxvii. 5 thalioque; lxviii *confl. cum lxvii*; lxix. 1 marsica; lxx. 1 mamiano, 4 mammianus; lxxi. 5 caste sunt; lxxiii. 4 nulla, 6 te tricas, 7 tam; lxxiv. *hab. L*; lxxv. 5 inlecta; lxxviii. 5 prodire, 8 sigerosque; lxxx. *confl. cum lxxxii*, 4 sudares, 5 est eras (*corr. erras*), 6 exurit; lxxxi. 3 bisque terque; lxxxii. *hab. L*; lxxxiv. 2 thaidam; lxxxvi. 3 docte; lxxxvii. 2 facit, 3 est; lxxxix. 4 scida, *corr. rec. ut vid. seeda*, 7 defecitque.

V. ii. 6 iocetur; vi. *hab. L*; viii. 3 recipit, 5 rubens, 11 illa; x. 3 insunt; xiv. 3 terque transtulit castra, 11 sededere letoque; xv. 3 honoratus nomine, 6 prosunt; xvi. 6 sollicitis uelim, 12 nimum, 13 inquit dixi satis est; xvii. 4 cistifero; xviii. 8 uoratam, 9 nihil diuiti; xix. 1 uestris (ūris), 3 saecula (*per compend.*) nulla, 11 *sq. nov. epigr.* AD CESAREM, 13 regis, 17 *sq. nov. epigr.* AD GERMANICVM; xx. 7 imagines superbas; xxii. 7 murorum, 10 lassa; xxiv. 3 Herm. glad. (*et om.*), 8 sibi ipsi, 15 et ter; xxv. 2 letus 3 equis; xxvi. 4 betame; xxviii. 4 drusones; xxx. 2 suscipiente de (*eras.*); xxxi. 7 gestus sed de discrimine palmae; xxxiv. 3 pallida; xxxv. 5 et suscitant si ei tore

luctatur, 6 equitis urbo; xxxvii. 1 cignis, 4 praeferens, 5 indicae ntem (*corr. dentem*), 9 rosarium; xxxviii. 3 syca merize; xli. 1 fluxo, 3 sectus, 5 fabulasque; xlv. 2 quae; xlvi. 3 credo, 4 consequar hoc me; xlviii. 7 ne crede; xlix. 3 numeros, 5 uel possunt, 9 tum; liii. 4 aut; lv. 1 portas; lvi. 4 diuites; lx. 4 a meis, 8 erunt; lxi. 7 inquit; lxii. lxiv. *hab. L*; lxv. 2 nemees, 4 sricula tusus, 8 maiora, 9 maiora, 11 si *om.*, 13 quidem; lxvii. 2 athidis, 6 cum; lxxi. 1 quae, 5 fauste, *corr. faustine*; lxxvi. 1 toto, 2 possent (*e ex i*); lxxviii. 3. propin, 7 nigraculi cuius, 8 qui modo, 13 perunt, 29 quo nec, 30 condili; lxxix. 1 surrexit (*per compend.*), 3 ni; lxxx. 1 uacabis, 6 ista; lxxxi. 2 nulli *om. (supra add. man. rec. nullis)*; lxxxiv. 3 fritillos, 11 marcias, 12 Tunc.

VI. ii. 1 tede, 4 quos; iii. 6 tota; v. 1 multis sum praedia (*per compend.*) nummis; vii. 4 nubit, thelesina; viii. 6 digno nequid; x. 12 sunt; xii. 2 peierat; xiii. 1 formauit, 5 nudo, 7 mortis; xv. 3 contenta; xvi. 1 tu qui, 3 uenit; xvii. 1 cinnam cinname *m. I*; xix. 1 non diui; xxi *hab. L*; xxiii. 1 semper nostrum, 4 contra te; xxv. 8 ducis; xxvii. 8 anus; xxviii. 5 flamminea; xxix *post xxx.* 4 glaucia, 8 ames; xxx. 4 rogatus; xxxii. 4 nuda; xxxiii. 4 tam; xxxv. 3 dieis *ex ducis*; xxxvi. 1 quantus; xxxvii.

2-3 *hab. L*; xxxix. 3 filius qui, 20 iam niobidarum, 21 choresus; xl. 3 quod tu non; xlii. 8 micat, 18 marciaue; xliii. 6 uestrae mihi sunt, 9 urbis; xlv. 3 in o.; xlv. 4 turpius; xlvii. 8 satis; xlix. 10 nascitur; l. 1 pueros, 3 obscenos cepit; li. 4 inquis; lv. 4 coricine; lviii. 1 dum, 6 pudor, 10 clarus; lx. 2 spargit, 10 uicturum; lxii. 2 munera mittere appiane; lxiv. 20 timendus, 24 si quis, 28 uiui nasum, 32 tacitam; lxvi. 6 manum; lxix. 2 potat; lxx. 12 priamique; lxxi. 3 pelie; lxxiii. 3 ditissimus; lxxiv. 1 imus, 2 similem, 3 fuditque; lxxv. 1 turdumue; lxxvii. 5 aper, 6 si spaciare; lxxviii. 1 potator; lxxxi. 2-3 *hab. L*; lxxxii. 6 aurem habebat auam, 12 michi ruffe; lxxxiii. 5 summo tonanti, 7 etruscos; lxxxv. 1 editus ē (*mihi om.*) rufe (*e in ras.*) amoni, 8 quanta; lxxxvi. 6 et potet calidam qui michi libet aquam; lxxxviii. 2 sosibiane; lxxxix. 1 peteret nocte matellam (*ex capellam*); xci. 2 futuis *m. I*; xcii. 2 pateram pronos; xciii. 9 late *ex lata ut vid.*, 11 totam mille putabit.

Corrections by a recent hand are often ignored in the above list. The following additions have to be made to the two previous articles:

I. xlix. 5 catum *E*; V. xiv. 11 leito *E*; xvi. 13 laudabimus *E*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

## THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS BEFORE *GN*.

THE practice of marking all vowels long before *gn* is so completely established in our American text-books, that any departure from this would seem almost revolutionary to the great majority of Latin teachers, who, very properly devoting their time to more important subjects, must perforce in matters of hidden quantity depend upon the 'authorities,' that is the more recent school-grammars and lexicons, or, at most, such manuals as Marx's *Hilfsbüchlein* or Bennett's Appendix,—the latter of which, be it incidentally remarked, shows a marked advance over the former. Yet the unanimity of our text-books in this matter does not reflect a corresponding unanimity in the opinions of scholars at large or in the character of the evidence.

For although, after the early discussions of this point by J. Schmidt and Corssen, probably the majority of scholars, with Marx, adopted the view of J. Schmidt, that

vowels before *gn* were always long, protests have appeared with increasing frequency. Fröhde, *Bezz. Beitr.* 16, 190, concludes that the lengthened vowel was thoroughly established only in certain words ('Entschieden durchgedrungen scheint hiernach die Dehnung des Vocals vor *gn* nur in einigen Wörtern zu sein.') Havet, *Mem. Soc. Ling.* 6, 34 scoffs at those who take seriously the oft-quoted statement in Priscian on this point, which he regards as an interpolation. Sittl, *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 68, 251, remarks 'Aber hier kann man auf Grund anderer Stellen (Seelmann 91) mit Bestimmtheit sagen, dass die Verantwortung für diese falsche Regel Priscian allein zutällt.' Cocchia, *Rassegna Critica* (known to the writer through the quotations in Karsten, *Uitspraak van het Latijn*), argues at length that the statement in Priscian is an interpolation and worthless as a generalization.

Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* 138, after reviewing



the evidence, concludes 'that if the lengthening of a vowel before *gn* was a tendency of Latin pronunciation at all, it was not one so marked, and so persistent, as the lengthening before *us*.' And in the list of hidden quantities given in his Short Hist. Lat. Gram. he recognizes the lengthening only in 'dignus' and 'signum' (in *rēgnum*, *stāgnum* and *sēgnis* the vowel is long by origin) and even in these two with the reservation 'probably.' Bennett, although in the Grammar he follows the usual practice, remarks in the Appendix that 'there is no evidence to support such a principle' (that is that *all* vowels are long before *gn*), and advocates a system of eclecticism.<sup>1</sup>

Stolz, Hist. Gram. p. 230, is uncertain as to the universality of the lengthening before *gn*, but follows the usual practice of marking it long; he continues the same practice in the third edition of his Lat. Gram. in the Iw. Müller Handbuch, although in this briefer work he does not discuss the evidence anew and contents himself with an 'according to Priscian.' Brugmann has previously assumed lengthening before *gn* without reserve, but in the second edition of the first volume of the Grundriss he remarks (p. 806) that this lengthening seems to have belonged only to certain strata of society ('nur gewissen Verkehrskreisen.') Accordingly he recognizes the existence of both *signum* and *signum, dignus* and *dignus*, etc. (e.g. pp. 121, 677, 680), although in general, in the citation of words with *gn*, where the history of the vowel is not under discussion, he retains the usual practice of marking it long. Among those who no longer accept the view that vowels are always long before *gn* we may safely include Osthoff, although he does not anywhere discuss the matter. For in his recent etymological article he cites words with *gn* without marking the vowel long, e.g. *lignum*, *tignum*, *magnus* (Idg. F.

8, 30, 34) *signum* (Bezz. Beitr. 24, 180); and in the case of a scholar who has given so much attention to hidden quantity and is so careful in the marking of vowel-length, this, of course, is not accidental.

It is sufficiently clear, without further citation of opinions, that vowel-lengthening before *gn* is far from being a universally accepted fact. Let us turn to the evidence itself, which, briefly stated, is as follows.

In support of the lengthening are adduced: (1) the well-known statement in Priscian (Keil. II, p. 82) "Gnus" quoque vel "gna" vel "gnum" terminantia longam habent vocalem paenultimam, ut "rēgnum," "stāgnum," "benignus," "malignus," "abiēgnus," "privignus," "Pelignus"; (2) the fact that in a few words we actually find the vowel before *gn* written with the apex or as *I longa*.<sup>2</sup>

In support of the short vowel before *gn* stand: (1) the fact that, except in words with an original long vowel, the Romance languages point to a short vowel before *gn*<sup>3</sup>; (2) the fact that the Celtic and Germanic words borrowed from Latin *signum* also point to a short vowel; (3) the total absence on inscriptions of the apex or *I longa* in the case of the great majority of words with *gn*, some of them, like *magnus*, of so frequent occurrence that this absence can hardly be accidental<sup>4</sup>; (4) the citation

<sup>2</sup> An additional point made by Marx, to the effect that in words like *agnōscō*, *cognōscō* the vowel of the preposition must be long because of the loss of the final *d* or *n*, would not be urged by any one to-day. This is not the kind of consonant-loss which is accompanied by vowel-lengthening.

<sup>3</sup> W. Meyer's interpretation of the Romance evidence (K. Z. 30, 337), which enables him to square it with the supposed lengthening in Latin, and which would apply equally to the evidence of Germanic and Celtic borrowed words, is one which, while theoretically possible, is nevertheless distinctly improbable. It is true of course that Romance shows us the quality, and only indirectly the quantity, of Latin vowels, and that there are sometimes special factors which vitiate the usual reasoning from quality to quantity. A lengthened vowel *might* have the quality of the short vowel from which it came rather than that of the original long vowel, as in fact was the case in most Greek dialects and in Oscan (e.g. *ligud* for *\*lēgōd*, with *i* for original *e*, but *keenzstur* with *ee* for the *e* lengthened before *ns*). But as a matter of fact this was not the case in Latin, judging, as we are entitled to do, from the history of the lengthened vowel before *ns*, which gives the same result in Romance as an original long vowel.

<sup>4</sup> As there is no uniformity in the marking of long vowels on inscriptions, the *argumentum ex silentio* is a dangerous one, and should never be given weight against positive and unconflicting evidence of length. But if the quantity of the vowel is in doubt, one's scepticism of its length is naturally increased by the absence of inscriptional evidence of length, in the case of words of very frequent occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> Yet this principle is not followed out by Bennett quite consistently. If he gives so much weight to Priscian's statement as to assume vowel-length in *magnus*, *pugna* and many others for which there is no specific evidence, he should not hesitate to do the same for *agnus*. For the compound *ambiegnus*, although cited by others also (e.g. Havet l.c.) as evidence against the long vowel, really has no bearing on the question. To be sure it shows that the vowel of *agnus* was not long when the weakening took place. But it is well known that the weakening process antedated the vowel-lengthening before *ns* (cf. the relation of *\*hanslō*, whence *hālō*, to *\*hanhenslō*, whence *anhēlō*), and, similarly, the vowel-lengthening before *gn*, if such there were, would not have been early enough to interfere with the weakening process.

of *dignitās* as an anapaest by the grammarian Diomedes (Keil I, p. 470), who, in discussing the rhythmical arrangement appropriate to the end of a period, as shown by the practice of Cicero and others, has in mind, curiously enough, only vowel-quantity not syllabic quantity, as is shown clearly by his citations (e.g. *esse prō nobis* cited, l. c. p. 469, as a spondee preceded by an anapaest).<sup>1</sup>

The passage in Priscian, which plays the leading rôle in the discussion, is as, already noted, regarded as an interpolation by Havet, l. c., and by Cocchia, l. c. It is certainly clear, as pointed out in detail by Cocchia, that the passage stands in no proper connection with the immediate context, which deals with the formation of adjectives from proper names, and that it is most plausibly explained as a note made by a later grammarian to the statement, some lines back, “*Anagnia*” quoque quia *g* ante *n* habet “*Anagninus*.” This last asserts nothing as to the vowel-quantity before *gn*, and means simply that, while from most names in *ia* the adjectives end in *-nus*, as *Hispānus* from *Hispānia*, the adjective of *Anagnia*, owing to the *g* before the *n*, had *-īnus* like *Lūcerīnus* from *Lūceria*, etc.

But whether the passage in question was written by Priscian in the sixth century, or by some one else a century or two later, is, after all, not a vital question. Priscian himself, as is well known, sometimes mistakes syllabic length for vowel-length, and the statement made, whether by him or another, cannot, by itself, command much confidence. On the other hand, it will have some weight if supported by other evidence. Of the words specifically mentioned, three, *regnum*, *stagnum*, and *abiegnus*, may be accepted without question as having an

And even a single example of an apex or *I* longa may not be conclusive. Our text-books generally follow Marx in writing *māximus*. But taking into account the fact that vowel-lengthening before *x* is not to be admitted and that original length in this word is, to say the least, extremely improbable, we ought to attach less importance to the single example of an apex on an inscription which is not free from mistakes (e.g. *immolāvit*) than to the fact that there is no other example, although the word occurs hundreds and hundreds of times on imperial monuments, plenty of these showing the apex in other words.

<sup>1</sup> As further evidence for the short vowel have often been adduced: (1) the Greek transcription of *cognitū* as *κογνιτου*,—but this has little weight, as *o* is not uncommon as a transcription of Lat. *ō*; (2) the existence of *ambiegnus* beside *agnus*,—but this is wholly irrelevant (see above); (3) the occasional shortening in Plautus and Terence of the first syllable of *ignāre*, *ignōbitis*, etc., after short syllables,—but the usual assumption that initial syllables in which the vowel itself is long are never shortened is contested by Skutsch, *Satura Viadrina*.

originally long vowel. In the others, *benignus*, etc., the vowel was, almost certainly, originally short, so that the length would have to be attributed to secondary lengthening before *gn*. Turning to the inscriptional evidence, we find that four out of the six words with the vowel marked long are also such as have, according to their recognized etymologies, an originally short vowel namely *signum* (slgnum CIL. vi. 10234; sIgna Boissieu, Inscr. de Lyon p. 606; seignum xiv 4270; sIgnificabo vi 16664), *dignus* (dIgne vi 6314; dIgni x 5676), *privignus* (privIgno vi 3541), *ignis* (Ignis xi 826). From this it is evident that there actually existed in some words a pronunciation with lengthened vowel, and we ought not to maintain, as some do, that the statement in Priscian is made out of whole cloth.

On the other hand, the evidence for the short vowel, which has been briefly summarized above, makes it equally clear that even in these same words there also existed a pronunciation with the short vowel, while for most words there is no specific evidence for any other pronunciation than that with the short vowel. How are these facts to be reconciled? The true explanation is suggested by the history of vowel-lengthening before *r* + consonant.

In certain words like *ōrdō*, *fōrma*, etc., the evidence for a long vowel is so strong (incomparably stronger than in any of the words with *gn* cited above) that every one admits the length; and it is pretty generally recognized that in these the length is not original, but the result of lengthening before *r* + consonant. Yet no one maintains, on the basis of this fact, that the same is true of all words in which a vowel is followed by *r* + consonant, or even of all words for which there is an occasional example of an apex or *I* longa (e.g. *vIrtus*, *vIrgo*). The explanation of the apparent anomaly is as follows: (cf. also Seelmann, *Aussprache*, 91; Bennett, *Appendix* 63; Solmsen, *K. Z.* 34, 23; Osthoff, *Bezz. Beitr.* 24, 133). In certain localities or strata of society there existed a tendency to lengthen vowels when followed by *r* + consonant. But such a pronunciation remained for the most part a vulgarism, censured by the grammarians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Marius Plotius (Keil vi. 451, 5) mentions as a barbarism the pronunciation *pērnix*, and Pompeius (Keil v. 126, 5) refers to the mispronunciation of *arma* with long *a*. Yet Diomedes must have had this vulgar pronunciation *arma* in mind in the passage (Keil i. 469) where he speaks of it as a trochee. For, as noted above, he is observing vowel-quantity, not syllabic quantity.

Only in certain words it gained a wider currency and eventually became thoroughly established as the recognized pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

Similar, we believe, was the history of vowel-lengthening before *gn*,—up to a certain point. It existed as a locally or socially restricted pronunciation. In some words, judging from the inscriptional evidence, it gained more currency than in others. But, in contrast to the history of vowel-lengthening before *r*+consonant, not even for these words does the evidence as a whole warrant the assumption that this became the recognized pronunciation. Forms like *sīgnum*, *dīgnus* are not on the same footing as *fōrma*, *ōrdō*, etc., but rather on a par with *fīrmus*, *vīrtūs*, *Hērculēs*, etc.

Our conclusion, then, is that for the cultivated language, which is what we aim to represent in our pronunciation and spelling a long vowel before *gn* is to be recognized only where it is long in origin, as, for example, in *rēgnum*.

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<sup>1</sup> The attempt to draw the line exactly between words in which the pronunciation with a long vowel became established and those in which it did not, is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. Yet we can make what is probably a close approximation to the truth. The long vowel is rightfully recognized by all scholars in the case of *fōrma*, *ōrdō*, *ōrnō* and their

derivatives, where the inscriptional evidence is unusually strong and is also confirmed by the Romance. The long vowel is almost equally certain in the case of *Mārs*, *Mārcus*, *Lārs* (in these proper names it may be originally long; the question need not concern us here) and in *quārtus*, although some scholars write, e.g., *Marcus*, *quartus*. For in these the inscriptional evidence is every whit as strong as for *ōrdō*, etc., and the only conceivable justification for making a distinction would be that in *quartus*, etc., the long vowel is not confirmed by the Romance. But, as always in the case of *a*-vowels, the Romance cannot either confirm or refute the length. With *fīrmus*, which appears in most of our text-books as *fīrmus*, we cross the line, at least in the judgment of the writer, to the words in which the long vowel, though known, had not become established as the usual pronunciation. Five examples of the *I* longa are quoted by Christiansen (*De apicibus*, etc.), while the Romance forms point clearly to the short vowel. If any one should take the position that, while the popular speech, as reflected in the Romance, had the short vowel, the language of the cultivated classes, the High Latin, knew only the long vowel in this word, we could only maintain the extreme improbability of this view on general grounds. This vowel lengthening before *r*+consonant we do not regard as a characteristic of the cultivated speech which worked its way downward into the popular speech, but rather as a characteristic of some particular phase of popular speech, which in some words spread throughout the popular speech and lastly to the cultivated language. We regard *fīrmus*, then, as a vulgarism which was not uncommon, as shown by the number of examples with the apex, but which did not become the usual form in the popular speech, much less in the cultivated speech. Among the numerous other words in which the vowel is occasionally marked long on inscriptions, as *Hērcules*, *fōrtuna*, *vīrtus*, etc., there is none in which it is at all likely that this pronunciation was generally adopted.

#### ON THE SO-CALLED 'INDECLINABLE OR ABSOLUTE USE' OF IPSE, AND ALLIED CONSTRUCTIONS.

IN the Latin Grammar of Gildersleeve and Lodge § 311. 2, Note, the following words occur: "Livy seems to use sometimes ipse in connexion with a reflexive as if it were indeclinable or absolute: cum dies venit, causa ipse pro se dicta damnatur, L. iv. 44, 10."

The statement requires examination. In the first place this 'absolute' use of ipse does not necessarily occur 'in connexion with a reflexive' e.g. Livy 29. 2. 2. *Romani quoque imperatores...iunctis et ipsi exercitibus per agrum Ansetanum...pervenire*; also 45. 10. 2. *dimissis et ipse Atticis navibus...navigare Aegyptum pergit*. Weissenborn quotes further Tac. Germ. 37. *Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi amisso et ipse Pacoro infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit*? Indeed Livy iv.

44. 10. happens to be the only instance cited of ipse supported by a reflexive in this 'absolute' construction.

Secondly, one may ask why the terms 'indeclinable or absolute' should be used at all? When I write 'ipse pro se locutus damnatur' is ipse 'indeclinable or absolute'? In Gildersleeve's citation ipse though logically subject of 'causa dicta' is grammatically nominative to 'damnatur,' and no outrage is done to Latin syntax. Madvig (*Kleine Philol. Schr.* p. 367) has fully dealt with the question as far as concerns ipse, quisque, and plerique, but what I would like to emphasize is (1) that the construction even with these three words is not 'a peculiarity of Livy's style,' that Sallust and Caesar employed it before him, that the 'peculiarity of Livy's style' is his use of



the gerund in the ablative as an indeclinable present participle, not the addition of *ipse*, *quisque*, and other words which are then employed neither in an 'absolute' nor 'indeclinable' way; and (2) that a case like '*causa ipse pro se dicta*' is only a special instance of a general attempt to treat the ablative absolute as if it were an aorist participle in the nominative or accusative case.

Weissenborn has shown how frequent this is in Livy and how it occurs in Sallust. I desire further to demonstrate the frequency of this attempt in Caesar and Nepos, and to illustrate the various forms of it which are to be found both in these authors and in Livy.

It may be 'worth' while to give the references which I have collected from my own observation and from Weissenborn (*a*) of *ipse* and participle (already cited) Livy 4. 44. 10., 29. 2. 2., 45. 10. 2., and Tac. Germ. 37. (*b*) of *ipse* and ablative of gerund Livy 24. 4. 9., 25. 23. 11., 26. 39. 5., 27. 27. 6., 39. 49. 3., 40. 23. 1., 41. 24. 2., 45. 35. 8. (*c*) of *quisque* and participle Livy 21. 45. 9., and 32. 24. 4., but also Sallust Jug. 18. 3. *exercitus eius...amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabatur*, (*d*) of *quisque* and ablative of gerund Livy 2. 38. 6., 4. 31. 2., and 4. 43. 11. (*e*) of other subjects than *quisque* with ablative of gerund. Livy 9. 29. 2. *pertinaciam gerendo solus censuram obtinuit*, 22. 34. 10., 24. 5. 8., and 38. 17. 8. (42. 53. 3. though sometimes quoted is not much to the point) (*f*) of *plerique* with participle Livy 33. 9. 11.—an instance which, I find, is anticipated in Caesar Bell. Civ. 3. 95. *Nam, qui acie refugerant milites, ...missis plerique armis* (= τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες οἱ πολλοί)...magis de reliqua fuga...cogitabant, and which is a case of Greek 'partial apposition,' (cf. Livy 21. 14. 1. *repente primores...argentum aurumque...in ignem ad id raptim factum concientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt*) only a less bold Graecism than Bell. Gall. 1. 53. *Duae filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est*.

Weissenborn has shown (2) that constructions like '*causa ipse pro se dicta*,' are by no means confined to *ipse*, e.g., Livy 1. 7. 11, *dextra Hercules data accipere se omen ...ait*, and his instances may be, I think, conveniently divided under two heads (*a*) 'simple' i.e., where the subject lies between noun and participle as in the case just quoted, or (*b*) 'compound' i.e., where the subject lies between two ablative absolutes, e.g.,

1. 52. 1. *Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius collaudatisque, qui Turnum ... poena adfecissent, ita verba facit*. Under (*a*) he quotes 21. 31. 9. *Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus...21. 48. 5, missisque Hannibal primum Numidis...22. 17. 7. agmine Hannibal traducto...24. 25. 3. clausis Adranodorus Insulae portis ... , 41. 10. 13. contione adveniens de Manilio et Junio habita... , and 44. 31. 15. vix gladiatorio accepto decem talentis, ab rege rex... (where however *ab rege rex* is not 'hineingezo-gen').*

He might have instanced 1. 39. 2. *ferunt ...sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum...*—a peculiarly appropriate order: for of the 'reges' mentioned a few lines earlier Tanquil (*eam*) was decidedly the better half, and, doubtless, Livy desires to emphasize the fact that it was she who quelled the tumult and not the king. Again he might have pointed out how 1. 4. 6. '*tenet fama ... eam (sc. lupam) summissas infantibus adeo mitem praeuisse mammas*' is similar. The order of '*summissas*,' with '*mitem*' between it and '*mammas*,' shows clearly that Livy read it αὐτὴν καθέισαν ... παρασχεῖν.

Under (*b*) he cites 4. 49. 7. *Bolis insequente anno receptis Aequi coloniaque eo deducta ... oppidum firmaverunt*, and 42. 55. 5. *sacrificio rite perfecto consul et frumento dato militibus paucos ... moratus dies...militem ad Larisam ducit*—an interesting case because the ablative absolute is followed by a deponent (as in 21. 34. 4., 25. 35. 2., 45. 7. 5., 45. 26. 11., and elsewhere *passim*). He might also have instanced 1. 10. 5. *inde exercitu victore reducto ipse ... spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensâ fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit*, and 23. 28. 4. *omnibus omissis rebus ambo duces...iunctis copiis obviam ire... parant*.

Livy cannot be counted the inventor of either device. Of (*a*) Weissenborn himself provides an instance from Sallust Cat. 18. 5. *Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius...consilio communicato parabant... consules interficere*, and in Caesar and Nepos I have noted the following: Bell. Gall. 1. 44. *simulata Caesarem amicitia... (i)*, 2. 11. *Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus ...*, 5. 49. *Quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar allatis (= acceptis) ...*, 6. 9. *cognita Caesar causa...*, 6. 17. *neglecta quispiam religione...7. 1. Indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis...*, Bell. Civ. 3. 12. *Recepto Caesar Orico. 3. 62. quibus ille cognitis...*, Nepos. Paus. 5. 1. *His rebus ephori cognitis*,

Dion 2. 5. hoc aeger sumpto..., Hann. 7. 4. Hoc responso Carthaginienses cognito..., and perhaps Datam. 4. 5. hunc Datames victum..., Datam. 5. 5. Talibus ille litteris cognitis..., and Paus. 2. 6. Huius Pausanias voluntate cognita... (In these examples from Caesar and Nepos the frequent occurrence of cognitus is noticeable.)

Of (f) I find five cases—Bell. Gall. 7. 34. Qua re cognita Vercingetorix omnibus interruptis eius fluminis pontibus ab altera Elaveris parte iter facere coepit., 7. 77. Depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaue illata calamitate finibus nostris aliquando excesserunt., Bell. Civ. 3. 103. Quibus cognitis rebus Pompeius deposito adeundae Syriae consilio...Pelusium pervenit., Nepos. Hann. 10. 1. Sic conservatis suis rebus Poenus illis Cretensibus omnibus ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit., and, perhaps, Them. 4. 5. Hac re audita barbarus nihil doli subesse credens...confluxit.

In all the instances quoted (with the exception of Livy 44. 31. 15., and those in which ipse and quisque are combined with an ablative gerund) the position of the subject eases the construction, which was, no doubt, assisted by three principles:—(1) the desire of Latin to tell the elements of its story at once by bringing forward subject and object. Examples occur without number in the classical period e.g. Cic. De Off. 3. 22. 86. *Hunc Fabricius reducendum curavit*..., Tusc. 5. 39. 115. *Polyphemum Homerus cum ariete conloquentem fecit*, etc. etc: (2) the wish to give emphasis to particular words e.g. Nepos. Dion. 6. 2. *accepit gravissimum parens vulnus morte filii*..., Livy 1. 20. 2. *insignique eum veste...adornavit*, etc. etc.: (3) the anxiety, perhaps, to avoid the collocation of words with similar terminations e.g. Nepos. Paus. 4. 2. *has ille litteras ephoris tradidit*., Livy 22. 23. 10. *cum tertia ipse expedita* in statione erat, etc. etc.

But cases like 21. 21. 1. carry the construction with which we have been dealing one step further. Livy there writes 'Hannibal...in hiberna concesserat ibique *auditis*, quae Romae...acta decretaque *forent*, *seque* non ducem solum...esse belli.' There can be no doubt that '*auditis*' was ἀκούσας to Livy: if '*forent*' does not prove it, at least '*seque esse*' is conclusive. I know no other instance of accusative and infinitive after *auditis* in Livy, (Curt. 5. 35. has 'Alexander, audito, Darium movisse...fugientem insequi pergit') but he repeats the 'dependent question' in 25. 13. 9. *auditis quae...agerentur*, 44. 30. 12. *auditis quae...gererentur*, though in 24. 23. 3. he writes the indicative—aud-

itis quae Syracusis acta erant. His usage also fluctuates with exponere. In 42. 21. 7. he has 'is expositis quas in Corsica res gessisset...triumphavit,' in 44. 35. 13. 'Octavium...exposito quid pararet Heraculum petere iubet,' (Curtius however 4. 13. 37. gives 'exposito quod nuntiatum erat'), and 43. 7. 7. 'exposuit...ea, quae Persei bello praestitissent...', but in 43. 3. 6. quae missa erant...exposuit.

After other verbs, as after exponere, in the ablative absolute, he puts the subjunctive e.g. 42. 25. 2. *relatis ordine quae vidissent*., and 44. 45. 10. *editis quae agi...vellet*., while subjunctives also occur in 43. 11. 2. *legatos...miserunt, qui comperta quae agerentur referret*., and after edita erant in 45. 34. 4.

An instance like 22. 6. 8. 'ignari omnium quae post se agerentur' is a constructional confusion for which I can find no exact parallel.

I have already quoted 44. 35. 13. *exposito quid pararet*. It is unnecessary to observe that this device practically begins with Livy, (see Roby, § 1251) unless we include Caes. Bell. Gall. 7. 52. '*exposito, quid iniquitas loci posset*' where most editions read '*exposuit*.' He uses it not infrequently and employs both dependent question and accusative with infinitive after it e.g. 31. 39. 4. *ad Pluinam est progressus nondum comperto*, (= οὐπω πηθόμενος) *quam regionem hostes petissent*., 33. 41. 5. *cognito vivere Ptolomaeum*, 37. 13. 5. *cognito hostium naves ad Aethaliam stare...Corycum...traiecerunt*., and 44. 28. 4. *cognito deinde...quinquaginta onerarias...inclusas esse...onerarias, datis, qui prosequerentur, decem lembis in Macedonia mittit*. [Add 5. 19. 9. *edicto ne quis...pugnaret*, and 10. 36. 7. *edicto ut...pro hoste haberetur*, and 44. 7. 11. *incerto quidnam agendum foret*.]

The words '*dati qui prosequerentur lembis*' lead to a final device which, perhaps, also begins with Livy (I find no instance in Sallust, Caesar or Nepos). I mean the reproduction of στρατιώτας διεβίβασεν προπέμψας οἷτινες...παραστήσονται by 'copias traiecit praemissis, qui...animos conciliarent' as in 21. 23. 1. (cp. 39. 24. 10. *missis qui prosequerentur*...). Indeed in the last five extant Books of Livy there are at least seven instances viz. 40. 49. 5., 42. 38. 10., 43. 18. 6., 44. 23. 9., 44. 35. 2., 44. 46. 1., and 45. 32. 8., while cases of a similar nature are 40. 39. 5. *haec nova adlata res omissis* (= ἀφέντα), *quae agere instituerat*, Flaccum raptim deducere exercitum ex Celtiberia cum coegisset etc., and 41. 2. 11., 42. 31. 7., 42. 44. 8., 45. 28. 8.

On such occasions Caesar is most particular to avoid omitting the antecedent, or treating the relative clause as 'subjective,' e.g. Bell. Civ. 1. 24. Pompeius, *iis* rebus cognitis, quae *erant* ad Corfinium gestae, ... 2, 17. cognitis *iis* rebus, quae *sunt* in Italia gestae..., 2. 18. cognitis *iis* rebus quae *sunt* gestae..., and 3. 13. cognitis *iis* rebus, quae *erant*...gestae..., and in cases like Bell. Gall. 2.7. (cf. 1.37, 2. 29., 6. 3., etc.) 'vicis aedificiisque, quos adire poterant, incensis, ad castra...contenderunt,' the noun always precedes the relative clause, and the step from 'incensis, quos adire poterant, vicis' to 'incensis quos vicos adire poterant'—the

genesis, probably, of Livy's method, as in 42. 21. 7. expositis quas in Corsica res gessisset—never, perhaps, suggested itself to Caesar: at the same time Bell. Civ. 3. 78, quique erant ex vulneribus aegri, depositis approximates to the Livian usage, as also a similar instance in Nep. Lys. 1. 5. undique, qui Atheniensium rebus studuissent, eiectis, decem delegerat...quibus summum imperium potestatemque omnium rerum committeret.

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January, 1901.

## REVIEWS.

### TUCKER'S PROEM TO PLATO'S REPUBLIC

*The Proem to the Ideal Commonwealth of Plato.* With Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes by T. G. TUCKER, Litt.D. (Camb.), Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). 6s.

PROFESSOR TUCKER deserves to be congratulated on a careful and scholarly piece of work. It may indeed be doubted whether the first book of the *Republic* with its difficult and sometimes sophistical reasoning is altogether suitable as an introduction to the study of the so-called Socratic dialogues, but there was room for such an edition as Professor Tucker has undertaken, and he has done his work well. If the present reviewer has occasion to differ from him on a good many points, I hope it will not be set down to the proverbial jealousy of the Hesiodic potter, but rather to a desire to reach the truth. In the interpretation of Plato, as most Platonic students will agree, Truth lies too often *ἐν βυθῷ*, and it needs the cooperation of several independent workers to bring it to the surface.

The text of Professor Tucker's edition is, in the best sense of the word, conservative. He has resisted the temptations to which Herwerden and others of the Dutch school of criticism have constantly succumbed, and preferred sober and sensible exegesis to hasty and ill-considered 'emendation.' A distinguished Platonic scholar has somewhere said that the first duty of Plato's editors will always be to eject the glosses and adscripts which disfigure the text, and has set the example by the plentiful use of square

brackets, which, as he himself most truly observes, 'nemini nocent.' The edition before us avoids this error, and reasonable scholars will experience a sense of relief when they find the characteristic peculiarities of Platonic style for once religiously preserved and conscientiously explained, instead of ever listening to the wearisome cry 'Apage putidum interpretamentum!' wherever Plato is more than usually Platonic. In the matter of orthography, indeed, Professor Tucker follows the new lights. We find for example *ἡρῆμένος, ἀπότεισον, φιλονικεῖν, ἀξιολύ, ὄντων* where Paris A has *εἰρημένος, ἀπίσιον, φιλονεικεῖν, ἀξιοί, ἔστωσαν* (or *ἔστων*). In most of these and similar cases the evidence of Inscriptions may be quoted in favour of the new spelling, but I do not find sufficient evidence—apart from the *ipse dixit* of Cobet and his followers—to justify us in everywhere rejecting the contracted optative singular in -οῖ, which is, to say the least, the common spelling in Plato's best MSS. In the imperative, *ὄντων* is of course abundantly attested by Inscriptions; but is there a single instance in which MSS. preserve the form? The fact is that the relationship between the spelling of literary and inscriptional documents deserves a more thorough investigation than it has yet received, and it should be remembered that Plato's dialect in particular is by no means a mere copy of the vernacular, but a highly literary idiom in which there are not a few survivals of so-called Ionic and poetical forms of words. See Hirzel *Der Dialog* i. pp. 246–250 nn. In the



meantime Professor Tucker seems to me to be on the whole consistent in his employment of a spelling which at all events probably comes nearer to that of Plato than the spelling of the MSS. It is, however, surely an error to maintain the old distinction between ἔγγονος 'descendant' and ἔκγονος 'child' (364 E). A reference to Meisterhans-Schwyzler *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 107 will show that ἔγγονος and ἔκγονος are in reality only two ways of spelling the same word: and indeed in 364 E the meaning 'son' or 'child' is alone appropriate.

To pass to matters of more general interest.

I am glad to see that Professor Tucker retains the reading of the best MSS. in 349 D ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐοικέναι, 363 A ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐδοκμεῖν ὄντα τῷ δικαίῳ and 365 B ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δοκῶ. In defence of ὁ δὲ 'the other' he might have referred to 339 E (τοῖς δὲ for τοῖς δὲ ἀρχομένοις), 343 D, and ix. 587 B. The scribe in A understood ὁ δὲ in the same way; for a pause is inserted in that MS. after δέ. It is matter for regret that recent editors have adopted the cumbrous and cacophonous reading of Stephanus ὁ δὲ μὴ, μὴ ἐοικέναι. In 363 A ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐδοκμεῖν ὄντα τῷ ἀδίκῳ has the authority of some inferior MSS., but Professor Tucker does well to revert to the most authoritative reading τῷ δικαίῳ. A careful examination of the argument proves that τῷ ἀδίκῳ is indefensible. Much the same may be said of the reading ἐὰν μὴ καὶ δοκῶ in 365 B. Professor Tucker is also right in his explanation of βλάβειν (364 B) as '(they undertake) to injure,' but he is mistaken when he supposes that this interpretation is new, for it is given by Schneider in his *Additamenta* p. 11. Good as Professor Tucker's work is, I venture to think that it would have been still better if there were more evidence that he had carefully studied the literature of the subject. Not to speak of the many monographs in which special points are discussed and illustrated, I do not find any indication of such a study of Schneider's admirable edition and translation as might reasonably be expected of an editor even of part of the *Republic*, and there appears to be no sign of any acquaintance with Schneider's *Additamenta*.

The grammatical notes are for the most

part excellent, and there is no edition of Books I. and II. in which so much attention is paid to the explanation of Plato's language. Of positive errors—as they seem to me—I have noted few. One is the explanation given of κρίσιν in ii. 360 D τὴν δὲ κρίσιν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου περί ᾧν λέγομεν, ἐὰν διαστησώμεθα τὸν τε δικαιοτάτον καὶ τὸν ἀδικοτάτον, οἷοί τ' ἐσόμεθα κρίναι ὀρθῶς. Professor Tucker translates τὴν κρίσιν αὐτὴν as 'the actual (practical) choice,' but the meaning surely is 'we shall be able to give our judgment' etc.: compare ἴν' ἀμφοτέροι—κρίνονται and εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἐκκαθαίρεις in 361 D. There are of course many other passages in which it is permissible to differ from the editor, such as for example 331 B, where I believe οὐκ ἐλάχιστον agrees with τοῦτο, 336 B (ἡκεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς), and 351 B εἰ μὲν ὡς σὺ ἄρτι ἔλεγες ἔχει, ἡ δικαιοσύνη σοφία), where the MS. reading may be defended by ii. 359 B and ix. 589 D. In particular, Professor Tucker's suggestions on the text, few in number though they are, should be received with caution. They will be found on pp. 94, 96, 126, 181 and 215 of his edition.

The Introduction gives a tolerably full account of the argument, interspersed with occasional illustrations from other dialogues of Plato and elsewhere. There is also a succinct account of the characters and a few paragraphs on the 'Composition of the *Republic*.' Professor Tucker holds that 'the first book, approached whether from the point of view of (a) the philosophy, (b) the handling, or (c) the language, implies a composition both early and independent. The internal evidence for this view is complete in every particular.' The subject is too vast and complicated to be adequately discussed within the limits of Professor Tucker's edition, still more in a short notice like the present. I can only say that so far from being 'complete in every particular,' the internal evidence in favour of the view which Professor Tucker adopts appears to me wholly inadequate to establish his case. The conservative view is defended with great ability and insight by Hirzel *Der Dialog* and by Joseph Hirmer in his *Entstehung und Komposition der platonischen Politeia*.

J. ADAM.

JACKSON ON THE *EUEDEMIAN ETHICS*.

*On some passages in the Seventh Book of the Eudemian Ethics.* By HENRY JACKSON, Litt.D. Pp. 52. Cambridge, 1900. 2s.

IN discussing a great many passages from the Seventh Book of the Eudemian Ethics and in proposing new readings in most or all of them, Dr. Jackson has shown, it is needless to say, great knowledge, skill, and acuteness. No one can read what he has written without learning something from it or without admiring the insight which he constantly shows in dealing with a difficulty. His suggestions are always clever and sometimes very attractive. He seems, for instance, to suggest just what is wanted, when in 6, 12 and 13 he turns ὁρεκτός into οὐκ ἐχθρός: in 10, 11 τῷ ἴσῳ into τόκον (taking κ to = ισ and the terminations to be immaterial): in 10, 31 παντί τινος into τί ἀντί τίνος: in 3, 7 διὸ εἰρηκέναι νείκος ὁ ἐρώμενος τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι into διὸ εἰρηκεν Αἰνικός 'ἐρώμενος τοιαῦτ' ἂν, οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι,' thus introducing the comic poet Aenicus (?), whose name we know, and a quotation from him. He makes much use of the theory of terminations abbreviated and then wrongly filled in again, and his applications of it are sometimes highly ingenious.

These proposals are very taking and may probably enough be right. On the other hand I am bound to say that many of the suggestions here made fail to persuade or even to attract me. Not only are they sometimes rather complicated, involving a good many hypotheses; but, what is a greater objection, the expression and meaning suggested are often to my mind unsatisfactory. On a bold conjecture which gives us a good meaning in a good shape we look with indulgence, even with admiration. But the conjecture is less defensible, when after all it gives a meaning or a form which is very much open to question. Such in my opinion

are 1, 14 τὰ δὲ ἄχρηστα καὶ ἂ τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάλλουσιν, 'even those parts of themselves which are so': 6, 6 εἰ δὴ τὸ συζῆν: 10, 34 where πρὸς τὸ πλούσιον εἶτα τί δοθέν is converted into πρὸς τὸ τί δοὺς ὠνεῖται τί δοθέν, the theory being that τί δοὺς ὠνεῖται τί δοθέν is equivalent to τί ἀντί τίνος ὠνεῖται. In 2, 20 I am unable to see the point of ἕως ἂν ᾧσιν ἀκρατεῖς (MSS. ὡς ἂν): *ib.* 38 ἀγαπάται γὰρ τὸ εἰνοεῖν εὖ ὅζειν δὲ μὴ (MSS. συζῆν δὲ μὴ) is ingenious, but the sense supposed surely very doubtful: *ib.* 14 ἐστὶ νῆ Δία for ἐστὶν ἡ Δία needs a good deal of defence. Particularly I would venture to challenge Dr. Jackson's negative sentences, sometimes when he retains, sometimes when he alters the 'vulgate. It would take considerable argument to persuade one that either of the following is possible: 2, 20 οἷδ' οὐ φιλοῦσι μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πρώτην φιλίαν; 'it is not, however, true that they are not fond of one another': *ib.* 39 τὰ μὴ ταχὺ γιγνόμενα μηδὲ ῥαδίως οὐ, 'what comes into existence slowly but surely.' I have like doubts about 9, 2 τὸ μὲν ἔν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐνός, οὐ δ' ἔν (MSS. οὐδέν) in the sense of ἔν δ' οὐ.

Since these lines were written, we have had to deplore the death of the scholar to whom Dr. Jackson dedicates his book, Franz Susemihl, last editor (1884) of the *Eudemian Ethics*. An industrious, accomplished, and sagacious scholar, he laboured much at less well-known treatises like this, the *Magna Moralia* and the *Oeconomica*, as well as at the more familiar and attractive *Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, and *Poetics*. His edition of the last in particular was most serviceable, full of matter and yet handy. Invaluable also for its collection of facts is the elaborate two-volume *Literature of the Alexandrian Age*.

H. RICHARDS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## APOLLO SMINTHEUS, RATS, MICE, AND PLAGUE.

THE story of a host of mice, or rats, or ants, who destroy an army by gnawing its bowstrings, is of such wide diffusion that I doubt if the animals can indicate plague,

either by metaphor (as Mr. Cree suggests) or as vehicles of infection. Field mice, who appear in the Egyptian legend of Herodotus (ii. 141) and in the name 'Smintheus,' are

remote from houses and infection. Rats, in China (Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 13) are more suspicious. They also gnaw, in the story, the bowstrings of an army. But so do ants, in the Satapatha Brahmana, and ants do not convey infection or destroy standing corn. The legend of mice gnawing bowstrings occurs in the mythology of the Creek Indians of North America, and also in the mythic history of the Utes in the same country (Powell, *Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, l. 51). The Red Indians have

no bubonic plague. Here, then, in China, India, Egypt, and North America we have the same tale of an army defeated, or at least deprived of its artillery, by field mice, rats, or ants. I scarcely think that bubonic plague can have anything to do with this fable. Apollo of Sminthos is perhaps addressed in *The Iliad* merely as a local Apollo, without any thought of field mice or infection in the poet's mind.

A. LANG.

## CLASSICS IN EDUCATION.

### TWO LETTERS TO A CLASSICAL FRIEND.

#### II.

My Dear —,

I resume my story. A few years since I spent much time over Mommsen's History of Rome, and I then read again the two books of Livy which I had taken up so long before. Later on I turned to Caesar and read through the whole eight books of the Gallic War. These prose texts I was able to read, not without pains, but still as literature, and therefore with interest and a kind of pleasure. Then a friend of mine asked me to coach a medical student in two books of Horace, the third and fourth of the Odes. I objected that I had never read the Odes, but I was assured that my knowledge of Latin was sufficient for the purpose in hand. And so, in fact, it proved. Later still, I found a neighbour whose classical knowledge was about equal to my own, though gained by the reverse process, viz. a school education without the experience of the 'Varsity. He was willing to join me in reading through the four books of the Odes. Will you ask the result? I find that, so far as I am concerned, an Ode of Horace is the literary equivalent of a Chinese puzzle. With pains I can solve the puzzle or construe the text; but the result has neither beauty nor meaning. The whole thing leaves me weary and indifferent. One stanza of FitzGerald's Rubaiyat means more to me than all Horace put together. With the Horatian sentiment, the Horatian view of life, I have been familiar, oddly enough, from boyhood upward, when I learned it, not from Latin verse, but from the English prose of Thackeray. My failure to enjoy Horace (and Poetry, as

H. Nettleship said, is nothing, if it cannot be read and enjoyed) might be due to the fact that I was never properly grounded in Latin quantity and metre. And even today I can nowhere find any intelligible account of the relation between metre, quantity, and accent, in Greek and Latin verse. Consider for a moment what this means. From the sixteenth century to the close of the nineteenth, the classic poets have formed the staple of our higher education. The principal merit of classical poetry lies admittedly in the perfection of its form. And all poetry is primarily addressed to the ear. Yet our teachers are content to employ, both in Greek and Latin, a mode of pronunciation demonstrably barbarous; to perpetuate mechanically, in the case of Greek, a system of accents which in speech they ignore; while in Latin, whether spoken or written, accent is neglected altogether,<sup>1</sup> and though a theoretical importance is attached to quantity, it is not thought worth while to indicate it in writing, and in spoken utterance it is constantly set at nought. Such an habitual disregard of the essential conditions on which the apprehension of poetic art depends, goes far to justify the suspicion that the classics have neither been taught nor learned from the love of Poetry. If Latin lived on the lips of our teachers, I think the Odes of Horace would have conveyed more to me than they do.

My love for Lycidas and Adonais, and even my indifference to the Bucolics of Virgil, now led me to attempt Theocritus. I might as well have read so many consecutive pages of Liddell and Scott. And when

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Granger's letter in *C.R.* for June, p. 282.—ED. *C.R.*



Liddell and Scott come in at the door, Poetry flies out at the window. Clearly Theocritus was a task beyond me, a task for the man who makes the study of classical literature the main business of his life. I must be content to let that go. I had wished to follow downwards the tradition of pastoral poetry. That must now be left to others.

On many accounts I was attracted to the Homeric poems. Their place at the beginning of Greek Literature, at the head of the epic tradition, their surpassing fame, the testimonies of Virgil, Milton and Shelley, all predisposed me in their favour. I hoped to gain from them fresh light on that antique world which I was studying in the pages of the Old Testament. The use made of Homer in the writings of Mr. Lang, as well as his own contagious enthusiasm, added to the inducements which led me to make this attempt. I was prepared by previous experience to find the difficulties considerable. I found them even greater than I anticipated. To read an epic in this way is like looking at a tapestry through a magnifying glass. You see the stitches, but the design is lost. Still, I have somehow made my way through the first twelve books of the Iliad. Frankly, I find it detestable. Let me remind you once more that I am not passing judgment, I do but register the results of much painstaking labour. The vile jargon in which the poem is composed, half barbarism and half affectation; the inextricable confusion of the accidence, which keeps the reader in continual perplexity and embarrassment; the peculiar vagueness and obscurity of the vocabulary, which prevent him from receiving any clear or forcible impression; the sickening conventionalities of the style, the rhetoric and rhodomontade, the verbosity and diffuseness, the set phrases and recurring formulae, the epithets without meaning and adjectives which go without any word; the interminable declamation, as of the professional reciter mouthing polysyllables at so much a verse; the uniform monotonous flow of twaddle disguised in verbiage; the disjointed succession of episodes, without unity, or plan or progress; the tedious elaboration of trivial detail; the prating heroes and ignoble gods; have left upon my mind a sense of absolute nausea. A plaster cast from Brucciani's exceeds the value of the whole.

Of course I do not put this forward as a final estimate of Homer. There may be something there that I do not see, there

may be a point of view from which all that disgusts me takes on a different aspect, or at least sinks into insignificance. What Homer conveyed to the native Greek, what it may convey in our own time to the classical scholar, to Mr. Lang or Prof. Jebb, I neither know nor care. My quarrel is with the almost inconceivable pedantry which has selected such a text as an instrument of ordinary education, or a means of literary culture. Out of my unlucky experience, one broad result has clearly emerged, and for myself at least, is henceforth placed beyond the possibility of doubt. *The classical literature is by its very nature a study for the specialist; no real appreciation of it is possible except to the specialist; and classical education is the education of the specialist or it is nothing.* A subject so alien, so remote, so difficult, so technical, so elaborate, so artificial, can have no value for the purpose of general education. The fallacy which you classical men commit is that of supposing that the ancient languages and texts have, or can have, for your pupils, the same significance that they bear to yourselves. While I am writing to you there comes to hand an advertisement of a method of instruction in pianoforte playing, which has for its object 'a complete separation of the *musical* and *mechanical* elements in teaching and practice.' I do not know whether this is practicable, but I am sure that the distinction drawn is of real importance for the teaching of literature, and this not only because (as I have sometimes said to you) a boy's classics are the equivalent of a girl's music, a conventional accomplishment to which education is sacrificed. For most of us, what is called classical education means no more than an imperfect, and therefore useless, acquisition of the mechanical or linguistic part of the study; and that which alone has, in the Greek sense, *musical*, or, as we say, literary value, is never really assimilated. The texts read remain not a literature but a chrestomathy. We ask for bread and you give us a stone. In order to impart, in nineteen cases out of twenty, a mere smattering of the grammar and rhetoric of two dead languages, you have sacrificed all the opportunities of culture and the faculties of the mind. So far from inspiring the love of letters, it would be nearer the truth to say that you have stifled it. So far from communicating a real knowledge of any part of literature, you have stopped the way with your costly and useless commodities, your display of learning with-

out life. In the few cases where your system has the only success of which it is capable it produces the professional scholar, for whom I have no less respect than yourself, though perhaps a less exclusive admiration. In the vast majority it generates the prig, taught to flatter himself upon his acquirements and to prefer form to substance; the smug, versed in his especial task of book-learning and ignorant of all beyond; or the dunce, whose small capacity has been extinguished by those who should have developed it. If I am angry with such a system as this, if I regard it as an imposture bearing to a true system of education the relation that quackery bears to medicine, if I feel that its existence is the greatest obstacle to the diffusion of genuine culture, and that an incalculable liberation of mental energy would follow from its abolition, will you say that I am wrong? If so, you have to show that the ordinary schoolboy, the average undergraduate, gets more out of the classics than I do; and I fancy you will find this no easy task. Perhaps you will ask what I would substitute. Substitute what one can reasonably expect an intelligent lad to master, to assimilate, to retain, and to employ. For the faculties of the mind are cultivated by exercise, and they are exercised only upon

those objects which form an integral portion of our mental life. For you, my dear —, the Classics fulfil this function, but for most of us it can never be so. For most of us Greek has no more value than Hebrew. It is a mere clog on the mind's action. I would have a lad well grounded in Latin that he might the better comprehend the Latin element in the modern languages. Let him learn, if you like, to read with facility, and with a correct pronunciation, the Latin prose authors, but let the poets be read, if read at all, only in select passages which should be learned by heart, and declaimed aloud. French and German must form an essential part of modern education, and surely it is important to guide the youth into what is best for him in those literatures. I hold strongly that an educated man ought to comprehend the history of the language and literature which may properly be called his own. Surely here is scope enough. Would that I had employed upon such studies the hours that I have wasted on the barren pages of Horace and Virgil, of Euripides and Homer!

I am ever, my dear —,

Your candid friend,

G. H. S.

October, 1900.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### OAK AND ROCK.

HEKTOR in his famous soliloquy before the final encounter with Achilles considers and rejects two possible means of avoiding the fight: (1) he could take refuge within the walls of Troy—but this would at once bring upon him the bitter reproaches of the Trojans; (2) he might lay aside his armour and make an offer of ample atonement to Achilles—but his overtures, he fears, would probably be futile; Achilles would only take advantage of his unarmed condition to slay him on the spot. At this point occur the obscure lines (*Il.* 22. 126 ff.) which form the subject of the present paper:—

οὐ μὲν πως νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης  
τῷ ὀαρίζεσθαι, ἃ τε παρθένος ἡϊθέος τε,  
παρθένος ἡϊθέος τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλουιν.

They are followed immediately by the heroic conclusion: 'Nay, better is it to charge

again and that with all speed; so shall we know to which of us two the lord of Olympus will give glory.'

Before discussing the meaning of these disputed verses it is worth while to note their external resemblance to some other passages in the context. Twice within the next seventy-five lines do we get the same telling but rather affected device of an echo-line, *i.e.* a line in which the principal words of a previous line are repeated and slightly expanded, the repetition in each case being asyndeton and double or anti-thetic in form. In 157 f. we read of Hektor and Achilles—

τῇ ῥα παραδραμέτην, φεύγων, ὃ δ' ὀπισθε διώκων  
πρόσθε μὲν ἑσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δέ μιν μέγ'  
ἁμείνων.

And in 199 f.—

ὥς δ' ἐν ὀνείρω οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν  
οὔτ' ἄρ' ὃ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὃ διώκειν.

No exact parallel to these lines has been quoted, the nearest being the *epanalepsis* of *Il.* 23. 641 f., cp. 6. 395 f., 20. 371 f., *Od.* 1. 50 f. The peculiarity may therefore fairly be considered a mannerism, indeed a mark of the same hand. It betrays a somewhat pensive and reflective author, whose composition differs widely from the rapid, vigorous style of the *Mēvis*. Various editors and critics have felt this and sought to better the text by excising the individual lines 128 (Jordan, Leaf and Bayfield), 158 (Bekker, Düntzer, Nauck), 200 (Leaf, ed. 1): but there are grounds for supposing that the interpolation is more extensive—see Ameis-Hentze *Anhang*, viii. 8 ff.

The critical question does not, however, affect the exegesis of lines 126 f., with regard to which very diverse opinions have been held in modern times. Messrs Pratt and Leaf in their edition of 1880 translate: '*It is no time now to dally with him from oak tree or rock like youth with maiden, as youth and maiden hold dalliance together.*' To them, as to Van Lennep (on Hes. *Theog.* 35), the picture seemed to be that of happy ease in a forest, where youth and maiden sit by rocks or trees and talk together. But a love-scene with a rustic background, though all very well in Theocritus, is quite out of place in an early epic. Such an exhibition of romantic attachment is in fact foreign to the whole tone of pre-Alexandrian literature: *vide* the late E. F. M. Benecke's *Women in Greek Poetry*. Besides, Greek backgrounds are, so to speak, apt to be part of the foreground: I mean, they are as full of significance as the human figures acting in front of them. To explain the 'oak tree or rock' as mere properties would be hardly less absurd than to mistake the damsel in the tree on the exquisite coins of Gortyna or the rock-seated swain on those of Arcadia for idyllic creations of the artist's fancy.

Dr. Leaf duly repented of his hasty view and in his larger edition (1888) suggests that 'an oak and a rock may have been interlocutors in some primitive fable, the knowledge of which, if attainable, might explain all allusions. Suppose, for instance,' he says, 'that an oak and a rock dispute in summer time which of them is the father of mankind. The oak points to primitive man making his hut under its branches, and living upon its acorns. The rock is silenced till storms and winter come, when man is glad to take refuge, not under the bare and dying branches, but under the unchanging shelter of the rock, in whose

favour the controversy is thus decided.' Such a story might even be regarded as having relation to a conflict between the two ancient objects of human worship, "stocks and stones," which lie at the root of so many early religions. The belief that an oak or a rock was the actual progenitor of man is at least not inconsistent with what we know of primitive thought...The meaning of the present passage will be *I have not even so much as a tree or a rock*, the traditional protectors of the human race, *to shelter me so that I could hold converse at my ease—as easily as a pair of lovers dallying together.*' On this showing, then, the force of ἀπὸ δρυός and ἀπὸ πέτρης is limited to the main sentence and does not extend to the relative clause; the word ἀπό denotes 'from the shelter of'; while oak and rock are specified as totems, or at least as objects at once natural and supernatural, connected with man by the closest ties of worship or even kinship, and therefore bound to assist him in his hour of need. All this is, no doubt, possible; though, as Dr. Leaf himself admitted, it 'can have no other support than that it would explain the passages where the phrase in question occurs.' It may, however, be asked whether the meaning thus obtained really suits the situation described by the poet. 'I wish I had a divine or semi-divine shelter, that from it I might parley with Achilles being as much at my ease the while as lover and lass.' But surely a man in mortal peril would not think of insisting on perfect tranquillity; commonplace security would satisfy him. And if Hektor had even commonplace security, we may be certain that he would drop all thoughts of parley: *a fortiori*, if he bore a charmed life in the shadow of a sacred oak or rock, he would not talk of making overtures to Achilles.

Some such considerations probably suggested themselves to Dr. Leaf; for in the joint edition which he brought out with Mr. Bayfield ten years later (1898) he materially modifies the hypothesis. The editors translate: '*Surely in no wise now may I begin with the oak or the rock and chat with him, like a youth and a maid,*' adding '*i.e.* he will not listen to a long story from me "beginning at the Deluge," as we say... It looks as though some ancient fables or myths about the Rock and Oak had come to be referred to proverbially to indicate any long-winded story, just as we say "a cock-and-bull story," meaning a silly and false one. What the original stories may have been it is hardly worth while to guess.' We remark



that Dr. Leaf has apparently abandoned the idea that the proverbial oak and rock refer to early objects of worship or to traditional progenitors: 'the original reference,' he says, 'is altogether obscure.' He now treats 'oak and rock' as a synonym for any long-winded tale without risking a guess as to its antecedents. But why 'long-winded'? The epithet begs the question. Again, is *δαρίζω* *ἀπό* *τινος* normal Greek for 'I chat, starting from the topic of'? Either *ἐκ*, as in Theocr. 17. 1 and Arat. *phaen.* 1 *ἐκ* *Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*, or an adverb in *-θεν*, as in *Od.* 8. 500 *ἐνθεν ἐλών*, would be more natural.

Göttling (on Hes. *Theog.* 35) found in the oak and rock an allusion to the earliest oracles of the Greeks, the *ὀϊκόμοσ* *δρυὸς* of Dodona (*Od.* 14. 328, 19. 297) and *Πυθῶ πετρήεσσα* (*Il.* 9. 405). This allusion, he thought, when stereotyped as a proverb, was applicable in 'eo genere suasionum admonitionumque, quod ad suscipiendum aliquid vel ad abstinendum a proposito magnopere impelleret.' He paraphrases our passage: 'si vellem cum Achille non armis, sed verbis contendere et confabulari, quemadmodum cum virgine amasius, non ille mea verba sic veneraretur, ut voces quasi oraculorum audire sibi videretur.' This presumably implies the translation: *It is not now possible to make to him as an oracle from oak or rock such soft speeches as man and maid, man and maid make one to the other.* But *ἀπὸ δρυὸς . . . δαριζέμεναι* would thus have to mean 'to make soft speeches with all the authority of an oak-oracle'! Besides, as Preller in *Philologus* 1852, p. 21 rightly urged, a general term like *πέτρα* could not without further qualification denote a particular place like Delphi. Equally impossible was Hermann's explanation (*Opusc.* vi. 155). He too believed in an allusion to oracles, but thought that the expression 'oak or rock' had come to connote *μὰψ αὐτως* because men did not know who uttered the oracular voice. To which Göttling retorted: 'hoc dignum erat Menandri aevo.' Both scholars were probably misled by Plat. *Phaedr.* 275 B, where Sokrates for his own purposes brings our proverb into connexion with the oak of Dodona: *οἱ δὲ γ', ὦ φίλε, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δωδωναίου ἱερῷ δρυὸς λόγους ἐφῆσαν μαντικούς πρώτους γενέσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε, ἅτε οὐκ οὔσι σοφοῖς ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι, ἀπέχρη δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας ἀκούειν ὑπ' εὐηθείας, εἰ μόνον ἀληθῆ λέγοιεν.*

Ameis-Hentze were better advised in seeking the origin of the proverb in the early mythology of Greece. Commenting on *Il.* 22. 126 they say: '*ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ*

*πέτρης*, cp. τ 163 *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου, οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*, a proverbial phrase referring to myths which told how men sprang originally from trees and rocks. Here, however, the word *ἀπὸ* marks the point of departure (*Ausgangspunkt*) for *δαριζέμεναι*, *starting from*, cp. *ἐνθεν ἐλών* in θ 500. The sense is: It is impossible now to prate at length to him of old and well-worn themes, such as how the war began and how we might settle it peaceably by restoring Helen (vv. 114–116); it would produce about as much effect upon him as though I were to tell him some old-world tale like those told by a man and a maid in their confidential chat.' This explanation is, I believe, on the right track. But it still presents some grave difficulties: (1) Was the beginning of the war sufficiently remote to be described by a phrase importing an antediluvian antiquity? And (2) why should young men and maidens in their lovers' talk waste time by telling each other old-world tales? Was this human nature even in heroic days? Again, the elucidation of the passage is incomplete unless we provide some answer to the further questions: (3) How comes *ἀπὸ* to be used of the *Ausgangspunkt* of *δαριζέμεναι*? Ameis-Hentze cite no parallel, and we have seen that other modes of expression would have been more natural. Finally (4) what is the exact relation between this passage and the other epic passages in which the proverb is found?

I agree with Ameis-Hentze in holding that the starting-point of our solution must be a comparison of *Od.* 19. 162 f. Penelope there urges the disguised Odusseus to tell her who he is:

*ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μοι εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος, ὅππότεν ἔσσι·  
οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ  
πέτρης.*

Odusseus declares that he is a Cretan of Knosos, where Minos once reigned *Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστῆς* (179), and adds that his father was Deukalion the son of Minos. Now it is not a little remarkable that the word *δαριστής*, which occurs nowhere else in the *Odyssey*, should here too be found in the neighbourhood of the oak-and-rock proverb. The coincidence encourages us to interpret the *Iliad* passage by the help of this. And in this there is fortunately no doubt as to the meaning of the phrases *ἀπὸ δρυὸς* and *ἀπὸ πέτρης*. They denote lineal descent from oak and rock.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the

<sup>1</sup> Ample evidence of this belief on Greek soil has been collected by Preller in *Philologus* 1852 p. 1 ff., Welcker *Griechische Götterlehre* i. 777 ff., G. F. Schömann *Opuscula* ii. 125 ff., and others.

context shows that Penelope regards such lineage as fable rather than fact. Her words may be paraphrased: 'Tell me your pedigree; for presumably you have ancestors whose names you can quote and do not accept as your forbears the stocks and stones of which the old saw speaks.' The sceptical tone of the last line proves the extreme antiquity of the expression. If at the time when the *Odyssey* was composed belief in such descent was clearly on the wane, that belief must have been, to say the least, of it, prehomeric. But to what prehomeric source can we look for its exemplification? Odusseus himself supplies an answer. Taking a hint from Penelope's final fling, he feigns to be a Cretan of Knosos. Thanks to the researches of Mr. Arthur Evans it is now notorious that at Knosos there flourished in prehistoric times a 'tree and pillar cult,' in which both stocks and stones were the symbols of the Cretan Zeus (*J.H.S.* xxi, 99 ff.). Minos, according to our earliest source (*Il.* 13. 449 ff.), was the son of this Zeus, ὃς πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτη ἐπίουρον· | Μίνως δ' αὖ τέκεθ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονα Δευκαλίωνα. He was therefore in the strict sense of the words ἀπὲ δρυός and ἀπὸ πέτρης. Mr. H. R. Hall (*The Oldest Civilisation of Greece* p. 294) pertinently asks whether the back of the famous throne in the palace of Knosos, fashioned in the shape of an *oak-leaf*, may not be the emblem of Zeus. If so, the king of Knosos actually sat on a throne that notified his descent from the sacred tree. Again, I would point out that the name Deukalion in this connexion may be significant. Was there in Crete also a legend of men sprung from stones? However that may be, it is at least clear (1) that in this old-world phrase ἀπὸ denotes lineal descent from stocks and stones, and (2) that in the Homeric age such descent had come to be received with incredulity. It is also suggested, if not proved, by the context (3) that δαριστής means one who talks familiarly with another, a party to a duologue.<sup>1</sup>

In applying these results to Hektor's words in the *Iliad* it will be convenient to begin with the force of the verb δαρίζω. For the point of the passage, unless I am mistaken, lies in the appropriateness of this verb to two very different scenes: (a) a parley between a couple of warriors, and (b) a tête-à-tête between two lovers. The word seems to have covered originally any

'palaver' or 'talky-talky.' But it early acquired narrower and more specialised meanings. All the examples in the *Iliad* can be grouped under two denotations according as they have reference to the intercourse (a) of war, or (b) of love. On the one hand (a) in *Il.* 17. 227 f. Hektor concludes a harangue to his men—

τῶ τις νῦν ἰθὺς τετραμμένος ἢ ἀπολέσθω  
ἢ σαωθήτω· ἢ γὰρ πολέμου δαριστὺς.

And in *Il.* 13. 291 Idomeneus the Cretan speaks of Meriones as

πρόσω ἱεμένοιο μετὰ προμάχων δαριστύν.

On the other hand (b) in *Il.* 6. 516 Hektor ἢ δάριζε γυναικί (the famous colloquy of vv. 405-494); and in *Il.* 14. 216 f. we are told of Aphrodite's *kestos*:

ἐνθ' ἐνὶ μὲν φιλότῃς, ἐν δ' ἔμερος, ἐν δ' δαριστὺς  
[πάρφασις, ἢ τ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.]

The passages cited under (a) are commonly taken as metaphorical, the metaphor being drawn from usage (b). They would thus be examples of grim irony: 'such is the coquetry of war,' 'to join those who are flirting in the front ranks.' But it is possible, or even probable, that they refer rather to the preliminary brags and boasts so characteristic of a fight between Homeric chieftains: 'such is the language of the battlefield,' 'to join those who challenge each other in the front ranks.' In either case it appears that δαρίζω is regularly used of a parley between chiefs as well as of a talk between lovers.

We have then as materials for our explanation, in the first place the force of δαρίζω—it denotes a palaver, whether military or amatory; and in the second place the force of ἀπὸ δρυός κ.τ.λ.—it denotes descent from oak or rock, mythical ancestors not to be taken too seriously. But, it will be asked, what has mythical ancestry to do with δαριστὺς bellicose or otherwise? To this question a modern Greek would probably answer 'Nothing': an ancient Greek would certainly have answered 'Much.' Few topics are so frequent in the speeches that prelude an epic combat as the high lineage, real or fictitious, of the combatants. An interesting parallel to our passage is to be found in Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish*. The poet, describing how the Indians 'began to parley with Standish,' makes the chief Watawamat boast that 'He was not born of a woman, | But on a mountain, at night, from an oak-tree riven

<sup>1</sup> With Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής cp. Ex. 33. 11 'The Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend.'

by lightning.' Again, a betrothal in Homeric times would certainly have included a minute investigation of the family tree. Even in the Theocritean *Ῥαριστύς* (note the title) we find the following instructive passage (Theocr. 27. 41 ff.):—

## ΔΑΦΝΙΣ

Δάφνις ἐγώ, Λυκίδας τε πατήρ, μήτηρ δὲ Νομαίη.

## ΚΟΡΗ

ἐξ εὐγενέων· ἀλλ' οὐ σέθεν εἰμὶ χερείων.

## ΔΑΦΝΙΣ

οἶδ', ἄκρα τιμὴ ἐσσί· πατήρ δέ τοι ἐστὶ Μενάλκας.

Rivalry of this sort rather than any softer sentiment is what we should expect from the *παρθένος ἡθιεύς* τε of Hektor's speech.<sup>1</sup>

I conclude that the general sense of the *Iliad* passage may be given thus: 'Useless to attempt a parley with Achilles, bragging of descent from mythical ancestors! Such bragging may suit the credulity of young men and maidens. But for Hektor and Achilles only one course is open—instant fight.' The literal rendering will be: '*By no means now may one parley with him of descent from stock or stone, as lad and lass, lad and lass parley each with the other.*'

This translation indicates one remaining difficulty. I have assumed that ἀπὸ δρυός... ὀαρίζεσθαι can be used for 'to parley of descent from' etc., as though it were ὡς ἀπὸ δρυὸς ὄντα ὀαρίζειν. The juxtaposition of ἀπὸ δρυὸς without a participle and of ὀαρίζεσθαι is, I fully admit, awkward. But it may be contended that after using ἔστιν in one sense the poet would hardly have used ὄντα in another. Moreover a similar ellipse is found, oddly enough with the same verb, in the *Hymn to Hermes*, 170 ff. βέλτερον ἥματα πάντα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι ὀαρίζειν, | πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν, πολυλήιον (sc. ὄντα), ἢ κατὰ δῶμα | ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἡρώεντι θαασσόμεν. See further Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 875, 902, 911.

A word in conclusion with regard to the subsequent history of the expression. From 'boasted ancestors of a fictitious sort' to 'boasted origins of a fictitious sort' is not a far cry. And the proverb was extended to include the latter as well as the former. But this extension rendered the preposition

ἀπὸ sometimes inappropriate. Accordingly in Hes. *Theog.* 35 we read ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρυὶν ἢ περὶ πέτρῃν; The author has been relating the story of his original inspiration by the Muses on Mt. Helikon: suddenly he stops with this line, which means 'Why dilate on first beginnings of this conventional and incredible kind? Why not proceed to my main theme without further delay?' In *Iliad* 22. 126 ἀπὸ not περὶ is used because the thought of actual descent is still present. The Hesiodic rhapsodist substitutes περὶ for ἀπὸ, because 'oak' and 'rock' to him mean early origins in general with the same connotation ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθώδες ἐκ γενεαλογίας. We have perhaps a parallel to this later abandonment of ἀπὸ in the remarkable series of proverbs ἀπὸ Ναννάκου (Macar. ii. 23, Suid. s.v. Νάννακος), τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου (Zenob. vi. 10 cod. B, cp. Apostol. xv. 100), τὰ ἐπὶ Ναννάκου (Macar. viii. 4, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰκόνιον), where ἀπὸ Ναννάκου apparently denotes the pedigree of the early Phrygian kings, and τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου is used to describe the primeval institutions of Nannakos—a thought more fittingly expressed, though in less consecrated language, by τὰ ἐπὶ Ναννάκου.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

## DE VISSER

## ON GREEK INFRA-HUMAN GODS.

*De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam.* M. W. DE VISSER. Leyden. 1900 pp. i-iv, 1-283. 4 M. 50.

THE fact that M. de Visser's book is a 'doctor-dissertation' would seem to indicate that he is, relatively speaking, but at the commencement of his researches in Comparative Religion. So much the more credit is in that case due to him for having combined the rôles of classical scholar and anthropologist so successfully as he has done. That the scholar should predominate over the anthropologist is but natural, seeing that he has set himself what is primarily a scholar's task, namely the compilation of *Schrift-quellen* to illustrate Greek Religion on what might be loosely termed its 'pre-anthropomorphic' side. Book I. (pp. 3-31) and Book III. (pp. 209-70) are, as in bulk, so in intrinsic value decidedly inferior to Book II. (pp. 32-208). The former of these supplementary parts enunciates the

<sup>1</sup> There is, perhaps, a reminiscence of our passage in the *Hymn to Hermes*, 54 ff., where we have another combination of ὀαριστύς and pedigree: αἶδεν... ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπὲδιλον, | ὡς πάρος ὤριζεσκον ἑταίρει φιλότητι, | ἦν τ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ὀνομάζων.



author's anthropological presuppositions; the latter offers a *vindemiatio prima* of conjectural elucidations. Now the methods of the palaeontologist of culture are unhappily by no means so exact as to enable any given fragment of bone to be with certainty referred to this or that typical form of skeleton. Moreover many of the fragments collected by M. de Visser are woefully minute and battered. Hence it were manifestly unfair to expect from our author any connected account of the 'origins' of Greek Religion as such. It is in fact rather as a protest against 'philological' attempts to do this very thing that his work claims our favourable regard. Viewed in this light, namely as an almost monotonous, but by no means unnecessary, reiteration of the caution 'For Greek Religion *vide* General Anthropology,' his supplementary books ought at least to serve to remind the purely classical scholar of his limitations. On the other hand, the contribution in the way of raw material is so lucidly presented as to offer the greatest assistance to the student whose business is the interpretation of 'survivals,' so long as the latter possess even a moderate acquaintance with the Greek language.

To deal first with Book II—four categories of sacred objects are recognised, Stones, Stocks, Trees and Animals. The first class ranges from ἀργοὶ λίθοι to cones, obelisks, pyramids, columns, hermae, and so forth. It was, perhaps, natural to consider in this context the ἐρμαῖα, or roadside cairns to which each wayfarer was wont to add his quota; though, according to M. de Visser's hesitating conjecture, the stones are but a substitute for the gifts once showered on certain holy spots, 'totemistic altars' or what not, and are thus in themselves not sacred. He may be referred to Mr. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus* (2. 204–11) for a far more probable explanation of the rite in question. If the stones be supposed (like the grass, twigs, etc., similarly heaped up by savages) to represent a formal means of communion with a local 'power,' such a power being always more or less of a δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων, a being equally capable of beneficent or malevolent action, we are at once furnished with a general clue, and in particular are enabled to bring the ἐρμαῖα into relation with the widespread custom, possibly alluded to in Eustath. ad *Od.* 16. 471, of piling a cairn on the murderer's grave (as may likewise be done in regard to the grave of a famous warrior, cf. Adair. *Hist. Am. Ind.* 184).

The class of Stocks is provisionally distinguished, because the author—wisely, as I think—inclines to make the connection hinted at in Tyler's compound expression 'stock-and-stone-worship' rather than to explain ξόαῖα and the like in terms of Tree-worship understood as the cult of certain vegetation-spirits. Under this head we are presented with a rather miscellaneous group of facts, including τροπαῖα, παλλάδια, and the wooden phallus of Hermes Cyllenius.

As regards Tree-worship proper, the data, though numerous, are unfortunately somewhat lacking in illustrative quality, being in considerable part supplied by coins, gems, wall-pictures, and names of more or less doubtful etymology and history.

The section on Animal-worship, on the other hand, provides us with much that excites, if it does not go far towards satisfying, the passion for interpretation. Instances are given of relationship being claimed with animals (p. 129), of taboos on killing and eating them (*ib.* and p. 132), and of their burial with solemn rites (p. 133 and p. 135), which at once suggest an endless number of parallels taken from savage custom. It is a pity, by the way, that the indirect evidence adduced in Book III. in support of the view that the Greeks were addicted to 'Totemism' was not given a substantial place in this section. It might likewise have thrown light on the many-sided character of Greek Animal-worship if the writer had not limited himself rigidly to the phenomena of cult, but had also levied a contribution on mythology with its 'Gorgons and Hydras and Chimaeras dire.'

Speaking generally, M. de Visser's citations are well-chosen, well-arranged, and copious. His list is, perhaps, not ideally complete. For example, Mr. L. R. Farnell points out to me the omission in connection with Totemism of any mention of the Ὀφιογενεῖς (Pliny, N. H. 28. 30, Strabo, p. 588. Varro ap. Prisc. 10. 32); in connection with the question of sacred boundary-stones discussed pp. 212–3 of a reference to Demosth. *Halonnes*. p. 86 βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου; and, as regards the ἐρμαῖα, of any allusion to another scholiast on *Od.* 16. 471 who, taken together with Eustathius *ad loc.*, suggests the curious problem whether the Roman milestones may not have had a religious origin. Still, as it stands, the 'heap of witness' to M. de Visser's industry is of goodly proportions and of the greatest value.

As to Book I, my criticism put shortly

amounts to this, that M. de Visser, finding himself forced to choose amongst a number of representative theories, has, for brevity's sake, if not through excess of faith, ventured to give to the fruits of his eclecticism an appearance of system and finality such as the present state of our knowledge most certainly does not warrant. Thus he dogmatically posits Animism as the basis of universal religion without noting the ambiguity of the term as used by anthropologists. He does not distinguish between the attribution of mere life, and that of soul or spirit, to material objects, with the result that he is forced quite unnecessarily to postulate an 'animus' which inhabits the aerolite or the stone held sacred in virtue of its peculiar shape. Or again, Fetichism as defined by Schulze and Totemism as explained in Frazer's manual are made mutually exclusive as relating respectively to individual material objects and to classes, whether of these or of animals and plants. But how can he stomach such a fact as that the sun is with Schulze a fetich and with Frazer a totem? Once more as regards Animal-worship, he has borrowed from Frazer's *Golden Bough* the notion of a plurality of irreducible forms of theriomorphic cult: yet he cannot refrain from hunting in company with Jevons after the mare's nest of a universal homogeneous 'totemistic religion.' In a word, our author seems scarcely to realise that these and such as these are but the temporary labels marking the capacious pigeon-holes into which anthropologists are still busy shooting their raw facts almost at random; and that they can contain in themselves no principle of explanation so long as their connotation remains almost wholly indeterminate as at present.

That the elucidations which compose Book III are sparse and tentative constitutes in my opinion a proof of the author's good sense and moderation. His researches yield virtually no crucial instances in the matter of origins; for these he must go to savagery, and, I would add, to savagery as studied at first-hand. Meanwhile, he has little to say about Stone-worship that carries us back behind the bare facts as cited by his authorities. His attempt to connect the veneration of Trees and Animals with Manes-worship comes to nothing. Or again, as regards his laborious inquiries concerning Totemism, is there any use in trying to find it in the background of Greek or Indo-Germanic religion till one knows more precisely what one is looking for? To take but one example of the looseness of his argument,

he puts down the ceremonious burial of *cicadae marinae* practised by the Seriphians (pp. 226-7 cf. p. 135) as totemistic on the strength of a parallel custom in respect to owls quoted in Frazer's *Totemism* from Samoa. Yet in Tylor's *Remarks on Totemism*, with which M. de Visser is presumably acquainted, since he quotes it in his notes to pp. 13, 14, it is shewn at some length that the ascription to the Samoans of totems in any sense of that much-abused word is an utterly gratuitous piece of hypothesis (J. A. I. New Ser. 1. 142-3).

Meanwhile, the section on the progress of anthropomorphism in Greek religious thought stands by itself as a valuable contribution to a subject which it is well within the compass of the classical scholar to illustrate and explain. It is just at the point at which customary religion becomes markedly self-conscious and self-justificatory that the student of savage beliefs comes to the end of his clues. The actual transition to what may be called dogmatic religion presents a relatively untouched problem. Would he but focus his energies on this special point, M. de Visser with his knowledge of the facts, his *flair* for the primitive, his distrust of symbolistic interpretations, and his power of piercing through aetiological pretence, is capable of rendering the greatest of service to Comparative Religion.

R. R. MARETT.

## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C. R.* 1901, pp. 85, 136.)

SINCE the date of my last report (the middle of January) there has been comparatively little of great importance to record in regard to the excavations of the Forum. The work has been progressing steadily, though perhaps a little slowly—owing chiefly to the bad weather of the past winter, which has more than once caused the inundation of the low-lying portions of the Forum. In December the pavement of the Basilica Julia was flooded for 2 or 3 days, and the Stele of the Comitium has been under water no less than three times. Much attention has been devoted to stratigraphic exploration and the investigation of the contents of the numerous wells which still continue to appear. Much time, too, has been spent in the strengthening of buildings which seemed to be in a dangerous condition, and in the construction of a retaining wall upon the north-

east side across the end of the Via Cavour, where the limit of the land at the disposal of the Government has been reached without its being at present possible to complete the exploration of the Basilica Aemilia.

### I.—*S. Maria Antiqua.*

The exploration of *S. Maria Antiqua* has been continued, with interesting results. Burial below the level of the pavement of the church was not at all uncommon; some of the bodies have been placed in sarcophagi of earlier date, others are enclosed in tombs of contemporary masonry. In the outer church these graves lie within the area of a large, open piscina or water tank about 30 Roman feet wide by 80 feet long, and about 4 feet in depth. The marble slabs of its pavement are still in part existing. The north-west and south-east sides, which were the longer, were decorated with very shallow niches, alternately rectangular and curved; the north-east end has an ornamental flight of steps in the centre, in which was placed the fountain-jet which filled the piscina (this arrangement is frequently seen at Pompeii) while at the south-west end a few steps descend into the piscina. The orientation of this watertank (about 35° east of north) seems to indicate that it belongs to the imperial palace of the first century. It corresponds with that of other walls immediately to the north-east, of the brick drain which runs beneath the floor of the Augusteum, of the wall behind the apse of *S. Maria Antiqua*, and finally with that of those walls of the palace of Caligula which date from the time of its original construction (see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, sheet 29, *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 153–155). The evidence of the ruins themselves is confirmed by Suetonius, who tells us (Calig. 22) that Caligula ‘partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit.’

In the second century the Augusteum and the two halls connected with it were constructed upon a different orientation, and the piscina was partly destroyed by the concrete foundations which were sunk through it, what remains of it having been buried beneath the floor of the outer hall and thus preserved.

Lanciani has published an article on the subject of *S. Maria Antiqua* (*Bull. Com.* 1900, 299 sqq.) in which he cites further evidence—if more were needed—for the correctness of the name now applied to the church, namely, the dedicatory inscription of a fresco on the left of the apse ‘s(an)c(t)ae.

d(e)i . [genetri]ci . sem[perque virgini mar]iae.

It may be mentioned that the whole of the frescoes which have been discovered in the church are being copied on the same scale as the originals and with the greatest care and precision, and that the paintings of the inner church will be protected by a permanent roof. An interesting parallel to them is to be found in those of the earlier church of *S. Saba* on the smaller Aventine the remains of which have been recently discovered beneath the pavement of the church of 1205 A.D. Some of these paintings date from the sixth century, others are of later date. (See *Not. Scavi*. 1901 p. 10. *Aethnaeum*, 1901, May 25, 667.)

The interior of the Augusteum has also been excavated to the floor level, a long task now practically completed, which has as yet produced little of importance. Several pillars of opus mixtum of late date have been discovered, the *raison d'être* of which is not as yet clear.

The Augusteum and *S. Maria Antiqua* have a common façade towards the forum consisting of a line of seven brick pillars with brick columns, only slightly engaged, standing in front of them. The front wall of the hall which was converted into the church of the forty martyrs masks the last column to the south-east, and must therefore be of later date than the Augusteum. The space in front of this façade was used as a burying ground in connexion with the church of *S. Maria Antiqua*.

### II.—*Arch of Tiberius.*

A mass of concrete foundation, measuring about 20 ft. by 15 ft., has been unearthed in front (south-east) of the two south-western-most arches of the supposed rostra of Caesar. This is attributed by Boni (*Not. Scavi* 1900, p. 632) to the Arch of Tiberius.

It is not the first time that this foundation has been discovered—it was brought to light in 1852, when the viaduct which carried the road over the Forum was constructed (*Monteroli Osservazioni sul Foro Romano*, p. 11. *Jordan Topographie I*<sup>2</sup>, p. 211). The fact that it does not stand quite on the line of the road which skirts the north-east side of the Basilica Julia is no objection to the identification, as it appears that in origin, at any rate, some of the Roman triumphal arches were not intended to allow of the regular passage of vehicular traffic. (*Jordan Topographie I*<sup>2</sup>, 306, 307). And the arch of Tiberius must have stood almost precisely in



this position, as is shown by the relief from the arch of Constantine (reproduced by Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I, p. 259, fig. 34) which represents it as an arch with a single opening, situated between the Rostra,<sup>1</sup> and the Basilica Julia.

On the other hand, the fragments which were believed to belong to the inscription of this arch, and which were discovered precisely upon this spot, have, according to Mommsen (*Res gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. II. p. 126) no connexion whatever with it. If this be the foundation of the arch of Tiberius, it is difficult to see how Boni's theory as to the Rostra (see *C.R.*, 1901, p. 87) can be maintained. The arch in this position would have completely obstructed the south-western end of the Rostra of Caesar, and in that case we are again face to face with the necessity, if we accept Boni's theory, of supposing that, at some time or another, the semicircular structure faced with slabs of portasanta served as the Rostra. That this is impossible I have tried to show. (*loc. cit.*<sup>2</sup>) The construction of the concrete foundation of which we have been speaking led to the almost entire destruction of two of the small pits (*C.R.* 1900, p. 237) of which several have been found on the further side of the Forum. Traces of them were, however, recognisable, and the removal of the late pavement of the road skirting the north-east side of the Basilica Julia has led to the discovery of five more. Three of these, arranged at regular intervals, were, like the rest, empty; but the fourth, close to the south-easternmost of the row, and shallower than the rest (probably, therefore, of later date) contained a good deal of pottery of Roman date, including several cups with very small bowls, in shape somewhat resembling candlesticks, the use of which is uncertain.

The fifth, further on, has been found to contain pottery of Roman date, and wall plaster painted red. The discovery of more of these pits is to be anticipated.

Beneath this pavement was also found a fragment of the marble Forma Urbis, which had been used as a roofing slab in a small drain. This fragment bears the legend [th]

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Rostra of opus quadratum.

<sup>2</sup> I should have made it clear that I agree with Nichols in considering the semicircular structure to be the Graecostasis—that is, the Graecostasis of the late Republic, constructed perhaps only a few years before Caesar removed the Rostra from the Comitium. The arched structure, considered by Boni to be the Rostra of Caesar, I believe to be the Graecostasis of the second century B.C. Where the Graecostasis of the imperial period (see Jordan *Topographie* I<sup>2</sup> p. 243) is to be placed, is a problem as yet unsolved.

ermae [agrip]pae, and is believed by Boni to have formed part, not of the plan set up by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, to which belong all the fragments hitherto discovered, but to an earlier form of the plan of the city, probably that of Vespasian, set up in the year 75 A.D. This view, which appeared in the daily press, and is repeated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for December 1900, p. 634 (published in April), seems, however, to be incorrect. The main argument in its favour, that of the lettering of the inscription, was shown to be insufficient by Hülsen in a discussion of the subject at the German Archaeological Institute; and Lanciani in *Bull. Com.*, 1901, p. 3, *sqq.*, refuses to accept the earlier date. The peculiar interest of the fragment, according to its discoverer, was the fact that it represented the Pantheon at the time of the Flavii; but at that period the Pantheon, as Lanciani points out, was rectangular, not round. The edifice shown is certainly not the Pantheon of Hadrian, but, probably, the circular Caldarium of the Thermae of Agrippa, known as La Ciambella, though the representation is very inexact.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### ITALY.

*Vetulonia*.—The excavations of 1899 have yielded extensive results of early finds of the usual types from these cemeteries. Most notable are two large gold fibulae of the 'boat' type with long sheath-like foot, decorated with granulated work and figures of animals; they are similar to some found two or three years ago (*C.R.* 1899, p. 187). The workmanship is good, but they are of comparatively late date. Another remarkable find is a large bronze disc with two large Sphinxes and two Gryphons in relief, confronted in pairs. Among the many bronze objects, mostly of familiar types, may be mentioned a bronze file exactly corresponding to the modern form, and a candelabrum on four human legs with a rude figure on the top, of a warrior with helmet and shield dancing.<sup>1</sup>

*Perugia*.—A very rich Etruscan tomb has been found, containing a sarcophagus with skeleton; in the ears were plain earrings, and on the forehead a magnificent frontlet of gold leaves, with an oval medallion in the middle. On the medallion is a winged goddess standing before a *cista*, holding a mirror: at each end of the frontlet is a marine monster, half-human, half fish, holding a fish in each hand. Round the sarcophagus were various bronze objects: a support in the form of a winged goddess holding two oil-flasks; at her feet a monster with dog's head, bird's body, and snake-tail coiled round her right foot; a broken patera, the handle in the form of a draped woman; and a mirror with incised design of Adonis (*At[u]nis*) embracing a female figure

<sup>1</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct. 1900.

who is inscribed with the name *Lasa Achunana*. Probably the design is an excerpt from a larger composition, and this name is by a mistake for Aphrodite.<sup>2</sup>

*Rome*.—An inscription has been found in exploring the sanctuary of Juturna which may be dated to B.C. 4. It runs: IM... | POTES · XVII | I | COLONIA · IV | TERTIA DECIM[A | VTHINA · EX | INDULGENTIA · EIVS · AV[CTA. The fact that in the titles of Augustus (and in his alone) the *tribunicia potestas* always comes last, allows us to identify him as the Emperor, and this is supported by the palaeography of the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

Among the discoveries in the exploration of the Rostra the following is of some interest. There were found a small flower from a capital in peperino, a larger flower from a Corinthian capital, and a fragment of the decoration of the *transenna* or marble screen, all covered with remains of *opus albarium*. They appear to illustrate a passage in Cicero's *In Verrem*, ii. 1, 55, where he speaks of the columns of the Temple of Castor, *quas dealbatis videtis*, referring to the work done by Verres when aedile.<sup>3</sup>

Among traces of the old gardens of Sallust, recently investigated, there has come to light a headless female statue in Greek marble, wearing Doric chiton and apoxygna. It is five feet high, and of a Peloponnesian type dating from about 500–480 B.C. (cf. *Röm. Mittheil.* 1900, p. 181). It was found in an edifice built partly of *opus reticulatum*, partly of *opus quadratum*, together with amphorae, fragments of statuary, a fluted column of African marble, and a plain one of *cipollino*.<sup>4</sup>

In the Via dell' Ara Celi was found a fragment of a stone pedestal inscribed COSOLEDO...ONE CAPTOM. It may be classified with other records of the capture of Greek and Sicilian cities in the third century B.C., with the consequent removal of their works of art to Rome. Unfortunately in this case we cannot tell the name of the city.<sup>4</sup>

Outside the Porta S. Paolo a stone altar has been found with relief representing a four-wheeled cart drawn at high speed by two mules, the driver cracking his whip. The altar was an *ex-voto* offering by a muleteer named Severus to Epona, whose intervention had saved him from an accident. Further along the road were discovered tombs of the second century, belonging to the Gens Claudia.<sup>4</sup>

During the construction of a new Carmelite monastery, an enormous number of inscriptions have been found, mostly very uninteresting. One describes a *collegium* formed among the freedmen and servants of L. Tarius Rufus, under the presidency of his wife's physician Agrypnus, who died at the age of 27, and to whom a tablet was erected by his *mater calamitosa*. Another belongs to a banker from Reate, and a third to an imperial freedman who was a *caclator*; a fourth relates to one Grattius, *indigne subiectus morte nefanda, occisus calce et manibus* by a ruffian whom he thus apostrophizes: *Hoc opto, moriari malis exemplis cruciatus*!<sup>4</sup>

*Pompeii*.—A silver saucepan (*trulla*) of very fine workmanship has been discovered; the handle is ornamented with reliefs, consisting of a steering-oar with a dolphin twisted round the handle holding a polypus in its mouth; in the field, a crab and molluscs; at the base of the handle a sea-lion (?). Also 187 coins, mostly of the period from Tiberius to Domitian, all being bronze except one denarius of Domitian.<sup>1</sup>

*Pietrabbondante (Bovianum Vetus)*. A hoard of

bronze coins of Campania found here consists of 17 pieces of *aes grave* and 256 bronzes, mostly of Neapolis, also of Cales, Suessa, and Aesernia. Some appear to be coins of other places on which Neapolis legends and types have been impressed over the original design. Of the *aes grave*, some belong to the 'Apollo' series, some to that of 'Mercury and Janus.' The Aesernia coins cannot be earlier than 263 B.C., the year of the foundation of a Latin colony there.<sup>3</sup>

*Padula (Salerno)*.—As recorded in the *Notizie* of March 1900, p. 110, a fragment of a stone found here seemed likely to establish the position of the ancient Consilinum at the modern Padula. The rest of the stone has now been found, and that idea is confirmed. The whole inscription runs: M · VEHLIVS PRIMVS | CVR · R · P · COSILINATIVM | PORTICVM HERCVLIS | A SOLO IMPENSA · R · P · INS | TANTIA SVA · F · C.<sup>1</sup>

*Ceglie, Apulia*.—In 1898 a large tomb was discovered containing many fine Apulian vases. The two best were a hydria with Peleus surprising Thetis, and an amphora with volute handles: Obv. Perseus shewing the Gorgon's head to the Satyrs, and a 'courting' scene below; Rev. Dionysiac scene.<sup>1</sup>

*Tarentum*.—An important find has been made, of a gold stater coined at Tarentum in the time of Pyrrhus. On the obverse is a head of Zeus Eleutherios crowned, with AK; on the rev., an eagle on thunderbolt, and Athena Promachos; inscribed TAPAN. The Athena is the symbol of Pyrrhus (cf. the coins struck by him at Syracuse). Only two other examples of this type are known, one in Berlin (Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, pl. 5, fig. 17) and the other in the Hunter Collection at Glasgow (Macdonald's *Cat.* No. 22).<sup>3</sup>

#### GREECE.

*Aegina*.—Prof. Furtwaengler has now published full details of his excavations at the temple (see June Record, p. 287). The first excavations resulted in the finding of two heads from the pediments and numerous fragments of limbs, together with all kinds of small archaic votive offerings, and a Propylaea of considerable interest, within which were the two heads. Of these one is bearded with a helmet, and is from the left side of the eastern pediment; it corresponds to No. 86 in the Munich Catalogue. The other is beardless, with a Corinthian helmet, from the right side of the western pediment, and probably corresponds to No. 82. The Propylaea had on the S. E. an outer hall open to the south, and another inner one, each with eight octagonal pillars, mostly still *in situ*; also one capital remaining. On the north were three steps leading to the level of the temple; there are also remains of the terracotta roof, including a figure of a Gryphon. On the N. E. of the temple is an ancient water-pipe conducting the rain from the roof to a reservoir; near this were found fibulae, pins, and island-gems. To the south of the Propylaea were found terracottas: an Aphrodite with dove, a seated goddess of Ionic type, and lamps.<sup>5</sup>

The reservoir was afterwards cleared out, and contained fragments of marble tiles and Gryphon-antefixes, also fragments of limbs and seven marble heads, all helmeted. Two of these are bearded and three youthful, but it is not certain if they are from the pediments. A female head of more archaic type and a girl's head in a hood of about 480 B.C. were also found, together with the left hand of the Athena of the east pediment and the right hand of the

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Nov. 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dec. 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Athenaeum*, 15 June.

<sup>5</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 4 May.

fallen man in the middle of the western, holding not a sword but a stone. The temple terrace has also been cleared, and at the lowest levels Mycenaean idols and animals were found, together with rude hand-made pottery. Above these were fragments of Corinthian and 'proto-Corinthian' vases, porcelain figures and scarabs, and fragments of Naucratic pottery with white ground and inscriptions. Inside the temple were found traces of the base of the cultus-statue, and holes for wooden railings; on the east terrace, foundations of a large altar, and at the S. E. corner a row of chambers containing marble holy-water basins. All these remains belong to a good Greek period.<sup>6</sup>

On the south terrace blocks from an older building

appeared, which soon proved to belong to an older temple; later, architectural fragments turned up, with colours well preserved, including capitals with very flat echinus. This temple must have been early sixth century Doric. Among the débris of the terrace were numerous fragments of vases, not earlier than 500 B.C., and below these, remains extending back from the sixth century to the Mycenaean period. Of a later date the only remains were some fragments of Hellenistic vases with reliefs and Romans lamps. Among the architectural remains of the second temple there have been found some blocks from the horizontal cornice of the pediment, with sinkings for the pedestals of the pediment figures.<sup>7</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 18 May.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1 June.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

**Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc.** Vol. 7. Part 1, 1901.

*Die Analyse als Grundlage der Höheren Kritik*, A. Gercke. Shows with examples on what the higher criticism is based, how it stands towards linguistic criticism, and how it reaches its solutions (to be continued). *Alkestisstudien*, L. Bloch. Women have only a passive part to play in the older epos, and in Hesiod, where their position is more responsible, they have only duties, no rights. Later, in the time of the tragedians, women are only considered in Aeschylus as in subordination to men. In Sophocles, on the contrary, under the influence of the freer Ionian spirit, the woman stands free and equal with the man. Euripides, leaving the heroic, exhibits women of flesh and blood who are the subjects of passions, often of revenge; he is no absolute foe to the sex. His *Alkestis* can only be rightly appreciated if, putting modern prepossessions aside, we regard Admetus as much more the lord than the husband—in short as the Thessalian Hades (to be concluded). *Hermunduren und Marcomannen*, E. Devrient. These tribes, both belonging to the Suevian confederation, were for centuries in close connexion. The latter are first mentioned by Caesar, in connexion with Ariovistus, while Strabo first mentions the Hermunduri as, in 9 B.C., dwelling on both sides of the middle Elbe.

After 5 A.D. the Marcomanni who were settled between the Elbe and Frauenwald gave up their land to the Hermunduri and withdrew to Bohemia, whither the H. soon followed them. In the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 41) the Hermunduri traded briskly with the province of Rhaetia and possessed the land round the Fichtelgebirge, westward to the borders of the Chatti and the *limes Romanus* and eastward to the sources of the Elbe. Towards the end of the second century A.D. their name disappears. Ptolemy does not mention them. In 214 Caracalla set out to protect a tribe—no doubt the Hermunduri outside Bohemia—against the Alemanni, but he ended by coming to terms with the latter. In Bohemia the name of Hermunduri maintained itself some time longer. J. Ilberg eulogises the collected

speeches and scattered writings off U. v. Wilamowitz. E. R. Gast considers the uses of *cum* and contests the usual division of *cum*, temporal, causal, concessive, inverted, &c.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1901.

22 May. A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (W. Schmid) I. J. Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron et Cæsariana syntaxis quatenus a Ciceroniana differat* (A. F.), favourable. F. Antoine, *De la parataxe et de l'hypotaxe dans la langue latine* (H. Ziemer). 'What is new is not good and the good is not new.'

29 May. C. Gaspar, *Essai de chronologie Pin-darique* (O. Schroeder). Not fruitful in results. A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (W. Schmid) II., very favourable. E. de Jong, *De Apulcio Isiacorum mysteriorum teste* (C. Wessely), 'shows good judgment and diligence, but is very incomplete.'

5 June. K. Joël, *Der echte und der Xenophontische Sokrates* II. (A. Döring), unfavourable on the whole. Vol. I. appeared in 1893. S. Fighiera, *La lingua e la grammatica di C. Crispi Sallustio* (Th. Opitz), favourable. A. Cima, *Analecta Latina* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. E. Haugwitz, *Der Palatin, seine Geschichte und seine Ruinen* (H. Belling), unfavourable.

12 June. *Analecta sacra et profana* (W. Lüdtkke), favourable. J. Patsch, *Heinrich Kiepert. Ein Bild seines Lebens und seiner Arbeit*. Ph. Fabia, *La préface des Histoires de Tacite* (G. Andresen), favourable.

19 June. *Catalogue des Plombs de l'antiquité*. M. Rostovtsew et M. Prou (K. Regling), favourable. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Ausgrabungen in Griechenland* (P. W.). 'A beautiful little book which every one will be glad to read.' H. Willich, *Judaica* (H. Drüner), favourable. H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I. und ihre Quellen* (M. Ihm), very favourable. W. E. P. Pantin, *Easy Exercises in continuous Prose* (C. Stegmann). 'Gives the impression of a sensible and useful work.'



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# The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1901.

It is with great regret that we announce that increasing demands upon his time have obliged Mr. Cecil Smith to retire from his position as Associate Editor of this *Review*. Mr. Smith was the last of the triumvirate of scholars who assisted Prof. J. B. Mayor in piloting it through the beginning of its course, the other two being Prof. A. J. Church and Mr. A. M. Cook; and three editors in succession have had the benefit of his ready help and his skilled advice. Prof. Ernest A. Gardner, of University College, London, succeeds to the place vacated by Mr. Smith.

The scheme of the curriculum in Classics at the new University of Birmingham, which appeared in the course of this summer, presents a feature which well deserves a word of commendation. With the object of providing the Classical passman with pabulum less scrappy and unsatisfying than ordinarily falls to his share, the study of the particular Greek and Latin books prescribed is brought into connexion with that of the branch of literature to which they belong. Thus a play of Aeschylus will be studied in relation to the history of the Greek drama as a whole, a book of Virgil with due reference to the development of Roman Epic, and so on. In the words of the Prospectus: 'The University Courses are designed to embrace a study of representative masterpieces of Latin and Greek literature, which will be treated as literary wholes and from a literary point of view.

The three-year Course brings the student into contact with typical specimens of classical literature in the fields of Epic, Lyric, Idyllic, and Dramatic poetry, and of philosophical prose and literary criticism, and thus provides a basis for the historical and comparative study of English and other modern literatures.'

Dr. Peterson, of McGill University, Montreal, has discovered the lost *Codex Metellianus* of Cicero in a ninth century MS. of Lord Leicester's library at Holkham. A facsimile from this codex appeared some twelve or thirteen years ago in Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*; but otherwise nothing has been known of it till now. By deciphering an erased library mark Dr. Peterson has proved that the manuscript was once at Cluni, and is in fact the volume numbered 498 in the 'vetus catalogus bibliothecae Cluniacensis'—a catalogue compiled between the years 1157 and 1161. It would appear that the *Metellianus*, which was used by Gulielmus for the second and third books of the *Verrines*, was the same MS. as that 'codex Fabricii' which Lambinus cites in his second edition. A full collation of this important codex which contains also the *Catilines* and the *Deiotarus*, with a fragment of the *Ligarius*, with an account of its history and the proofs of its identity, is published by the Clarendon Press in the *Anecdota* series.

## ASSOCIATED REMINISCENCES.

It is notorious that a well-read writer constantly reproduces phrases that he has come across elsewhere. But it is not so often remarked that the borrowed phrase has a knack of awakening in his memory some other phrase to be found usually, though not always, in the source from which he is borrowing; and that, when this is the case, the borrower may proceed to utilise the second expression as well as the first. In other words, we are familiar with the fact that the phrase *A'* in the poetaster *Y* may be a reminiscence of the phrase *A* in the poet *X*. But it is also true that, in the mind of *Y*, *A* may recall *B*, a second phrase of *X*; and that the result may appear as *A'...B'* in the works of *Y*. It must be added that the whole process is sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious: to describe such examples of appropriation as plagiarism is to pronounce a rough and ready verdict on a case that may be extremely complicated.

If we now ask under what conditions *A* recalls *B* and thus gives rise to *A'...B'*, it is at once obvious that we are dealing with a particular application of a general law—the law of Association. Aristotle put the philosophy of the matter into a nutshell when he said τὸ ἐφεξῆς θηρεύμεν νοήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἢ ἄλλου τινός, καὶ ἀφ' ὁμοίου ἢ ἐναντίου ἢ τοῦ σύνεγγυς (*de mem.* 2. 451 b 18). His three methods of association, by similarity, by contrast, and by contiguity, are nowadays often reduced to two through the elimination of contrast. Thus Prof. W. James (*Principles of Psychology* i. 593) observes: 'Recent writers ...all reduce it [*sc.* contrast] either to similarity or contiguity. Contrast always presupposes generic similarity...Moreover, the greater number of contrasts are habitually coupled in speech.'<sup>1</sup> Accepting, then, the time-honoured sub-division into (1) cases of association ἀφ' ὁμοίου and (2) cases of association ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνεγγυς, I propose for clearness' sake to give some English examples of each before proceeding to discuss their classical prototypes.

(1) Those who dipped into a volume of verse published last year under the title of

<sup>1</sup> Others, *e.g.* Höffding (*Outlines of Psychology*, p. 152 ff.), recognise Association of Ideas by Similarity, by External Connection (Contiguity), and by the Relation between the Whole and the Parts—the last method being intermediate between the other two and transitional in character.

*Ad Astra* may have noticed a stanza (xl.) beginning—

'O thou, who somewhere braided billowy gold.'

The line has a familiar sound about it; and a moment's thought suffices to show that it is a conflation of two passages in the *In Memoriam*,—

'O thou that after toil and storm'  
(xxxiii.)—

and—

'O somewhere, meek, unconscious dove,  
That sittest ranging golden hair' (vi.).

Both pieces are a little altered or embellished in the patchwork; but the stuff out of which they were cut is unmistakable, and that the scissors have been used is further proved by their context. I have not, however, cited the line for the purpose of insisting on the imitation, but because it illustrates the method ἀφ' ὁμοίου. The mental process involved seems to have been as follows. The passage 'O thou that after' etc., once thought of, brought in its train the other passage 'O somewhere' etc., and both were worked into the line in question. But why did *A* bring *B* in its train? Because *B* resembled *A*, each of them being an invocation, beginning with the interjection 'O'—and continued with the relative 'that,' at the commencement of a similar Tennysonian stanza. It is not, however, necessary that *A* and *B* should be drawn from the same source. It occasionally happens that the poetaster is inspired by a couple of poets. When Kirke White in his verses on *Time* wrote—

'Far from the busy crowd's tumultuous  
din;  
From noise and wrangling far, and un-  
disturbed  
With Mirth's unholy shouts.'

he had in mind Gray's *Elegy* of course—

'Far from the madding crowd's ignoble  
strife'—

but also Milton's *Il Penseroso*—

'Far from all resort of mirth.'

If the latter identification be doubted, compare the context in Milton with a passage that occurs some thirty lines earlier in Kirke White:



## MILTON.

'Or if the air will not permit,  
*Some still removed place will fit,*  
 Where glowing embers through the room  
 Teach light to counterfeit a gloom;  
*Far from all resort of mirth,*  
 etc.

Here, too, the minor poet had in view the same two passages: and Gray suggested Milton, or Milton suggested Gray, to his thoughts thanks to the obvious *homoikat-arkton*.

(2) Elsewhere *A'* is followed by *B'*, not because of any essential similarity between *A* and *B*, but simply because in the original source *A* was followed by *B*. Kirke White in his ode *To Contemplation* again betrays the influence of Gray. Near the beginning of it, after telling how in the early morning the zephyrs—

'Shake the dewdrops from the thorn,'

he continues—

'There, as o'er the fields we pass,  
*Brushing with hasty feet the grass,*  
 etc.

## MILTON.

*A* { 'I hear the far-off curfew sound,  
 Over some wide water'd shore,  
 Swinging slow with sullen roar.'

## GRAY.

*B* { 'The curfew tolls the knell of parting  
 day,'  
 (and a few lines later)

*C* { ('Save that from yonder ivy-mantled  
 tower  
 The moping owl does to the moon  
 complain.'

Kirke White's description of the curfew (*A'*) evidently derives from *Il Penseroso*: the use of the word *roar* and the similarity of *sudden* and *sullen*, not to mention the identity of metre, are decisive. Milton's description (*A*) suggested that of Gray (*B*), who after speaking of the curfew proceeds to dilate on the tower, the owl, and the moon (*C*). All three reappear in the same order in Kirke White's continuation (*C'*).

I have quoted a comparatively obvious example. Sometimes the connexion is much harder to trace: for the formula  $A + B + C = A' \dots C'$  is capable of indefinite extension and variation. Indeed the thread of thought is often quite too subtle to be

## KIRKE WHITE.

'He must waste by night  
 The studious taper, *far from all resort*  
 Of crowds and folly, in *some still retreat*;' etc.

Already we feel that his lines are a reminiscence of the *Elegy*—

'Oft have we seen him at the peep of dawn,  
*Brushing with hasty steps the dew away,*  
 etc.

Now the next line in Gray is—

'To meet the sun *upon the upland lawn.*'

And this sequence of ideas recurs in the imitator. Five lines further on he starts a clause with—

'Or on the upland stile, embowered'  
 etc.

The same ode may serve to illustrate the fact that association ἀφ' ὁμοίου is sometimes combined with association ἀπὸ τοῦ σίμειγγυς. That is to say, *A* suggests *B*, which resembles it, and *B* suggests *C*, which follows it, the product being *A' ... C'*. Thus:

## KIRKE WHITE.

*A'* { 'And haply then, with sudden swell,  
 Shall roar the distant curfew bell,  
*C'* { While in the castle's mouldering tower  
 The hooting owl is heard to pour  
 Her melancholy song,'  
 (followed by an allusion to the moon).

followed: we lose the clue in the labyrinth. It will therefore be prudent to confine our analysis to examples which 'sautent aux yeux.'

And here it is worth while to note that reminiscences of this kind are by no means restricted to the minor poets. On the contrary, they occur here and there even in writers of the greatest force and originality. Tennyson's *In Memoriam* appeared in 1850, Browning's *The Ring and the Book* in 1868-9: an attentive reading of the following extracts will show that the latter sometimes borrows from the former. I have italicised only the more striking coincidences:

TENNYSON.

*In Mem. lvi.*

‘And he, shall he,  
*Man*, her last work, who seem’d so fair,  
 Such splendid purpose in his eyes,  
 Who roll’d the psalm to wintry skies,  
 Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,  
 Who trusted God was love indeed  
 And love Creation’s final law—  
 Tho’ *Nature*, red in tooth and claw  
 With ravine, *shriek’d* against his creed—  
 Who loved, who suffer’d countless ills,  
 Who battled for the True, the Just,  
 Be blown about the desert dust,  
 Or seal’d within the iron hills?  
 No more? A *monster* then, a dream,  
 A discord. Dragons of the prime,  
 That *tare* each other in their *slime*,  
 Were mellow music match’d with him.’

Browning’s two passages (*The Pope* 619 ff., *Caponsacchi* 1941 ff.) are connected, not only with the same canto of Tennyson’s poem, but also with each other—the link between them being shown by the use of Clarendon type. The recurrence of the same topic (the

WORDSWORTH.

*Intimations of Immortality.*

‘Blank misgivings of a creature  
 Moving about in worlds not realized,  
 High instincts, before which our mortal  
     nature  
 Did tremble like a guilty thing surprised!  
 But for those first affections,  
 Those shadowy recollections,  
 Which, be they what they may,  
 Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
 Are yet a master light of all our seeing;  
 Uphold us—cherish—and have power to  
     make  
*Our noisy years* seem moments in the being  
 Of the eternal silence.’

BROWNING.

*The Pope.*

619 ‘Scorched into dust, a plaything for  
     the winds.’  
 627 ‘some obscene tomb  
 They thought a temple in their ignor-  
     ance,  
 And clung about and thought to lean  
     upon—  
 There laughs it o’er their ravage,—  
     where are they?’  
 639 ‘No *monster* but a *man*—while *nature*  
     *shrieked*  
 “Or thus escape, or die!”’  
 647 ‘Hence this consummate lie, this love-  
     intrigue,  
 Unmanly simulation of a sin,  
 With place and time and circumstance  
     to suit—  
 These letters false beyond all for-  
     gery—’  
 653 ‘As though the man had cut out shape  
     and shape  
 From fancies of that other *Aretine*,  
 To paste below—incorporate the filth  
 With cherub faces on a missal-page!’

*Caponsacchi.*

1941 ‘There, let them each *tear* each in  
     devil’s-fun.’  
 1947 ‘Lure him the lure o’ the letters,  
     *Aretine*!  
 Lick him o’er *slimy*-smooth with jelly-  
     filth  
 O’ the verse-and-prose pollution in  
     love’s guise!’

pretended love-letters) in the course of his own poem apparently awakened in Browning’s brain the old train of ideas which had previously led him to the *In Memoriam*.

Tennyson himself was under similar obligations to Wordsworth: *e.g.*—

TENNYSON.

*In Mem. vii.*

‘I cannot sleep,  
 And like a guilty thing I creep  
 At earliest morning to the door.  
 He is not here; but far away  
*The noise of life* begins again,  
 And ghastly thro’ the drizzling rain  
 On the bald street breaks the blank day.’

But it is time to turn our attention to classical examples. I have lingered over these English specimens because I believe that this kind of criticism, once thoroughly appreciated,—and we can appreciate it best in our own language—might have very fruitful results in the classical field.

(1) The method ἀφ' ὁμοίου may help to clear up a dark passage in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, in which Phaedra moralises to the following effect (380 ff.):—‘We know what is right, but we do not perform it, either because we are lazy or because we prefer some other pleasure’—

εἰσὶ δ' ἡδοναὶ πολλαὶ βίον,  
μακραί τε λéschai καὶ σχολή, τερπνὸν κακόν,  
385 αἰδώς τε. δισσαι δ' εἰσίν· ἡ μὲν οὐ κακή,  
ἡ δ' ἄχθος οἰκων. εἰ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦν σαφής,  
οὐκ ἂν δὴ ἥστην ταῦτ' ἔχοντε γράμματα.

These lines have been chopped and changed in various ways by the editors.<sup>1</sup> The main objection to them is thus stated by Mr. Hadley: ‘That λéschi, σχολή, αἰδώς should be selected as the typical pleasures, which interfere with the performance of a known duty; that thereupon a quibbling subdivision of αἰδώς into ‘not bad’ and ‘ruinous to households’ should be added...are disfigurements so offensive in their weakness, that I cannot believe Euripides, often as his subtlety outran his judgement, to be chargeable with them. The *pannus* is not even *purpureus*... One could find excuse for λéschi and σχολή, the idle hours which Phaedra had spent watching Hippolytus as he exercised in the palaestra below (cf. Paus. ii. 32. 3); but αἰδώς is incomprehensible.’ Not so, if we bear in mind the principle of Association in reminiscence. In 384 f. Phaedra admits that among life’s pleasures are to be reckoned those of coquetry, e.g. chats with Hippolytus (μακραί λéschai), leisure to spend in his society (σχολή), coyness at his approach (αἰδώς). At the same time she acknowledges that these things, though pleasurable, are bad. Like Browning’s lover she would say—

‘How sad and bad and mad it was—  
But then, how it was sweet!’

This mixture of praise and blame, this γλυκνικρότης—if the word may be pardoned—is aptly expressed by the phrase τερπνὸν κακόν, apparently an echo of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 57, where woman herself is de-

scribed as κακὸν ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες | τέρπωνται. That passage recalled to the poet’s memory a second Hesiodic account of a thing at once good and bad: *ibid.* 317 αἰδώς, ἥτ’ ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἡδ’ ὀνύησιν. The line must have been familiar to Euripides, for he paraphrases it again in *Erechth. fr.* 367 Dind. αἰδοῦς δὲ κατὸς δυσκρίτως ἔχω πέρν· | καὶ δὲ γὰρ αὐτῆς κάστιν αὖ (Badham for MSS. οὐ or οὖ) κακὸν μέγα. It suited his philosophic, not to say sophistic, vein; and he introduced the gist of it even where a dichotomy was out of place. In short, the *Hippolytus* passage reproduces *A + B* as *A’...B’*, the association between *A* and *B* in Euripides’ mind being due to the fact that both describe a kind of equivocal or double-faced quality. Even so we have not quite exhausted its interest from a psychological point of view. Mr. Hadley complained that the description of αἰδώς as οὐ κακή is offensively weak. To my thinking it is a strong confirmation of the fact that Euripides had the second Hesiodic passage in view: for the line immediately preceding the said passage contains the old epic proverb αἰδώς δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζει. It is not perhaps too far-fetched to suggest that Euripides’ thoughts ran on from this to the idea of λéschi, the stepping-stone being Hes. *ibid.* 500 f. ἐλπίς δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζει, | ἥμενον ἐν λéschi. If so, Eur. *Hipp.* 383 ff. is indeed a notable example of association ἀφ’ ὁμοίου.

(2) A typical instance of association ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνεγγυς is afforded by Persius *sat.* 5. 135, where the expression ‘*lubrica Coa*’ is a clear reminiscence of Horace *sat.* ii. 4. 29 f.—‘*albo non sine Coo. | lubrica nascentes implent conchyliis lunae.*’ Observe that here *A* and *B* (Horace’s *Coo* and *lubrica*), though so closely connected with each other in position, are quite disconnected in meaning. Persius’ coupling of the two together shows how mechanical this kind of reproduction may be. Indeed it often happens that *A’...B’* will thus do more or less violence to the original sense of *A* or *B* or both, according to the degree and extent of the imitator’s unconsciousness—a very fluctuating factor in all such cases. A few examples will make the point clear.

In Theocr. 1. 5 f. the odd phrase ἐς τὸ καταρρεῖ | ἃ χίμαρος has proved a puzzle to all commentators. Rumpel, Hiller, and others translate ‘defluit, redundat,’ justifying their translation by a comparison of Hor. *od.* i. 28. 27 f. ‘multaque merces, | unde potest, tibi defluat.’ But could Horace have written ‘*capella* tibi defluat’? As

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Weil cj. δὲ φθορὰ for δ’ ἡδοναὶ in 383; Mahaffy-Bury bracket as an interpolation the whole of 383 and the words αἰδώς τε in 385; Hadley athetises 384–387 inclusive, and places 388–390 after 402.



applied to a single definite animal the idea of plenty or superfluity is wholly out of place, *pace* Haupt *opusc.* ii. 309. Fritzsche renders '*ad te properat*' and adds 'h. e. ultro ac lubens de monte ubi pascitur (κατά—) venit ad te.' Goats of course love the mountain-heights (Verg. *eccl.* 1. 76), indeed a scholion on Theocr. 1. 1 derives the word αἰπόλος from that fact! But the notion of the kid hurrying down the hill-side to its future owner somehow strikes one as grotesque. Mr. Cholmeley's version '*comes over to thee*' (from what he leaves) is unsupported and can hardly be got out of the Greek. Meineke suggested '*tibi continget*,' and certainly Theocritus seems to have meant something of the sort. At the same time no precise parallel has hitherto been produced: for in Bion 1. 55 τὸ δὲ πᾶν καλὸν ἐς σὲ καταρρεῖ the reference to Persephone permits us to translate the prefix more literally '*descends to thee*.' The question remains, then: Why did Theocritus, when he wanted to say '*falls to thy lot*,' choose the very unexpected verb καταρρεῖ? Unless I am mistaken, it was because he had running in his head at the moment certain lines of Sappho, which are fortunately still extant (*fr.* 4 Weir Smyth):

ἀμφὶ δ' ἔδωρ  
<ὑψοθεν> ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὄσδων  
μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων  
κῶμα καταρρεῖ.

#### THEOCRITUS.

τὰ δ' οὐ φρενὸς ἄπτεται αὐτᾶς·  
ἀλλ' ὁκὰ μὲν τήνον ποτιδέκεται ἄνδρα γελαῖσα,  
ἄλλοκα δ' αὖ ποτὶ τὸν ῥιπτεῖ νόον. οἱ δ' ὑπ'  
ἔρωτος  
ὀητὰ κυλοιδιώντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

Here ὑπ' ἔρωτος...κυλοιδιώντες reappears almost intact as ἔρωτα...κυλοιδιᾶ: but of the adjacent ideas only scattered and mutilated fragments survive, *viz.* οὐ φρενὸς>σπλάγχχον οὐκ, ποτιδέκεται>τὸ βλέμμα, ῥιπτεῖ νόον>διέρριπται...διάνοιαν. Taken singly or even collectively these fragments prove nothing;

#### THEOCR. 1. 15 ff.

οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινόν, οὐ θέμις  
ἄμιν  
συρίσδεν. τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες· ἡ γὰρ ἀπ'  
ἄγρας  
ταίρια κεκμακῶς ἀμπαύεται· ἔντι δὲ πικρός,  
καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ δριμεία χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται.

This was a celebrated passage—at least, Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν 2. 4 (Walz iii. 315) cites it as a fine description of landscape—and Theocritus as a student of early lyrical poetry was presumably familiar with it. When, therefore, in the opening couplet of his first idyll he too had occasion to describe the whispering sound of foliage, he readily slipped into first one and then another reminiscence of Sappho's stanza: *cp. lines*

5  
8 τῇν' ἀπὸ τᾶς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑψόθεν  
ἔδωρ

16 f. An allusion to Pan's siesta.

The contiguity of the ideas expressed in the old Lesbian lines accounts for their reappearance 'en bloc' in the new Alexandrian poet. But, whereas καταρρεῖ was natural enough in Sappho's verse ('as the leaves rustle, sleep steals down'), in Theocritus it is unnaturally applied to ἡ χίμαρος. His memory was haunted by the word and, perhaps half-unconsciously, he sacrifices strictness of expression to a more or less mechanical repetition.

Theocritus in his turn served as a model to later writers. For example, Heliod. *Aeth.* 4. 7 contains a reminiscence of Theocr. 1. 36 ff., in which the same principle of association ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνεγγυς can be traced and an analogous deviation from the original meaning:

#### HELIODORUS.

οὐ γὰρ καὶ παιδὶ γνῶριμον, ἔφη, ψυχῆς εἶναι  
τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν νόσον ἔρωτα λαμπρόν; οὐχ  
ὄρας ὡς κυλοιδιᾶ μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ  
βλέμμα διέρριπται καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὠχρεῖ,  
σπλάγχχον οὐκ αἰτιωμένη, τὴν διάνοιαν δὲ ἀλύει,  
κ.τ.λ.:

yet, lying as they do round about an undoubted imitation, they are probably 'disiecta membra' of the original context. Similarly in Longus, a more pronounced imitator of Theocritus, among numerous reminiscences of the idylls is the following:

#### LONG. *past.* 2. 19.

ἐκ Πανὸς ἦν τὰ φαντάσματα καὶ ἀκούσματα  
μηνιόντός τι τοῖς ναίταις· οὐκ εἶχον δὲ τὴν  
αἰτίαν συμβαλεῖν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἱερὸν σεσύλητο  
Πανός) ἐς τε ἀμφὶ μέσην ἡμέραν ἐς ὕπνον οὐκ  
ἀθεεὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καταπεσόντος αὐτὸς ὁ Πᾶν  
ᾤθηται τοιοῦδε λέγειν.

The combination of Pan's anger and of sleep at midday clearly indicates that Longus is copying Theocritus (see also the context in both writers): but in Theocritus the siesta was that of Pan himself and the god's wrath was due to his sleep being disturbed by the herdsmen's pipe, while in Longus the siesta is that of the *strategos* and the

god's wrath has quite a different cause. In fact, it appears that the reproduction of contiguous ideas is compatible with a total change of scene.

A striking case of this is to be found in Thuc. ii. 75, 4 and 77, 4, which together form an echo of Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 36 ff.:

## PINDAR.

...πολλὰν δ' ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς  
σπέρματος ἐνθορόν ἀίστωσεν ὕλαν.  
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τεῖχεσι θέσαν ἐν ξυλίνῳ  
κ.τ.λ.

Mr. Marchant saw that in ii. 75, 4 Thucydides 'was probably thinking' of Pindar *Pyth.* 3. 38. Is it not highly probable that in ii. 77, 4 his mind reverted to the same passage? In Pindar the forest-fire on the mountains is a mere simile; in Thucydides it is an explanatory comment or foot-note: in neither writer is it an integral part of the narrative. So far the two are in agreement. But τεῖχος ξύλινον, which in Pindar means the pyre of Koronis, in Thucydides is used of the tower or scaffolding raised by the Plataeans above their ramparts. The phrase persists, though the situation changes. Again we appreciate the powerful influence of original juxtaposition.<sup>1</sup>

Aesch. *sept.* 367 f. perhaps furnishes another example: ἐλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν, | παγκλαύτῳ ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον. The reference is to slave-girls destined for the conqueror's bed: 'they must look to attend at a midnight rite that aids and abets their pitiful pains.' The occurrence of the unusual word ἐπίρροθος in conjunction with the thought of 'night' disposes me to accept Dr. Verrall's suggestion that 'Aeschylus probably intended to recall' Hes. *O.D.* 560 μακραί γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσὶ. In winter, said Hesiod, put your oxen on short commons, for they will get little work and much sleep — 'the long nights aid and abet them.' If this comparison is sound, observe the grim irony of the Aeschylean reminiscence. Night consults the comfort of the cattle: it is otherwise with those who are haled off ἰσπηγδὸν πλοκίμων.

But a more certain instance occurs in a later chorus of the same play, where Aeschylus is the imitated, not the imitator.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. viii. 51 records the Delphic oracle τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον εἶσθαι, and the next two chapters tell how the Persians ἐνέπηρσαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. But the connexion between 'wooden wall' and 'conflagration' is here purely accidental.

## THUCYDIDES.

ii. 75, 4 ξύλινον τεῖχος ξυθέντες.  
ii. 77, 4 ἤδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλην τριφθεῖσα  
ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταῖτομάτου  
πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀνῆκε.

The billows of calamity, cry the chorus, are buffeting the bows of the ship of state—

761 περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως καχλάζει.  
μεταξὺ δ' ἀλλὰ δι' ὀλίγου  
τείνει πύργος ἐν εἵρει.—

i.e. 'and between (us and death) a defence extends but a little space, a mere wall in breadth.'<sup>2</sup> The whole context is one consistent metaphor drawn from the behaviour of a merchant-ship at sea in a storm. This fact points to πύργος being used in a two-fold meaning: literally of course it denotes the Theban battlements, but as part of the metaphor it refers to the projecting 'towers' or 'turrets' (πύργοι) common on board merchantmen (C. Torr *Ancient Ships*, p. 59 f.) and excellently shown in a terracotta model from a grave at Amathus (Brit. Mus. *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 112, fig. 164, 12). Of this passage Euripides has a distinct echo in his *Phoenissae* 1097 ff.:

ὥς τῷ νοσοῦντι τειχέων εἷη δорός  
ἀλκὴ δι' ὀλίγου. περγάμων δ' ἀπ' ὀρθίων  
λείκασπιν εἰσπορεύμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν  
κ.τ.λ.

The speech of the Messenger, in which these lines occur, deals throughout with the Argive attack on Thebes, and is precisely the setting in which we should expect to find a verbal reminiscence of Aeschylus' *septem contra Thebas*. But once more we notice that the reminiscence is confined to the sound and barely touches the sense. Euripides' lines are rendered by Mr. A. S. Way—

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps 'and between (us and death) by way of a thin defence extends a mere wall in breadth.' Other translations and alterations are possible; but the general sense is clear.

'That, where the wall's defence failed,  
succour of spears  
Might be hard by. Then from the soaring  
towers  
We marked the white shields of the Argive  
host.'

It will be seen that ἀλκή δι' ὀλίγον, which in the *septem* meant 'a defence extending but a little space,' here means 'help not far off,' while πύργος with a 'double entendre' is replaced by the simple περιγῶμων.<sup>1</sup>

It has been shown that reminiscences associated by contiguity, not by similarity, often distort the meaning of their original. Such distortion, though commonly due to unconscious or at most half-conscious cerebration on the part of the imitator, may be fully conscious and of malice prepense—witness the intentional allusions of a parody or a satire. To take one instance, where many might be given. Aristophanes in the *Frogs* ridicules (a) the musical trills and (b) the incongruous jargon of the Euripidean chorus. (a) In 1313 ff. (cp. 1346 ff.) he addresses the spiders—

αἶ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας  
εἰσειεῖειλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες  
ἰστότονα πηνίσματα,  
κερκίδος αἰδοῦ μελέτας,

and (b) continues—

ἴν' ὁ φίλανλος ἔπαλλε δελ-  
φῖς πρῶραις κυανεμβόλοις  
μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίου.  
οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου,  
βότρυος ἔλικα πανσίπονον.

The comedian is throughout thinking of the chorus in Eur. *El.* 432 ff. and in particular of the unfortunate sentence (436 f.)—

ἴν' ὁ φίλανλος ἔπαλλε δελφῖς πρῶραις κυανε-  
μβόλοις  
εἰλισσόμενος.

L<sup>2</sup> there reads εἰελισόμενος, as Mr. C. H.

#### THEOCRITUS.

1. 95 f.:

ἦνθέ γε μὰν αἰεὶα καὶ ἁ Κύπρις γελάοισα,  
λάθρια μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὴν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν  
ἔχοισα.

<sup>1</sup> The word πύργων is found seven lines back at 1091; but this is probably accidental.

<sup>2</sup> Conceivably from the chorus in the *Ion* 452 ff., where we have μαντεύμασι (471) and στάδια (497), the latter being brought into connexion with a dance to the music of pipes. But the surviving plays of Euripides are, comparatively, so few that it would be unsafe to dogmatise.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Theocr. 28. 29. 30. *passim*, and some more

Keene is careful to note; and this looks like a genuine tradition of the musical score. Aristophanes, it appears, deliberately dissociated εἰλίσσω from the dolphin, to which the word if not the shake was perfectly appropriate, and transferred it to the spiders for the purpose of raising a laugh at Euripides' expense. He also made nonsense of the dolphin dancing to the boatswain's pipe by appending the phrase μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίου<sup>2</sup> and a further irrelevant tag from the *Hypsipyle* (fr. 765 Dind.).

Lastly, there are cases in which no violence is done to the original thought, the reminiscence being definite, if not conscious, throughout. An instance of the sort may be found in Theocritus. That he was intimately acquainted with the lyrical productions of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is certain, and has already been remarked. Alcæus perhaps was his favourite model.<sup>3</sup> But the Doric poems of Alcman must have had a special interest for him; and in their extant fragments not a few words and phrases occur that turn up again in the idylls.<sup>4</sup> Once at least we are enabled to detect an example of associated reminiscence free from distortion. Alcman (fr. 11 Weir Smyth) apostrophises a bacchante as follows:

ἔχοισα μέγαν σκίφον  
οἰά τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν,  
χερσὶ λεόντεον ἐν γάλα θείσα,  
τυρὼν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἄτρυνον  
ἀργύφειον τε.

Now Theocritus in his first idyll, after describing the prize-goat (26 ἂν δὲ ἔχοισ' ἐρίφως ποταμέλγεται ἐς δύο πέλλας) and giving a detailed account of the herdsman's cup (27 βαθὺν κισσύβιον, 143 σκίφος), goes on to mention τυρῶντα μέγαν λευκοῖο γάλακτος (58). The similarity of thought and language can hardly be fortuitous. The same may be said of the following excerpts from Theocritus and Nonnus:

#### NONNUS.

Dion. 34. 268: λάθρια Κύπριδος ἔργα.  
ibid. 302 f.: ἀμφότερον γάρ,  
εἶχε νόον γελώοντα, χόλον δ' ἀνέφηνη  
προσωπῶ.

isolated passages.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Alcman. fr. 3 Weir Smyth ἐλιχρύσω...κυπαῖρα = Theocr. 1. 30 ἐλιχρύσῃ, 5. 45 κύπειρος; Alcman. fr. 4, 40 f. Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς δρῶ | F ὥτ' ἄλιον κ.τ.λ. = Theocr. 18. 26 ff.; Alcman. fr. 7 παρθενικαί...ἱμερόφωνοι = Theocr. 18. 2 παρθενικαί of Spartan girls, 28. 7 ἱμεροφώνων of the Graces; Alcman. fr. 26 μακωνίδων ἄρτων = Theocr. 7. 157 μάκωνας.



Meineke, who cited the latter passage from Nonnus, omitted to notice the former: but the two are clearly complementary. Again, the famous invocation of Athens that occurs in one of Pindar's dithyrambs (*fr.* 76 Chr.)—

ὦ τὰ λῖπαρὰ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ  
ἀοίδιμοι κ.τ.λ.—

is apparently<sup>1</sup> echoed in some verses of Simonides written to commemorate the dithyrambic victories of the tribe Akamantis (*fr.* 148 Bgk.)—

σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that Pindar is here imitating Simonides, not *vice versa*; see J. Girard in *Dar.-Sagl.* II. i. 241.

...ἰοστὲφάνων θεῶν ἑκατὶ Μοισῶν.

Examples could be multiplied without difficulty: for association ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνεγγυς is commoner than association ἀφ' ὁμοίου. Care should be taken, however, to quote only those cases in which  $A' \dots B'$ , the echoes of  $A + B$ , are separated by a distinct pause or by an appreciable interval. Where that pause or interval disappears and  $AB$  is reproduced as  $A'B'$ , we cannot be sure how far the reminiscence is really binary: it may be covered by the normal 'span of consciousness' and thus coalesce into an ordinary imitation better represented by the single symbols  $O$  and  $O'$ . As such, it no longer falls within the scope of this paper.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

## SOPHOCLEA.

### *Elektra.*

11 ff. ὅθεν σε πατρός ἐκ φονῶν ἐγώ ποτε  
πρὸς σῆς ὁμαίμου καὶ κασιγνήτης λαβὼν  
ἦνεγκα...

'Whence, from amid thy murdered father's blood,' &c. The mss. here give ἐκ φόνων, 'from (or after) the slaying.' As was shown in the June number of this *Review*, φοναί means 'blood' (shed), 'a bloody corpse or carcase,' 'carnage'; and this passage clearly gains much in force and vividness if we write φονῶν for φόνων. The ἐκ may be quite literal, for the children may well have been present at the banquet. In *Tr.* 557 f. δῶρον...ὃ παῖς ἔτ' οἶσα τοῦ δασυστέρνου πάρα | Νέσσου φθίνοντος ἐκ φονῶν ἀνελόμην, Bergk has already restored φονῶν. What meaning he gave to the word I do not know; 'blood' is exactly what is wanted.

743 ff. ἔπειτα λύων ἡγίαν ἀριστερὰν  
κύμπτοντος ἵππου λανθάνει στήλην  
ἄκραν  
παίσας.

Though it is clear that the prime cause of this accident was, in the poet's intention, the loosening of the rein of the προσκείμενος (doubtless for the straight, just as the turn was being completed), the immediate cause has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It may be premised that it is highly improbable that the προσκείμενος went off to the right. The pressure of the yoke-horses, who were being guided round the turn,

would prevent his doing this, and his tendency would be the other way. As drivers know well, a horse's instinct is to 'cut the corner,' and he will always do so, if he is given his head. Nor, again, could this vagary on the part of the near horse produce the accident; unless it were actually stopped, the chariot would simply go past the pillar, as can be proved with a toy cart. It must be remembered that the wheels were small, and close behind the team. Another solution must therefore be sought. Now, the σειραφόροι were, as the term implies, attached to the car by traces. So far as I can discover, these formed their *sole* attachment, either to the car *or to the other horses*. If this is so, the accident described becomes a very simple matter. The προσκείμενος can, at will, deviate to the left at a wide angle from the other horses. Should he thus deviate at any point in the turn (supposing the driver to be taking it close), he can easily jerk the car sideways into the pillar so as to catch the wheel; and he can do this with especial ease when the wheels are clean off the ground, as they were from moment to moment.<sup>1</sup> I have measured a stout cob of 13½ to 14 hands, and find his greatest width to be 22 inches. Four such horses, allowing for the pole and some spacing, would therefore not take up more

<sup>1</sup> Since such an accident as Sophokles describes would apparently be impossible if the προσκείμενος were attached to his neighbour at the collar, or rather breast-band, there must have been some good reason for not so harnessing him.

than 9 ft. when harnessed to the chariot. The axle, according to Smith's *Dict. Antt.*, was 7 ft. long. Thus the *σειραφόροι* would not project more than 1 ft. beyond the end of the axle. In Buenos Ayres, at the present time, carts are driven with teams of as many as eleven horses. Of these one is in the shafts, and one is harnessed in front of him as leader. The rest, abreast of the leader, are attached to the body of the cart, the axle, and the shafts by traces; and these traces form their sole attachment either to the cart or to one another.

1458 *σιγᾶν ἄνωγα κἀναδεικνύναι πύλας.*

It does not seem to have been perceived that this order to throw open the doors is addressed to Elektra, no less than the command to be silent. *σιγᾶν* must be addressed to her, for she is the only person who has been speaking. We cannot suppose that Aigisthos refers to mutterings or

whisperings of the chorus or his own servants. But if *σιγᾶν ἄνωγα* is spoken to Elektra, so must *κἀναδεικνύναι* be also. It is with a reference to this command that Elektra says, so soon as Aigisthos has finished speaking (1464), *καὶ δὴ τελεῖται τὰπ' ἐμοῦ*, 'My duty I do perform,' and with the words flings the doors open. The combination *καὶ δὴ* now has its proper force; cp. *Ar. Av.* 175 *βλέψον κάτω.—καὶ δὴ βλέπω*, 'I am looking.' This bidding of Elektra to perform a servant's office suits well Aigisthos' character and present mood, and is only the last of many similar insults. Wunder's *οἶγεν* (adopted by Wecklein and others), though mistaken, proceeded from a sound instinct. He had not thought that *κἀναδεικνύναι* might be addressed to Elektra, and justly felt that its reference must be that of *σιγᾶν*.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

## THE EURIPIDEAN CATALOGUE OF SHIPS.

THE Chalcidian women who are the chorus of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* narrate, in the first stasimon, how they left their home to view the Greek fleet at Aulis, and describe (231 sq.) the position and number of the contingents:

*ναῶν δ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἤλυθον  
καὶ θέαν ἀθέσφατον,  
τὰν γυναικείων ὄψιν ὁμμάτων  
ὥς πλῆσαιμι, μέλινον ἄδονάν.*

There are obvious differences between this list and Homer's; the discrepancies have been noticed by the commentators on Euripides, but a single explanation of them has not yet been given.

The differences are General and Particular. In general Euripides has made a selection out of the Greek forces; he mentions Aenianes, Argives, Athenians, Boeotians, Eleans, Locrians, Mycenaeans, Phthiots, Phocians, Pylians, Salaminians, Taphians, and omits therefore the people of Aetolia, Arcadia, Argissa, Cephallenia, Cos, Crete, Euboea, Lacedaemon, Magnesia, Methone, Orchomenos, Ormenion, Pherae, Phylace, Rhodes, Syme, Tricca. His order also is not that of the Catalogue; he has transferred the arrangement of the camp at Troy to the harbour at Aulis. His list begins with the right wing, held by Achilles and

the Myrmidons, and ends with Ajax child of Salamis on the left. We are familiar with this order from Θ 224–226, Λ 7–9.

In particular Euripides differs from or agrees with Homer on the following points:

1. The Myrmidons. He agrees with Homer as to the leader (Achilles) and the number of the ships (50); he adds the figure-head of twenty of the ships.

2. The Argives. Eur. agrees with Homer as to the leaders, Sthenelus and Euryalus (though he omits Diomedes, to whom Homer gives a prominent position), but differs over the number of ships. Homer gives it as *ὀγδώκοντα*, Euripides says *Ἀργείων δὲ ταῖσδ' ἰσῆρετμοι* | *ῥᾶς ἔστασαν πέλαις*, i.e. 50, like the ships of Achilles.

3. Attica. Here there is a striking difference. Homer's leader is *εὐδὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς*, and he devotes two lines to his excellence in marshalling horses and men: Euripides' chief is not named, but described as *ὁ Θηράεωσ παῖς*. The Athenians in Homer bring 50 ships, in Euripides 60. Euripides adds the figure-heads.

4. Boeotia. The numbers agree, and one leader, Leitus, is taken from the five in Homer. Figure-heads are added.

5, 6. The account of the Phocians in Euripides has suffered a lacuna, which has not escaped the scribes of our two MSS.,

who leave a space of two lines, while one of them writes *λείπ.* The Locrians are said to have the same number of ships as the Phocians, and this agrees with Homer, who gives 40 to both.

7. Mycenae. The numbers and the leader agree with Homer.

The lines that follow (268 sq.), *σὺν δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦν | ταγὸς ὡς φίλος φίλῳ*, with no mention of Menelaus' subjects, suggest that he was co-commander with Agamemnon, and that Euripides brought no Lacedaemonians to Troy, especially as Homer says of them *ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο*. However, both the expressions already quoted (268) and

*τὰς φηγοῦσας μέλαθρα  
βαρβάρων χάριν γάμων  
πρᾶξιν Ἑλλὰς ὡς λάβοι*

seem so clear a paraphrase of Homer's 586 *τῶν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς ἦρχε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος* and 589 *μάλιστα δὲ ἴετο θυμῷ | τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε* that it is difficult to suppose Euripides at once followed Homer's wording and departed from his sense. Perhaps therefore it is only a case of loose expression.

8. The number of the Pylians has fallen out in another lacuna, first detected by M. Weil. The figure-heads are added.

9. The Aenianes. This people are the *Ἐνιήνες* of Homer and Herodotus. Euripides gives them the Homeric leader, *Γουνεύς*, but a different number of ships. Homer says (B 748) *Γουνεύς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας*, Euripides states

*Αἰνιάνων δὲ δώδεκα στόλοι  
ναῶν,*

or as Hermann would write it, *δωδεκάστολοι νᾶες*. In this case Euripides receives the important and significant support of a document. The papyrus Oxyrhynchus Pap. I. no. xx. p. 46 (s ii. A.D. = B 730-828) reads for this line *καὶ δεκ*, which is evidently part of *δύο καὶ δέκα*.

10. Elis. Euripides gives no number of their ships, but he calls their leader Eurytus, who in Homer is the father of one of the two leaders.

11. The Taphians are not so called by Homer in the Catalogue; Euripides means by the name the inhabitants of Dulichium and the Echinades. He gives no number of their ships, but names the same leader, *Μέγης*. Euripides adds *de suo* that they were dependent on the Eleans.

283 *λευκῆρετμον δ' ἄρη  
τάφιον ἦγεν ὦν Μέγης ἀνασσει,*

where there is nothing to call for Hermann's alteration *ἡγεμὼν* for *ἦγεν ὦν*.

12. Euripides closes the formation with Ajax *Σαλαμῖνος ἐντροφος* and 12 ships, agreeing with Homer.

How are these divergencies to be accounted for? If they are conscious why does Euripides accept them, and where did he find them?

The source of the Iphigenia in Aulis is usually said to be the Cypria, and this may be accepted, in the sense that we have no knowledge of any other early work which contained this part of the Tale of Troy. The Cypria, according to Proclus' abstract, contained no Catalogue of the Greek host. I am aware that Proclus' account has been considered defective, and Fick (Ilias p. 384) has definitely asserted that he omitted to mention the Greek Catalogue. However, it is plain that if we are to employ Proclus' analysis for any purpose at all, we must abide by his silence as much as by his statement; and the fact that he winds up his lengthy account by the sentence *καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων* warrants the inference that there was no list of the Greek armament. Moreover, general considerations shew that in Euripides' age there was not more than one 'Catalogue' in existence. The stories of the historical importance of the Catalogue as a document (which go back to Herodotus) and of tampering with it, imply that there was only one such; further, the various poems of the Cycle appear, and have usually been considered, to presuppose the existence of the Iliad and Odyssey, and therefore it would be singular to find the Homeric Catalogue duplicated. The force of this last argument if it stood alone would be weakened by the fact that, as we see, Proclus mentions a Trojan catalogue; we may if we please suppose that special circumstances determined the insertion of this list, possibly the exiguity of the list of Trojan allies in the Iliad, or a wish to include Penthesilea and Memnon who are outside Homer's view. It is impossible to deny that there may have been in the Cypria details and figures of the forces scattered up and down in the poem, but there is all the less reason for supposing Euripides to have deserted the obvious Iliad-Catalogue and to have collected his details from the body of the Cypria, that he follows the order not of the mustering at Aulis—the scene of the Cypria—but of the camp at Troy. It seems, therefore, beyond proof or probability there was in Euripides'



time more than one Catalogue of the Greek host; the Homeric *διάκοσμος*, which we possess, whatever its age or its ultimate origin, had certainly stood in its place since the establishment of the *κονή*—or to employ no questionable terms, since the sixth century, and Euripides (whose statements agree with it in the main) can have used no other. We have still to explain why he diverges from it in certain points.

The selection of a minority of the Greek contingents for mention is due to the necessity of space; no chorus could contain the whole catalogue. Their arrangement, beginning with Achilles and ending with Ajax, and the transference of the order of the *ναύσταθμος* to the assembly at Aulis, may be due to the same class of considerations, the wish for variety or contrast to Homer, that is to say to literary and artistic reasons. The probability that this is so is increased by the reflection that we can hardly conceive a version of the Homeric catalogue so different from the vulgate as to contain all Euripides' peculiarities. The detail of the figure-heads, which Euripides adds in some cases, may or may not have significance; it is an archaeological point which apparently has not received attention.<sup>1</sup>

The variations in the details of the contingents can hardly be explained on these grounds. If we take the numerals we find the following differences in the number of ships.

|                  | Euripides | Homer |
|------------------|-----------|-------|
| Argives ... ..   | 50        | 80    |
| Athenians ... .. | 60        | 50    |
| Aenians ... ..   | 12        | 22    |

Euripides' total is thirty less than Homer's. We cannot suppose that Euripides made these alterations designedly. The numerals have no literary value in themselves, and it does not seem likely that patriotism or antiquarian zeal had made the size of the contingents a living question. The attention of the learned in this matter was attracted to the total, not to the particulars. Thucydides in a well-known passage gives 1200 as the total of Agamemnon's fleet, whereas the actual total we arrive at by counting is 1186. The scholiast on Thucydides (I. 10) makes the singular statement that the real total is 1166, and we are not able to say if this is more than a clerical error of his. The poets, beginning with

Aeschylus (Ag. 45), Euripides (Andr. 106, Electra 2, Orest. 352) and Lycophron (Cassandra 210) talk of *χιλίας ναῦς*, and the phrase mille rates with equivalents passes through the Latins from Virgil to Juvenal and I do not know how many late writers before Marlowe displayed the value of the *ἀπηρτισμένος ἀριθμός*—as the scholiasts on Euripides have it. An historian or a poet may say 1200 or 1000 for a sum which exactly is 1186, but no such reason holds for altering details.<sup>2</sup>

I pass to the variations in the leaders. The omission of Diomedes and the apparent transference of Menelaus to Mycenae may be the result of careless writing, but in the case of Athens the discrepancy is complete. Menestheus son of Peteos was an offence to the ancients on the ground of his obscurity; Zenodotus athetised vv. 553, 554, in which his qualities are stated in hyperbolic terms. It is therefore important that Euripides gives a different chief, the son of the national hero Theseus. The lawfully begotten sons of Theseus were Demophon and Acamas;<sup>3</sup> the *Ἰλίου πέρις* makes them assist at the siege of Troy, but whether as leaders or private persons is not clear; the Cyclic poem is followed by Sophocles and by Euripides himself (Hecuba 125, Troades 31). I would not fall into history, but it may seem as if there were two versions of the Athenian contingent current in the fifth century, and that one sent the Theseid princes to Troy. The point occupied ancient historians, among others Hellanicus fr. 45, Plutarch Theseus 35, Eustathius 284, 29.

In the case of the Eleans it would be a very gross instance of carelessness if we were to suppose Euripides' statement *Εὔρυτος δ' ἀνασσε* a hasty copy or reminiscence of Homer's lines *τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Θάλπιος ἡγήσασθην | νῆες δ' μὲν Κτεάτου δ' δ' ἄρ' Εὐρύτου Ἀκτορίωνος*; but if we do not we imply a considerable disturbance of tradition. (There is a variant in the lines—*ἀκτορίωνος* vulg., *ἀκτορίωνε* Aristarchus and a few MSS.—but it can hardly be brought into connection with Euripides' statement).

<sup>2</sup> Preoccupation on this subject is shewn in the scholia (B 122, 130, 488; O 56, 562; O 407; Π 170) and Eustathius (on B 484, 718), who are mainly taken up with Thucydides' discrepancy and his method of striking an average between the largest and the smallest contingent; and an echo seems to lurk in the enumeration of the ships in various MSS., either on the margin (as in the Venetus 454) or at the end of the Catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities are given in the articles on Acamas in the new edition of Pauly, and on Acamas and Demophon in Roscher's Lexicon.

<sup>1</sup> Similar national cognizances however are known on monuments and coins, see *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* xx, 549 sq. 'Παράσημα de Villes sur des Stèles de Proxénie' by M. Paul Perdrizet.

Again when Euripides asserts the dependence of the islanders on the Eleans, we may think the statement suggested by Homer's language *νήσων αἰ ναῖονσι πέτρην ἁλὸς Ἥλιδος ἄντα*, but it is hardly likely that a poet alluding to the matter more for its sound than its sense should take the trouble to draw such a conclusion and express it.

To what result do these details point? If the poet cannot have invented the variants, and if they depart too widely from Homer to be due to pure carelessness, and yet there is no other source but Homer to which they can be referred, whence do they come? I suggest that Euripides' source was really responsible for these divergencies, but that his source was still Homer. He used Homer but in a version which was not the vulgate.

The variants upon the Catalogue which we know of are mostly geographical, and consist of the substitution of one place-name for another. They are to be found in Strabo and Eustathius and as a rule have not affected the MSS. There are a few variants upon other subjects: of these such as are concerned with numerals are Eustathius' statement that some read *ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα* for *ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας* B 557 in the account of Ajax's contingent (a reading confirmed by Matro's parody 95 *παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα νῆας*), and the lection in Oxyrhynch. Pap. I. no. xx. p. 46 *καὶ δεκ* for *δύω καὶ εἴκοσι* B 748 to which I have referred above. Then we are told that there was a mention of Stentor in the Arcadian section and of Asteropaeus among the Paeonians, neither of which are in our MSS.

I suggest that the edition of Homer used by the author of the Iphigenia in Aulis was of the same character. It contained variations in the number of the contingents, and added some and omitted others, of the heroes who led them. If this suggestion is probable, we have so much information as to the character of a fifth century edition of Homer which was not the vulgate. I will make a guess at what edition it was.

The Iphigenia in Aulis is stated, by a scholiast on the Frogs (67), to have been brought out after the poet's death by his son of the same name, and the critics have enjoyed the justification for dividing the play between the father and the supposed diasceuaest the son. The part of the first stasimon which we have examined is bracketed by some editors, printed in small type by others, as the work of the junior

Euripides. From such peculiarly fruitless speculation I would keep apart, but I will note a coincidence. The son of the scholiast on the Frogs is called by Suidas a nephew, *ἀδελφιδούς*. The same lexicographer gives us the information that a nephew of Euripides, and of the same name, made an edition of Homer. The Euripidean edition, which long led a precarious existence on the strength of Suidas' article and a mention in Eustathius, has leapt into fame on account of the brilliant and apparently necessary emendation by which Blass restored the name in 'Ammonius' commentary on Φ (Oxyrhynchus Pap. II. no. 221). It is remarkable that such information as we have about the *Εὐριπίδειος* belongs exclusively to the Catalogue. Eustathius stated that Euripides added after 866 the line *Τρώλῳ ὑπο νιφόεντι Ὑδης ἐν πτόνι δῆμῳ*, a verse recognised by Strabo, who however weakened Euripides down to *τινός*. Blass' conjecture makes Euripides and other editors add the line *Πηλέγονός θ' υἱὸς περιδέξιος Ἀστεροπαῖος* to 848; here too the existence of the line was remembered, but the name of its sponsor forgotten (*ὃν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἰλιάδων φέρεσθαι* schol. T on Φ 140). If then the nephew of Euripides included in his edition lines of the Catalogue which were absent from the vulgate, it would not be out of character for him to use for his play a text of the Catalogue of like character.

I suggest that the younger Euripides was like Antimachus at once poet and editor, and that in composing or arranging the portion of his uncle's play which was directly Homeric he drew upon his own edition. It is not difficult to transfer some of the variants of the chorus into Homer, and to call the result the Euripidean text. The numerals are not obstinate: B 568 *τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδόκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο* will become *τοῖσι δὲ πεντήκοντα*, and *ἐξήκοντα* may take the place of *πεντήκοντα* in the Athenian section without much violence. It is a more serious undertaking to substitute Theseus' son for Menestheus son of Peteos, but if we choose Demophon *τῶν αὖ Δημοφῶν Θήσεως παῖς ἡγεμόνευε* may serve our turn, and *πάς* may perhaps commend the line. Acamas I will leave to his backers. Into Euripides' ideas and sources I do not wish to inquire,<sup>1</sup> but here he may have wished to remove the discrepancy between the Homeric Catalogue and Cyclic

<sup>1</sup> A preference for the Cycle, as historical evidence, over the Iliad, is obvious, and not peculiar to the younger Euripides.

Legend, and to give the house of Theseus its definite place at Troy, in the same way as he justified the mention of Asteropaeus in the later books of the Iliad by inserting his name among the leaders of the Paonians.

The difference about the Aenianes may be met by altering Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κῦφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας into Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κῦφοιο ἄγει δύο καὶ δέκα νῆας, and the noun and adjective κῦφος may excuse the violence done to the quantity.

The variants of fact imply the addition or omission of lines, which it would be idle to attempt to invent; moreover I am far from suggesting that all Eur.'s disagreements with Homer were included in his or any edition.

Another combination may be made. I have noticed that Euripides' number 12 for the Aenianes' ships corresponds with the fragmentary reading of a papyrus in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri vol. i. It is singular that this papyrus adds a line in the Cata-

logue, namely, εἴθα ἴδον πλείστοις Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπῶλους after 798. It has therefore in one place Euripides' actual reading in the play, in another it resembles Euripides in his known characteristic of adding a line. I suggest that this second century papyrus is in very fact the Εὐριπίδειος. 'Ammonius' quotes it, in the first or second century A.D., and there is nothing to prove he did not quote it first-hand; and we know that a nameless edition which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt found in a papyrus of the third century B.C. was used and quoted by Plutarch in the second century of our era.

I do not present this hypothesis as true, but as possible. The certainty belonging to combinations of surviving statements of particulars must always be slight; and this is in most cases, and especially in literary history, all the license that Fortune has permitted us upon the patient ancients.

T. W. ALLEN.

## ON THE FRAGMENTS OF EURIPIDES.

(NAUCK'S NUMERATION.)

Fr. 262:

πάλαι σκοποῦμαι τὰς τύχας τὰς τῶν βροτῶν,  
ὥς τε μεταλλάσσουν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν σφαλῇ  
εἰς ὀρθὸν ἔσται χῶ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίτνει.

εὖ cannot stand, but extant conjectures do not account for themselves. Read ὥς πνεύματ' ἀλλάσσουν ('how they change their winds'), and cf. Eur. *H.F.* 216 ὅταν θεὸς σοι πνεῦμα μεταβαλὼν τύχη.

Fr. 456:

†ὠνητέραν δὴ τήνδ' ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι  
πληγὴν.

Read εὐνήτριαν ('the blow that gives thy quietus') and cf. Soph. *O.T.* 961 μικρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ' εὐνάξει ῥοπή, *Trach.* 1041 εἵνασον, εἵνασόν μ' ὠκυπέτα μόρω, *Ap. Rh.* 4, 1058 εὐνήτεια νύξ ἔργων.

Fr. 533:

τερπνὸν τὸ φῶς μοι †τόδ' ὑπὸ γῆν δι' ἄδου  
σκότους

οὐδ' εἰς ὄνειρον οὐδ' εἰς ἀνθρώπους μολεῖν†

Read

τερπνὸν τὸ φῶς μοι τὸ δ' ὑπὸ γῆν Ἄιδου  
σκότους

οὐδ' εἰς ἔνερθεν οὐδ' ἐς ἀνθρώπους μολών.

i.e. 'but the darkness under earth not one knoweth, having come among mankind from beneath.' [The neut. σκότος ought to have been frankly accepted: cf. *fr.* 555].

Fr. 555:

†οὐδ' ἡγήται πῶς κύνες οἱ θεοί,  
ἀλλ' ἡ Δίκη γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σκότος βλέπει....

The second line is sound (cf. *fr.* 533). For the first I suggest

οὐκ ἀκροῶ δ' ἡγήται, κύνες ὅπως, εἰσὶν  
θεοί

i.e. 'the vengeance of the Gods is not hasty; they are not like dogs always ready to bite.' Cf. ἀκρομανής, ἀκροσφαλής, ἀκράχολος.

Fr. 674:

In Hesych. 2 p. 67 ἐλίσσων· πλέκων, ψευδόμενος, οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείας λέγων, †ἡ κοινὸν the ordinary emendation is ἡ κινῶν. Better, I think, is μηκύνων.

Fr. 730:

ἅπανα †Πελοπόννησος εὐτυχεῖ πόλις.

Read νήσου Πέλοπος (since Πελοπόννησος is not a πόλις and, as Nauck observes, 'mira est Πελοπόννησος forma.')



Fr. 739 :

φεῦ, φεῦ, τὸ φῦναι πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἄπο  
ὅσῃν ἔχει φρόνησιν ἀξιώμα τέ.  
κἂν γὰρ πένης ὦν τυγχάνῃ, χρηστὸς γεγώς  
τιμὴν ἔχει τιν', ἀναμετρούμενος δέ πως  
τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖον ἴωφελεῖ τρόπῳ.

The passage is sound except in the word marked.

Read  $\phi \alpha \iota \nu \epsilon \iota$  τρόπῳ ('he shows in his own character his father's nobility'). The corruption was assisted by  $\alpha \iota = \epsilon$ .

Fr. 813 :

ὦ πλοῦτ', ὅσῳ μὲν ῥᾶστον εἴ βάρος φέρειν,  
πόνοι δὲ κἂν σοὶ καὶ φθοραὶ πολλαὶ βίον  
ἔναισ'. κ.τ.λ.

[Al. ὦ πλοῦτ', ὦ πλοῦτε].

Read ὦ πλοῦτ', ἴσως μὲν κ.τ.λ. ('it may be very true that...')

Fr. 833 :

τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὃ κέκληται θανεῖν,  
τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνήσκειν ἐστί; πλὴν ἴσμως βροτῶν  
νοσοῦσιν οἱ βλέποντες, οἱ δ' ὀλωλότες  
οὐδὲν νοσοῦσιν οὐδὲ κέκτῃνται κακά.

Read πλὴν ὅπως, i.e. 'except (for the knowledge) that...'

Fr. 1027 :

παῖς ὦν φυλάσσου πραγμάτων αἰσχροῶν ἴαπο.

Read ἀφάσ.

Fr. 1035 :

δύστηνος ὅστις καὶ τὰ καλὰ ψευδῇ λέγων  
οὐ τοῖσδε χρῆται τοῖς κακοῖς ἀληθέσιν.

Read

δύστηνος ὅστις μαλακὰ ψευδῇ λέγων  
οὐ τοῖσδε χρῆται μαλακοῖς ἀληθέσιν.

[Cf. fr. 1036].

Fr. 1042 :

ἅπαντές ἐσμεν εἰς τὸ νουθετεῖν σοφοί,  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἁμαρτάνοντες οὐ γινώσκομεν.

This may be right, of course. I merely wish to observe that when, in Stobaeus, there appear ὅταν σφάλωμεν (sic) and ὅταν ποιῶμεν as variants to ἁμαρτάνοντες, we may guess that the original of Stobaeus had ὅταν πταίωμεν.

Fr. 1059, 4-6 :

ἄλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν ὥς γυνὴ κακόν  
οἷδ' ἂν γένοιτο ἱγράμμα τοιοῦτ' ἐν ἱγγραφῇ,  
οἷδ' ἂν λόγος δείξειεν.

τοιοῦτον Nauck. I should read

οἷδ' ἂν γένοιθ' ὅραμα τοιοῦτον ἐν γραφῇ.

In some other instances I advance suggestions which may be worth consideration, even if the context is not sufficient (or sufficiently explicit) to admit of anything like certainty.

Fr. 154 :

<A.> τὸ †ζῆν ἀφέντες τὸ κατὰ γῆν τιμῶσί σου.

<B.> κενόν γ'. ὅταν γὰρ ζῆ τις, εὐτυχεῖν χρεῶν.

Probably τὸ ζῶν, as σου and the context indicate.

Fr. 170 :

οὐκ ἔστι Πιεθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος,  
καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἔστ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.

Perhaps φράσει.

Fr. 248, 2 sq. :

μισῶ γὰρ ὄντως οὔτινες φρονοῦσι μὲν,  
φρονοῦσι δ' τοῦδε νότος τε χρημάτων ὑπερ.

Perhaps

φρονοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν ὥστε χρήματα εὑπορεῖν.

Fr. 271 :

πτηνὰς διώκεις, ὦ τέκνον, τὰς ἐλπίδας.

τοῦχ ἢ τύχη γετ' τῆς τύχης δ' οὐχ εἰς τρόπος.

Read εὔχῃ τὴν τύχην γε ('thou boastest in thy fortune, it is true'). [The second pers. mid. for tragedy is -η, not -ει.]

Fr. 437 :

ὁρῶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ  
τίκτουσαν ὑβριν τὴν πάροιθ' εὐπραξίαν.

Commentators mostly suspect πάροιθ'. Perhaps πατρόθεν, the reference being to a εὐπραξία which does not come of personal merit or exertion.

Fr. 528 :

μισῶ ἱγναῖκα, ἐκ πασῶν δὲ σέ.

[al. γυναῖκας]. Perhaps μισῶ <γ' ἀεὶ> γυναῖκας.

Fr. 572 :

ἔν ἐστι πάντων πρῶτον εἰδέναι †τόδε (al. τουτί)

Read δέον?

Fr. 578, 3 sqq. :

ἐξηῦρον ἀνθρώποισι γράμματ' εἰδέναι,  
ὥστ' οὐ παρόντα ποτιῖας ὑπὲρ πλακῶς  
τάκει κατ' οἴκους πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς,  
παισὶν †τ' ἀποθνήσκοντα γραμμάτων μέτρον  
γράφαντας εἰπεῖν, τὸν λαβόντα δ' εἰδέναι†.

The lengthening before θν in (the prosaic) ἀποθνήσκοντα would be unique for tragedy. Scaliger gave χρημάτων for γραμμάτων, but

perhaps the claims of *παμάτων* may be regarded. Adopting *χρημάτων* provisionally, I should read

παισίν θ' ἂν παρ' ἐνὶ τῇ κροντῇ χρημάτων μέτρον  
γράφαντά τ' εἰπεῖν, τὸν λαβόντα τ' εἰδέναι.

Fr. 611:

Hesych. ἄντεμμάσασθαι ἀνταποδοῦναι, ἐπι-  
πλήξαι.

Perhaps ἀνταμεύσασθαι (= ἀνταμείψασθαι).

Fr. 643:

βαρὺ τὸ φρόνημ' τοῖσις ἀνθρώπου κακοῦ.

Salmasius gave *φόρημ'*, with which I should suggest

βαρὺ τοι φόρημ' οἷδε τις ἀνθρώπου κακοῦ.  
(i.e. his 'inflation').

Fr. 815:

δμῶσιν δ' ἐμοῖσιν εἶπον ὡς ἴκοντο  
πυρίδες καὶ διπετὴ κτεῖναι†

[Obiter emend. Erotian. διπετὴς ὁ γόνος το  
διπετὴς ἄγνός].

Valckenaer restored *κντήρια* in the first  
line. For the rest read perhaps

<χρεῖη> πρὸς δὲ καὶ διπετὴ κτίσαι.

[For κτεῖναι and κτίσαι confused see Aesch.  
Cho. 440].

Fr. 1046:

πολλοὺ γὰρ χρυσοῦ καὶ πλούτου  
κρείσσων πάτρα σῶφρονι ναίνειν.  
τὸ δὲ σύντροφον ἀδύ τι θνητοῖς  
† ἐν βίῳ χωρεῖ†.

The metre is uncertain. The sense is satis-  
fied with ἐμβῶνα κνρεῖ.

T. G. TUCKER.

## ARISTOPHANICA.--I.

### ACHARNIANS.

In the earlier part of the parabasis the poet praises himself, as he so often does, for the courage and true patriotism which he has shown. When the allies bring their money to Athens, they will all be eager to catch sight of the brave and honest poet:

646 οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης ἦδη πόρρω  
κλέους ἵκει,  
ὅτε καὶ βασιλεὺς, Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσ-  
βείαν βασανίζων,  
ἠρώτησεν πρῶτα μὲν κ.τ.λ.

Now, if οὕτω δέ is right, we should expect not ὅτε but ὥστε. Someone has suggested ὥς in the sense of ὥστε. But, though such a ὥς is admissible in poetry and is much affected by Xenophon, it is extremely rare otherwise and is not (I think) ever found in Aristophanes, nor is there any reason apparent why it should have got changed to ὅτε. If, on the other hand, ὅτε is right, οὕτω δέ refuses to harmonise with it. Recognising this and remembering *Eq.* 530 οὕτως ἠνέθησεν ἐκείνος, Elmsley changed οὕτω δέ to οὕτως, and others, e.g. Dr. Blaydes, have followed him. But *Eq.* 530 is not parallel and οὕτως is not suitable, for there the οὕτως clause winds up the sentence, whereas here ὅτε κ.τ.λ. carries it on, so that οὕτως would have to perform the impossible task of looking both backwards and forwards at the same time. If οὕτως refers to the poet's

fame among the Greek allies, the Great King's knowledge of him cannot be brought in to illustrate it.

I have little doubt that Aristophanes wrote οὕτως δέ. Truly his fame has spread wide.

In the first place οὕτως and οὕτως are frequently exchanged for one another by copyists. Which word is the right one in this or that passage is immaterial to the argument, but it will be found that the MSS. often vary between them: e.g. Plato *Euthyd.* 305 E: *Theaet.* 198 D: *Laws*, 708 D: *Critias*, 106 A: Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 3: [Arist.] *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1422 a 21. In other places the more familiar οὕτως has driven out an original οὕτως altogether, and the latter has only been replaced by modern critics.

In the second place the emphatic οὕτως is quite at home at the beginning of the sentence. Cf. such passages as Plato *Soph.* 236 D οὕτως, ὦ μακάριε, ἐσμὲν ἐν παντάπασιν χαλεπῇ σκέψει: *Phil.* 44 B: *Laws*, 708 D.

Finally compare the words of Xenophon *Hipparch.* 5. 9, which resemble our passage as much as if they had been written to illustrate it: οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν κερδαλέωτερον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης, ὅπότε γε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσὶν δὲ δύνανται ἀπατᾶν κ.τ.λ.

On the use of οὕτως in Aristophanes see Starkie's note to *Wasps* 997.

655. A few lines further on he pretends that the Lacedaemonians will try to appropriate him,

ἀλλ' ἑμεῖς τοι μὴ ποτ' ἀφήθ', ὥς κωμωδήσει τὰ δίκαια.

So the editors after Tyrwhitt, but the MSS. have ἀφήσετε, ἀφήσεθ', or ἀφήσηθ' (Van Leeuwen).

There are reasons for suspecting both the grammar and the metre here, and the two suspicions confirm one another. As to the grammar, if τοι is to be joined with a μὴ, μῆτοι is the established order, not τοι μὴ. See, for instance, Soph. *O.C.* 1439 μῆτοι μ' δδύρου, and 1407 μῆτοι με πρὸς θεῶν—μὴ μ' ἀτιμάσῃτε γε: Aesch. *P.V.* 625. Then the division of the anapaestic line should coincide with the pause of the sense at ἀφήθ', not come awkwardly attaching ὥς to what precedes and cutting it off from its own clause. We can easily remedy this defect by writing ὥς κωμωδεῖ for ὥς κωμωδήσει, the present tense being at least as suitable. This leaves us a syllable short in the first half of the verse, and then we see in a moment what the poet wrote,

ἀλλ' ἑμεῖς οὐ τοι μὴ ποτ' ἀφήθ', ὥς κωμωδεῖ τὰ δίκαια,

just as seven lines below he writes οὐ μὴ ποθ' ἄλῳ. The ἀφήσετε of the MSS. does, therefore, in a way, represent the true meaning, and may somehow have grown out of it. The MSS. certainly help to show that the line as usually printed is not right.

In the next line (656) φησὶν δ' ἑμᾶς πολλὰ διδάξιν ἀγάθ' κ.τ.λ., Hamaker has with reason demurred to διδάξιν, considering the τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων in the very same sentence, and suggested ἔτι δράσειν. Before finding his suggestion in Blaydes' note, I had thought of ποιήσιν.

683 τονθορίζοντες δὲ γήρα τῷ λίθῳ προσέσταμεν,  
οὐχ ὀρῶντες οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τῆς δίκης τὴν ἡλιγνῇ.  
ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἑαυτῷ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν εἰς τάχος παῖε ξυνάπτων στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν.

The difficulty of 685 is well-known. Elmsley and others following him think we may make νεανίας accusative plural or read νεανίαν, and translate 'but the other (the adversary) having taken care to have young men (a young man) assisting him in the prosecution (or prosecuting for him) engages us and strikes, &c.' But (1) if the prosecutor could call in a young spark to help him, so could the defendant: (2) nothing can get over the awkwardness of language by which the prosecutor, after calling in an assistant,

is himself said to carry on the fray, when the meaning must be that it is the νεανίας who παῖε ξυνάπτων &c., because the gist of the whole passage is the opposition of young and old. Dr. Merry rightly points out the difficulty of describing the prosecutor as 'doing *per se* what he is really doing *per alium*.'

But neither is Merry's own explanation at all satisfactory. He explains that 'the young barrister' (ὁ δὲ νεανίας) is only anxious to 'advance himself personally' (ἑαυτῷ ξυνηγορεῖν). This strains the use of the dative and does not give us a really good sense. What is there to show that this is the young man's one desire? He is not represented as spoiling his case by display of cleverness. He does just what is effectual, that is, he bewilders and silences the old man opposed to him. What proof of self-seeking is there in this?

The only emendation that deserves consideration is one made by a modern Greek scholar and adopted by Van Leeuwen in his recent edition of the play as *emendatio praestantissima*. Kontos proposes ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐάν τῳ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορή.

This is certainly ingenious, though the hypothetical ἐάν is not very satisfactory to me; but I think we may perhaps do better. With the insertion of one letter I would read

ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν,  
κ.τ.λ.,

taking ἐπ' αὐτῷ in the sense of 'matched against him,' 'told off to deal with him.' So of the champions who are matched against others in the *Septem* we read (447)

ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ στόμαργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,  
αἵθων τέτακται λῆμα

and again (620)

ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα Λασθένου βίαν  
ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν.

So in Thuc. with τετάχθαι, 2. 70. 1. λόγους προσφέρουσι . . . τοῖς στρατηγοῖς . . . τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσιν τεταγμένοις: 3. 13. 3. αἱ δὲ (νῆες) ἐφ' ἡμῶν τετάχθαι, and in *Theaet.* 172 E the adversary in court ἀνάγκην ἔχων ἐφέστηκεν. In these passages there is no doubt a verb added, but it does not seem necessary. We might possibly attach ἐπ' αὐτῷ to ξυνηγορεῖν, if we cared to do so. For myself I would rather point it off as above with a comma.

No one should take exception to αὐτῷ on the ground that it has no one to refer to, as προσέσταμεν is plural. It is common in



Greek to pass thus from plural to singular (*we, they, a man, &c.*) or from singular to plural; and Aristophanes in particular indulges in this confusion of numbers to a surprising extent, e.g. *Thesm.* 789

εἰ κακὸν ἔσμεν, τί γαμῆθ' ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ ἀληθῶς  
κακὸν ἔσμεν,  
κάπαγορεύετε μῆτ' ἐξελεῖν μῆτ' ἐκκύψασαν  
ἀλῶναι;

Let any one study *Clouds* 988-9: *Wasps* 552-558 and 564-568: *Peace* 639-641: *Frogs* 1071-1076: *Eccles.* 663-672, and he will not hesitate over αὐτῶ.

717 κάξελαύνειν χρὴ τὸ λοιπὸν κἂν φύγη τις  
ζημιῶν  
τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέῳ.

It seems hopeless to try to make sense of κἂν φύγη τις. But Blaydes' ὄφλη (or ἀλῶ) and Van Leeuwen's σφαλῇ are too far from φύγη to be at all probable. The editors do not seem to notice the scholium on this passage: κἂν ἐξελαύνειν χρὴ κἂν φυγῇ ζημιῶν, ὑπὸ γέροντος τοῦτο πάσχειν τὸν γέροντα. There is no room in the verse for κἂν ἐξελαύνειν—ἐξελαύνειν must be right from the parallel in Antiphanes—but the scholium may point to something like κἂν φυγῇ τις ζημιῶν.

To these remarks on the parabasis I will only add that the ἐξ οὗ γε with which it starts (628) ought to be ἐξ οὗτε, one of Blaydes' suggestions. 'Εξ οὗτε is a recognised expression in verse (e.g. *Eum.* 25: *Pers.* 762), whereas ἐξ οὗ γε is probably unique nor do I see what γε would mean.

But before leaving the *Acharnians* there are one or two other passages I would ask leave to say a few words about. One is the offer of Dicaeopolis in 318

κἂν γε μὴ λέξω δίκαια μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει δοκῶ,  
ὑπὲρ ἐπιζήνου 'θελήσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν.

Editors are pretty well agreed now that the last line cannot be right. The dactyl in τὴν κεφαλὴν is inadmissible. We need not lay stress on the illogical expression of the offer (*if I don't convince the people, I will speak with my head on a block*), for it is only an abbreviation, as Van Leeuwen says, and probably many readers never notice it. ἦν and εἰ are indeed often used in this way, *on the chance that*, but the clause containing them does not usually come first. But the awkwardness of λέγειν after μὴ λέξω is considerable. All sorts of substitutes for κεφαλὴν have been proposed (*δέρην, σφαγὴν, λάρυγγ'*), or other alterations of the line suggested.

Porson strangely thought τὸν Κέφαλον might be read. Keeping in view the *two* defects indicated and believing λέγειν to be wrong as well as κεφαλὴν, I am inclined to put forward the somewhat bold suggestion that τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν is nothing more than a gloss or explanation which has taken the place of some more striking expression. The poet might for instance very well write

ὑπὲρ ἐπιζήνου 'θελήσω τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς δραμεῖν.

He uses this expression in *Wasps* 375, ποιήσω δακεῖν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν. I add some other passages which illustrate the expression, and which illustrate also in some cases the ellipse of δρόμος or ἀγών: *Il.* 22. 161 περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο: *Herod.* 7. 57. 2 περὶ ἔωτοῦ τρέχων: 8. 74. 1 περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες: *ib.* 102. 4 πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας δραμεόνται περὶ σφένων αὐτῶν: 9. 37. 3 τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς: *Eur. Phoen.* 1330 δοκῶ δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, Κρέον, ἤδη πεπράχθαι: *Xen. Mem.* 3. 12. 1 ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγών: *R.L.* 10. 2 κυρίου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνος: *de Re Eq.* 7. 11 a horse τὸν αὐτοφῶν (i.e. δρόμον or τρόχον) διατροχάζων: *Plat. Theaet.* 172 ε περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ δρόμος: *Polyb.* 18. 35. 6 ἑάν, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, τρέχῃσι τὴν ἐσχάτην and so 1. 87. 3: *Zenob.* 4. 85 λαγῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχει: *Plut. Mor.* 1087 b τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν ἐπάξει: *Dion. Hal. Isocr.* 12 τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχοντι κίνδυνον ἐν δικασταῖς: *Aleiph.* 3. 72. 1 τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα ὑπέμευαν: *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* δραμεῖσθαί τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα. Cf. further the constant omission of δρόμος or ἀγών with such words as ὁ δόλιχος, ὁ ὀπλίτης, &c, e.g. *Laus* 833 A B ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἀμιλλησόμενος . . . δεύτερος δὲ ὁ τὸν δίαυλον καὶ τρίτος ὁ τὸν ἐφίππιον καὶ δὴ καὶ τέταρτος ὁ τὸν δόλιχον: and in Aristophanes such elisions in other phrases as τιμᾶν τὴν μακράν, δικάσαι μίαν, ναυμαχῆσαι μίαν, ἐτέρων ἔγχεον, γεωργεῖν πολλήν.

In 481 below Dicaeopolis exclaims ὦ θύμ' . . . ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιῇ τάχα, μέλλων ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρῶν λέγειν;

410 ΔΙΚ. Εὐρίπιδῃ ΕΥΡ. τί λέλακας; ΔΙΚ.  
ἀναβάδην ποιεῖς,  
ἐξὸν καταβάδην; οὐκ ἐτὸς χωλοὺς  
ποιεῖς.  
ἀτὰρ τί τὰ ράκι' ἐκ τραγωδίας ἔχεις,  
ἐσθῆτ' ἐλεινήν; οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς  
ποιεῖς.

The idea that ἀναβάδην here and in 399 means *upstairs* ought to be dismissed once

for all. (1) The sense *with the legs up* is established beyond any reasonable doubt by the occurrence of ἀναβάδην καθῆσθαι in Plut. Mor. 336 c u.v. Wytttenbach: Dio Chrys. 62. p. 323: Athen. 528 F (all apparently taken from Ctesias): by Pollux' recognition of the phrases ἀναβάδην καθήμενος (3. 90) and ἀναβάδην καθίζειν 6. 175: and by the passage in Plutus 1123 where Hermes, now out of work, says νυνὶ δὲ πεινῶν ἀναβάδην ἀναπαύομαι. The repeated junction with the idea of sitting really admits of no other interpretation, and the ἀναβάδην of Hermes emphasises the notion of inactivity. (2) On the other hand the sense *upstairs* is not established for any passage anywhere. It is true that a scholiast here says τὸ ἀναβάδην ἄνω τοὺς πόδας ἔχων ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου καθήμενος: and so Suidas ἀναβάδην ἐφ' ὕψους ἄνω τοὺς πόδας ἔχειν καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι. These explanations at first sight seem to jumble the two suggested meanings together, unless indeed we are to put a stop before the ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ and the ἐφ' ὕψους respectively; but perhaps those phrases mean no more than the height, e.g. the couch, on which the feet rest. On Plut. 1123 the scholia say nothing of a ὑψηλὸς τόπος: they give the alternatives of *legs up* and *feet crossed*. No passage elsewhere has yet been cited in which the meaning *upstairs* seems needed, and it is probable that the scholiasts had no more to go on than we have. (3) Euripides is evidently brought out by the eccyclema, and there is not the slightest reason for thinking that this or anything like it could be worked except on the ordinary level.

An eccyclema on the first floor is a thing unheard of. (4) The point of οὐκ ἐπὶς χωλοὺς ποιεῖς, *no wonder you bring in lame people*, is not the danger of falling down from an upper story. Why should adults be unable to take care of themselves? It is the suggestion of inability to walk conveyed by the reclining or half-reclining attitude. If the poet does not put down his own legs (καταβαίνειν 408: καταβάδην 411: cf. Phaedo 61 c) and get up, no wonder his characters can't use theirs.

Line 412 presents considerable difficulty to my mind. The meaning of course must be that his wearing rags himself accounts for the raggedness of his heroes, just as his not using his legs accounted for their being lame. But then the point of this is spoiled if he is said to wear *rags taken from tragedy*. The rags of tragedy should come from his own, not his own from tragedy. We must not go behind his rags and start with (1) ragged heroes, whose tatters he then (2) takes and wears, and therefore (3) naturally produces new heroes in rags. The joke is lost, if the thing does not *begin* with him. To avoid this, I have sometimes thought of writing εἰς τραγωδίαν for ἐκ τραγωδίας, ἐκ and εἰς being liable to confusion (EK, EIC), and taking it to mean 'to write tragedy in,' 'for tragedy.' But I am not very well satisfied with that.

549 Should we write

ἄσκούς, τροπωτήρας, κάδους ὠνουμένων?

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE PARIAN MARBLE.—II.

AT line 46 we recover the assistance of the Marble itself, and can to some extent control the restoration of the text by vestiges of letters or measurement of gaps. Unfortunately the upper part of the Oxford fragment, especially the right hand corner, has suffered very severely even since Selden's time, and the centre of the lower part of the new Parian fragment is entirely obliterated.

It would be tedious to notice here all the small corrections to be made in the text by deciphering a few more letters already rightly supplied, or changing the divisions of lines. I confine these notes to more material alterations, except where it seems

desirable to confirm or confute a doubtful restoration.

If I am right in reverting to Selden and splitting up Boeckh's Ep. 76 into three, the number of *epochs* on the Arundel Marble will become 80. I have denoted the *epochs* of the new Parian fragment by the letters of the alphabet (a, b, c,—i and j, v and w counted as one), and when these run short by the same letters doubled (aa, bb, cc).

### II.

Ep. 30. Lines 45–47. 'Αφ' οὗ Φ[εῖ]δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδήμευσ[ε τὰ μ]έ[τρα, καὶ || σταθμὰ]

κατεσκεύασε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, κ.τ.λ.

Κατεσκεύασε is certain, and I fancy I can make out -αθμα. In any case σταθμὰ seems to be required by the verb. For the fact compare Strabo 358, quoting Ephorus.

Boeckh was betrayed by Forster's notes into reading ἀνεσκεύασε. He rejected σταθμὰ, which had been inserted by Prideaux and Chandler.

*Ep. 31. Lines 47-48.* We must restore Συρακοῦσας, for the name is spelt with σσ wherever it is preserved on the Marble. So too [Συρακουσσῶν] must be read in *Ep. 53*.

*Ep. 32. Line 48.* Ἡρξεν is distinctly legible. Boeckh has ἦρ[χ]εν.

*Ep. 33. Lines 48-49.* The substance of this epoch is lost, and there is not sufficient material for a restoration, although Baumgarten's suggestion, that Archilochus was mentioned, is plausible. But the dating clause is preserved—ἔτη ΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι ΛΥΣΙΑ. Now Pausanias (IV, 15, 1) says according to the received text that in the 4th year of the 23rd Olympiad Ἀθηναίους Τλησίας ἦρχεν. And Palmerius, objecting to the genitive Λυσία, suggested that Τλησία might be substituted. Boeckh was ready to swallow the genitive as a Parian form, but adopted the suggestion Τλησία, suspecting that Selden had misread the letters. But Selden's reading is confirmed by vestiges of ΛΥΣ still visible on the stone, and, even granting that Pausanias intended the same archon, we might argue that Pausanias is to be corrected by the Marble (as Lydiat hinted) rather than the Marble by Pausanias. Selden's reading however appears to be incomplete. ΛΥΣΙΑ will not fill the space before the Αφ' οὗ which follows. There is room for about three letters more. I propose therefore to read Λυσιδ[δου], and get rid of the anomalous genitive.

*Ep. 34. Lines 49-50.* Ἀφ' οὗ Τέρπανδρος ὁ Δερδένεος ὁ Δέσβιος τοὺς νόμους ΤΟΥ . . . Α . . . ΩΝ . . . Δ . . . ΟΥΣΘΑΙΑΥΛΗΤ . . . || . . . ΛΗΣΕ καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθε μουσικὴν μετέστησεν, ἔτ[η] κ.τ.λ.

The end of line 49, from about νο in νόμους, has been broken off since Selden's copy was made, and I do not believe that Forster's collator ever saw it. At the beginning of line 50 there is rather more room than Selden allowed, but nothing can

now be read for certain before καί. Boeckh restores on the model of Palmerius τοὺς νόμους τοῦ[ς] κιθ[α]ρ[ω]δ[ῶν] [ἐδ.]δ[α]ξεν, οὗς [κ]αὶ αὐλητ[ῆς] συν-||-ἡνύλησε. But his restoration seems forced, and the relative clause particularly inept. Perhaps τοὺς νόμους τοῦ[ς] τῶν π[α]λαιῶν [ἐπανορθ]οῦσθαι αὐλητ[ῶν] || ἐτόλμ[η]σε might stand. Αὐλητῶν would be in antithesis to Terpander, the κιθαρωδός.

*Ep. 36. Lines 51-52.* The double σ in Συρακοῦσαις is plainly legible. There seems to be just enough room for [γεω]μόρων, although it is a tight fit and the letters are gone.

*Ep. 38. Lines 53-54.* Boeckh's insertion of [ἐν Δελ-||-φοῖς] is unnecessary. Line 54 began with στεφανίτης. Ν is to be added to Ἀθήνησι.

*Ep. 39. Lines 54-56.* Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ[ῆν]αις κωμω[ιδῶν] χο[ρο]δ[ός] ἡν[ρ]έθη [στη]σάν[τ-||-ων] πρῶ[των] Ἰκαριέων, εἰρόντος Σουσαρίωνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον ἰσχυάδω[ν] ἄρσιχο[ς] καὶ οἶνον με[τ]ρ[η]τῆς, ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

Boeckh has [στη]σάν[των] αὐ-||-τὸν τῶν Ἰκαριέων. But in the first place Selden evidently took his ΣΑΝΙ to be the end of line 54, for he put no dots after it, and the stone seems to confirm him.<sup>1</sup> Secondly the article before Ἰκαριέων is contrary to the usual practice of the Marble.<sup>2</sup>

After ΟΙΝΟΥ Selden has . . . ΕΡ . . . ΟΣ . . . , which may be variously interpreted. Bentley (Phal. 209) restored οἶνου ἀμφορεῖς from Plutarch, de cupid. divit. 8, and is followed by Boeckh, who takes Selden's ΕΡ to represent ΕΥ, and ΟΣ to be the end of ἄρχοντος. Perhaps ΕΡ may only be ΕΤ in ἔτη, but I think I can read ΜΕ . Ρ after οἶνον, which would give μετρητῆς, and Selden may have read the Ε and the Ρ but missed the Τ between them.

*Ep. 41. Lines 56-57.* Ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος [ἐξ] Ἀσίας [εἰς] Δελφο[ῦ]ς Α . . . || [ἔτη ΗΗ||ΔΔΔΔΠΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Ν ΕΥΘΥδήμου.

The Ν at the end of Ἀθήνησιν and the archon's name, which had been correctly

<sup>1</sup> The right edge of the stone is a little less hopelessly disintegrated than most of the right upper corner, and I fancy I can detect ΣΑΝ in spite of Dr. Mill (Bentley, Phal. 207).

<sup>2</sup> And therefore I suspect its insertion before Ἀθηναίους in *Ep. 19*.



elicited from Selden's ΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ,<sup>1</sup> are legible on the stone.

Most editors have supplied ἀ[πέστειλεν] in the lacuna, and Boeckh fancying that the line was shorter than its neighbours hazards the suggestion ἀπέστειλεν Αἰσωπον μαντευσόμενον. I think that what was foremost in the chronicler's mind was rather the offerings of Croesus than his envoys. I should supply ἀ[πέπεμψε τὰ ἀναθήματα]. Compare Herod. I, 14 and 51. The shortness of the line is largely illusory, and due to Selden's having written . | to represent the whole word Ἀθήνησι.

Ep. 42. Lines 57–58. Ἀφ' οὗ Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάρδεις ἔλαβε καὶ Κροῖσον ΥΠΟ . . . . . ΗΣΣΦΑΛ . . . . κ.τ.λ.

Boeckh following the lead of Palmerius reads ὑπὸ [Πυθία]ς σφαλ[έντα ἐξώγρησεν, ἔτη ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΓΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι . . . ἦν ἢ δέ] καὶ Ἰππῶναξ κ.τ.λ. But this supplement expands line 57 to the outrageous length of something like 150 letters. The simplest remedy would be to omit ἐξώγρησεν, for the chronicler uses the word ἔλαβε of persons as well as places (cf. line 7 of the new fragment), or possibly ὑπο[πρ]ήσ[α]ς [ἡ]φά-γυσεν would not be too far from the text.

Ep. 43. Lines 58–59. Boeckh's restoration runs Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐφάνη], πρῶτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ᾗ]στ[ει, καὶ ἐ]τ-έθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ἄθλον], ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

It is difficult to fit this version to the traces on the stone, but it is equally difficult to suggest another. One point however may be noted. Dr. Mill's πρῶτος ὃς (v. Bentley Phal. 240), whether right or wrong, is easily recognisable, and the Π is particularly distinct. But ἐφάνη would only fill half the space between ποιητὴς and πρῶτος. Moreover the word seems to me to savour of the Heroic age and to be inapplicable to a poet so late as Thespis. There is a wide field for conjecture, but I fancy the vestiges give a slight preference to a word ending in -το or perhaps -ατο.

Ep. 44. Line 59. The stone supports ἐβασίλευσε against ἐβασίλευε, and does not preclude reading ΓΙ for ΙΙΙ in the numeral.

<sup>1</sup> I believe that a similar misreading underlies the curious passage at the beginning of the forty-first chapter of the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, where the writer, or his authority, is thinking of the archon Euthydemus who succeeded Pythodorus in the year 431, and we ought to read δοκοῦντος δὲ δικαίως τοῦ δήμου (i.e. originally Εὐθύδημου) λαβεῖν τὴν [ἐπα-νυμίαν κ.τ.λ.

Ep. 45. Lines 59–61. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ [Ἀριστογέ]ιτων ἀπέκτε[ιναν || Ἰππα]ρχον Πεισιστράτου / . . Δ . . ON καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κ.τ.λ. After Πεισιστράτου Selden has A . . . . . ON. I give the letters as I should read them on the stone. The supplement Ἀ[θηνῶν τύρανν]ον, adopted by Boeckh from Prideaux, is much too long. Perhaps [τύρ]α[νν]ον might stand, but the traces rather favour [διὰ]δ[οχ]ον.

The name of the archon according to Ἀθ. πολ. 19 was Ἀρπακτίδης, and the traces on the marble point to Ἀθήνησι Ν Α[Ρ]Π[ακτίδου].

Ep. 46. Line 61. Boeckh gives the date as ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΔΔ[ΙΙΙ], ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν [Ι]σαγόρου. I should read ΠΙ on the stone for ΙΙΙ, and ΛΥΣαγόρου is quite plain. If the chronicler intended Isagoras and the year 508 one would expect Π (245). ΠΙ ought to mean the year 509, and we do not know the archon of that year. He may have been named Lysagoras, or the chronicler may have put Isagoras in 509, or the marks on the stone may be deceptive.

Ep. 47. Lines 61–62. Selden has Ἀφ' οὗ ΝΕ . . . . . ΙΠΠΙΑ . . . . . || . . . ΕΝ Ἀθήνησιν, ἔτη κ.τ.λ., out of which Boeckh spins a yarn about an imaginary Nestor, or Neileus, son of Hippias, who may have been caught in a plot to bring back the tyrant and put to death. I should read ΜΕ rather than ΝΕ, and have little doubt that we have to restore Με[λαν]πιπιδης . . . . . || ἐνίκ-ησεν Ἀθήνησιν. After Μελανπιπιδης I see Μ, which naturally suggests Μ[ήλιος], and although it is not easy to fit into the space I think this suggestion is the most probable, and preferable to μέλει for example. With Ἰππία disappears the last of Boeckh's Parian forms.

Ep. 48. Lines 62–64. Ἀφ' οὗ ἡ ἐμ Μαραθῶνι μάχη ἐγένετο Ἀθηναῖοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρ[ταφρένα τὸν] Δαρείου ἀδελ[φ]-δοῦν καὶ Δάτιν τὸν στρατηγόν, ἦν ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

The interval shown in Selden's copy between Πέρσας and Ἀρ[ταφρένα] does not exist, so we cannot insert [καὶ]. On the other hand there is more room than Selden allows at the beginning of line 63. I have given the obvious restoration, but I fear it is 2 or 3 letters too long for the space, and suspect that we must either read καὶ Δά[τιν] or

στρατηγόν, or allow that the chronicler has confused father and son and restore ἀδελφ-  
||όν καὶ Δᾶτι]ν. The ἦν before ἐνίκων is on  
the stone, as Boeckh rightly inferred from  
Forster's notes.

*Ep. 49. Lines 64-65.* Boeckh wrongly  
inserted Περσῶν after βασιλεύει, where there  
is no room for it and the Ε of ἔτη is still  
legible. Selden notes that the numeral may  
be read as either ΗΗΔ]ΔΓ or ΔΓΙ. The  
stone rather favours the latter, and we should  
expect 226, because the chronicle normally  
puts the archons before the year 399 one  
year above their orthodox dates. There  
seems to be no Ν at the end of Ἀθήνησι.

*Ep. 50. Lines 65-66.* Add ὁ between  
Στησίχορος and ποιητής, as Boeckh desired.

*Ep. 52. Lines 67-69.* The last clause  
ought to run καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐρύη ἐ[ν || Σι]κελίου  
περὶ τὴν Αἴτην. Selden mistook the Ε in  
ἐν for Κ, and left too much space at the  
beginning of line 69. There was therefore  
a natural tendency to look for ἐρρύηκεν,  
which Palmerius suggested, or ἐρρύη as in  
the parallel passage of Thucydides (III. 116).  
I imagine that Forster's collator approached  
the marble with the expectation of seeing PP,  
and that his eye fell upon ΕΡΜΟ (in Θερμο-  
πύλαις) exactly above ΕΡΥΗ two lines higher  
up, which in the present condition of the  
stone is at first sight most deceptively like  
ΕΡΡΥ. Hence the pencil note in Forster's  
margin 'ΕΡΡΥΗΚ,' and the subsequent  
correction in ink 'ΕΡΥΗΚ recte.' But  
Boeckh was misled into reading ἐρρύη κῶν ||  
ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Chandler seems to have looked  
at the stone, for he suggests ἐρύη[σε, mis-  
taking Ε for Σ, and omits the Κ. The  
stone confirms Boeckh's Αἴτην for Αἰτνίαν.

*Ep. 54. Lines 70-71.* There is no Ν  
at the end of the first Ἀθήνησι. One would  
rather restore 214 than 213 for the numeral  
(see note on Ep. 49), but it is a tight fit.  
So also Ep. 60, etc.

*Ep. 55. Lines 71-72.* The ΣΣ in  
Συρακοουσῶν is plain. So too Ep. 62.

*Ep. 56. Line 72.* Ἀψηφίωνος is clearly  
legible, not -ορος.

*Ep. 59. Lines 74-75.* ΕΓ is clearly  
legible, not ΕΝ.

*Ep. 63. Lines 77-78.* Ἀθήνησι, not  
Ἀθήνησιν.

*Ep. 64. Lines 78-79.* The stone clearly  
gives 92, not 91, for the age of Sophocles at  
the time of his death.

As to the archon, Καλλίου τοῦ ΠΡΟ. ΕΡΟΥ  
is plainly legible, but as προτέρου is evidently  
repeated from Ep. 59 by one of those slips  
of which we have seen an example in Ep. 27,  
it does not necessarily follow that we must  
read δευτέρου here and not τρίτου, although  
the former is perhaps the easier and more  
natural.

*Ep. 66. Lines 79-80.* Surely [κατήλθον,  
rather than [ἐπανήλθον, οἱ || μετ]ὰ Κύρου ἀνα-  
βάντες would be the natural word. The stone  
confirms the Α before Κύρου. I cannot see  
Ο between Σωκράτης and φιλόσοφος, and  
there does not appear to be any room for it.

*Ep. 67. Lines 80-81.* Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρ[ι]στ  
[ ἐνίκη]-|σεν] Ἀθήνησιν, ἔτη  
ΗΔΔΔΓ, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοκράτους.

I read ΑΡ[ι]ΣΤ[Ο or ΑΡ[ι]ΣΤ[Α, the  
last letter might be either. Chandler gives  
ΑΓ, Forster ΑΙ. Chandler restored Ἀ[στ]-  
δάμας πρῶτον ἐδίδαξεν], (cf. Diod. Sic. XIV.  
43), which Boeckh accepted with the quali-  
fication 'valde incertum supplementum.'  
There were many poets with names in Arist-  
living about the time, but I know no evi-  
dence to connect any one of them with a  
victory, probably a first victory, in the year  
399-8.

*Ep. 68. Lines 81-82.* Ἀφ' οὗ Π[ολ]ύιδος  
Σηλυμβριανὸς διθυράμβωι ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν,  
ἔτη κ.τ.λ.

ΥΙΔΟΣ is certain and Π very probable.  
There can be no doubt that Πολύιδος is right.  
The date is lost, but the limits 399 to 380  
cover the acme of Polyidus, and a reference  
to him would be in every way appropriate.  
I cannot see how Chandler arrived at Ξ, or  
Forster's collator at Ο, for Π. Σηλυμβριανὸς  
had already been reached by Flach, but as  
applied to Polyidus it appears to give us a  
new fact. Baumgarten guessed Polyidus  
(or Timotheus), but met with little atten-  
tion.

*Ep. 71. Line 83.* Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀστυδάμας  
Ἀθήνησιν ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη ΗΓΙΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντας  
Ἀθήνησιν Ἀστέιον κατεκάη δὲ τότε ΚΑ[

Boeckh, like his predecessors, followed  
the cue suggested by Aristotle Meteor. I. 6  
and Diodorus XV. 50, and restored κατεκάη  
δὲ τότε κα[τὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ πυρίνη δοκίς]. The

suggestion was plausible, but, I believe, illusory. Κατεκάη, which is quite clear on the stone, is a very strange word to use of a comet, as Dopp felt when he attempted to resolve it into καὶ ἐκάη. But a more natural restoration is ready to hand. A fourth century inscription of Delphi (Homolle in Bull. de Corr. hell. XX. p. 679, Dittenberger no. 93, who give further references) alludes to the destruction of the temple there in the words ἐπ[εῖ] ὁ ναὸς κατ[εκα]-ῖθη. M. Homolle argues that there is only room for two letters after κατ, and therefore rejects κατ[εκα]ῖθη, which had been originally proposed by Schmidt, Pomtow, and Dittenberger. But it is obvious from the photograph which he publishes that there is no physical impossibility in supplying the three letters—they would only be a little crowded. On the other hand the year of Asteius, 373, is the very year fixed upon by M. Homolle for the destruction of the temple, and when we put the Parian Marble, which records the *burning down* of something in the year 373, beside the Delphic inscription, we can hardly refuse to interpret them in the light of one another, and read in the one case ἐπ[εῖ] ὁ ναὸς κατ[εκα]ῖθη, and in the other κατεκάη δὲ τότε κα[ὶ] ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς ναὸς].

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the archaeological and other evidence as to the destruction of the Delphic temple. A full and lucid account of the problem will be found in M. Homolle's admirable paper, and I am aware of the objections which may be brought against my suggestion. But I hold that the burden of proof has now been shifted on to those who would deny that the temple was *burnt down*, and that evidence which might suffice to set aside statements of Macrobius or 'Epaphus' will not be conclusive against the convergent testimony of the two inscriptions.

Boeckh rejected 'istud καὶ,' but it is adequately supported by parallel cases in lines 13, 15, and 18 of the new fragment.

Ep. 72. Lines 83–85. After Φρασικλείδου Forster's notes add ΚΑΙΘΑΑ'. ^ (καὶ ὁ Ἄλ[έξανδρος κ.τ.λ.). The traces on the stone favour the omission of the O, which Boeckh wished away. I do not feel confident that the collator really read all the letters.

Ep. 73. Line 85. The stone has ἹμερΔιος for Ἱμεραῖος.

Ep. 74. Lines 86–87. I should restore Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀμύντου in place of Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης. Ptolemy was not the legitimate

sovereign, and there is no room for a notice of Perdiccas' accession before Ep. 77 (76), which certainly referred to Philip.

Ep. 75. Lines 87–88. Ἀφ' οὗ Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μα[ντεῖον κατέλαβον], ἔτη III, ἄρχοντος Ἀθῆ]-ῖνσι Κηφισοδώρου.

After Δελφοῖς Forster's notes have IPON, which is suspiciously like a conjecture, although Dopp seems to have persuaded himself that he could see the P on the squeeze. I should read MA on the stone, which gives μα[ντεῖον]. Κατέλαβον, which Boeckh retained from Baumgarten, is probably right, but not long enough to fill the whole space. ΚηφισοΔ-ῖνον is plainly legible.

The restoration of the date raises a difficult question. The year of Kephisodorus is according to the accepted list 366–5 B.C., or by the reckoning of the Marble ἔτη III. But all historical authority puts the seizure of Delphi in or about the year of Agathocles, 357–6. And the archon before Agathocles was, according to the received authorities, named Kephisodotus. Lydiat, Prideaux, Chandler, Clinton, and Boeckh therefore suppose that the name Kephisodorus was either an alternative reading in the lists for the archon of 358–7, or a mistake of the chronicler's (or mason's) for Kephisodotus, and restore the numeral 94. But this solution, however plausible at first sight, leads to serious difficulties. It is only made possible by the desperate expedient of throwing the whole of the next two and a half lines, from Αφ' οὗ Τιμόθεος down to ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέους, into one *epoch*, in defiance of the usages of the Marble and historical probability. Admitting, therefore, that a confusion between the two archons lies at the root of the blunder, I prefer to think with Palmerius and Müller that the chronicler has thrust back the seizure of Delphi to the year 366 simply to suit the name Kephisodorus. Boeckh could not believe that he could be guilty of an error of eight years or more, but Boeckh seems to me to have misconceived the method of the compiler, who is not (I take it) composing a chronological abstract of Greek history, political and literary, but having made a collection of historical facts, which he could by literary or monumental evidence connect with certain archons (or reigns), he arranges them in chronological sequence and calculates their dates from the list of archons. In other words the archon gives the evidence



for the numeral, not the numeral for the archon. This procedure would, I think, go far to explain the apparently arbitrary selection of the facts recorded. They are those facts about which the compiler happened to have the required information at hand.

*Epp.* 76, 77, 78. *Lines* 88–90. (76) 'Αφ' οὗ Τιμόθεος βιώσας ἔτη [Δ Δ Δ Δ] ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτ[η] ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησι [ ]. (77) [ 'Αφ' οὗ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μα]||-κεδόνων βασιλεύει, καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἐτελεύτησεν, Ὡχος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς βασιλεύει, ἔτη [Δ Δ Δ Δ Π], ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμήδους]. (78) [ 'Αφ' οὗ Ἀθήνη||-σιν] ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη [Δ Δ Δ Δ Ι Ι Ι], ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέους].

All those who date *Ep.* 75 at 358 B.C. are obliged to combine these three *epochs* into one. Instead of the natural ἔτ[η] Boeckh restores ἐτ[ελεύτησεν δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κ.τ.λ.], a form of expression which never occurs on the Marble except *after the date*, where a supplement or postscript is tacked on at the end of an *epoch*. Secondly there are grave historical objections to setting the accession of Philip and of Ochus in the year of Agathocles, 357. Thirdly it is singular to find the accession of the kings sandwiched in between two literary notices; for ἐνίκησεν probably refers to an agonistic not a military victory, not merely on a simple enumeration of the instances, but also because no very famous battle was fought in the year of Agathocles, and because, where the word ἐνίκησεν ends a clause in the chronicle, it always does refer to a literary or musical contest. Lastly the length of the combined *epoch* is suspicious, although not beyond all parallel.

For ΙΙΙ in the last numeral Forster's notes give ΙΙ, which is certainly all that can now be read, but the two strokes are rather wide apart, and faint traces on the stone between them may indicate a lost third, and although it is hard to account for the obliteration of this middle stroke while the others remain distinctly legible, yet its former existence seems sufficiently attested by Selden and Chandler and the orthodoxy of this part of the Marble in its dates for the archons.

Περσῶν after βασιλεύει is unnecessary, cf. *Ep.* 49.

*Ep.* 79. *Lines* 90–92. Nothing is left before the date except ἐγένετο. I do not believe in Boeckh's ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκεῖς πόλεμος. And the date is one year too late for the

birth of Alexander, which was first suggested by Prideaux.

At the beginning of line 92 are some remnants of what was evidently a postscript after the archon's name. Selden has . . . . . ΣΟΦΟΣ . . . . . Τ . . . . . ΤΟΥΤΟΥ, which is more like the spacing than Chandler's version. Forster's collator estimated 9 letters before ΟΥΤΟΥ. I should read . . . Σ . . . . . ΕΥΤΟΥ. The letter before Σ looks like Α or Η, and the letters next after Σ suggest ΑΓΩ or ΑΜ rather than Σ[ΟΦΟΣ].

*Ep.* 80. *Lines* 92–93. Nothing certain can now be made out after 'Αφ' οὗ. Selden has ΚΛ, Forster ΚΛΛΛΙ . . . . . ΓΤ, which suggests Κάλλιππος, or was perhaps suggested by it, for Lydiat and Prideaux had already made the conjecture. Line 93 has now been broken away and totally lost.

### III.

*Epp.* a and b. *Lines* 1–2. It is tempting to restore the traces in the first line to ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησι Χαιρών]δο[ν, referring *Ep.* a to the battle of Chaeronea, and starting *Ep.* b in line 1. But it is not easy to adjust this restoration to the marks.

*Ep.* k. *Lines* 9–10. Ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ γενομένου ΠΕΡΙ [ ] ΛΑΜΙ[ΑΝ] Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον κ.τ.λ.

Between *περὶ* and *Λαμίαν* is an erasure which might contain either *two* broad letters, or *three* narrow ones such as Ι, Ρ, or Υ. The traces on the stone point to two broad letters, of which the first seems to have had an horizontal top stroke, and the second was certainly Α or Λ or Δ. The two last letters of *Λαμίαν* are engraved over a second erasure, and the letter which originally stood in place of the Α was a 'square' letter with two vertical strokes. I believe that the cutter originally wrote ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑ, and then corrected it to ΛΑΜΙΑΝ by erasing the first two letters and changing the last two.

*Ep.* s. *Lines* 20–21. The Σ in Ἀθήνησι and ΣΙ in Σιμωνίδου are visible, and the space between them shows that we must read Ἀθήνησιν.

*Ep.* t. *Lines* 21–22. The first letter after the gap appears to be certainly Γ, but I do

not feel sure that there is not room for an E between it and [τη].

*Ep. v. Lines 22-24.* 'Οφέλας [ε]ἰς [Κ]αρ[χηδόνα στρατεύσας ἐτελεύτησεν, rather than μεταβάς ἀνιρέθη, seems the natural restoration, unless Wilhelm has any reason to the contrary. Cf. *Ep. m.*, line 12.

I could not make out on the stone the letters ΣΛI read by Wilhelm on a squeeze.

*Ep. γ. Lines 25-26.* One might feel tempted to restore φ[υ]λ[αί] π[ρὸς] ταῖς δέκα προσετέθησαν Ἀθήματι ἐπώνυμοι Διτιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου, cf. *Diod. xx.* 46, *Plut. Demetr.* 10, but the stone refuses any other reading than ΦΙΛΛΓ. Either Λ might be Α, but I doubt the point which Wilhelm marks before Γ, where I take the scratch to be accidental.

Near the middle of the lacuna, about under ΛΣΤ in Θεοφράστου, I thought I could detect ΟΝ, and in the third place before ΟΥ something like Σ.

*Ep. ζ. Line 27.* Ἀφ' οὗ Σωσιφάνης ὁ ποιητῆς [ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. Assuming that ἐγένετο is right, (ΕΓΕΝ is hard to distinguish from ΕΤΕΛΙ, ἐτελ[εύτησεν]), we have here the birth of a younger Sosiphanes, having already had the death of an elder in *Ep. q.*, lines 18-19. It is curious that nobody ever heard of two before the discovery of this part of the Marble. There was, to be sure, considerable uncertainty as to the date of Sosiphanes, for the notice of him in *Suidas* is evidently confused or corrupt, and his claim to a place in 'the Pleiad' is not a very strong one (*v. Clinton Fast. Hell.* III p. 502). Wilhelm suggests that a confusion

between the two poets may have contributed to muddle the accounts. But perhaps it is not impossible that there was after all only one Sosiphanes, that he died in the year 313, and that he was wrongly reckoned among the Seven Stars. *Sositheus* has a better claim to a place in the Pleiad, and possibly the engraver may have here repeated Σωσιφάνης from line 18, instead of writing Σωσίθεος, just as he repeated Μενεσθέως τρισκαίδεκάτου ἔτους in *Ep. 27*, and Καλλίου τοῦ προτέρου in *Ep. 64*.

*Epp. aa and bb. Lines 27-29.* In line 28 the vestiges before the gap might be read as Π . Ρ . Α . Β . . Ξ . Η, and in the third place before the Ν after the gap there appears to be something like Ο. These readings only confirm Wilhelm's ingenious restoration.

*Ep. cc. Lines 29-30.* Ἀφ' οὗ [κομήτης ἀσ]τήρ ἐφ[άνη κ.τ.λ. Wilhelm goes to Chinese records for confirmation of his convincing restoration. I see no reason why this should not be the star seen by Philochorus and mentioned in his ninth book, vide *Dionys. Halic.*, *Dinarch.* 3, p. 637, where the two quotations need not refer to consecutive years.

*Ep. dd. Lines 30-31.* In line 31 I should read the two strokes marked by Wilhelm under HP as Ν, and ΚΑΣ-ΣΑΝ . ΡΟ seems to be certain.

*Ep. ee. Lines 32-33.* The number 35 in line 33 is certain, for there is an appreciable vacant space, which was never inscribed, between the Γ and the edge of the stone.

J. ARTHUR R. MUNRO.

## NOTES.

NOTE ON SOPH. FRAGM. 626.—With this fragment—the isolated line

ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὁ θάνατος λούσθους ἰατρὸς νόσων—

may be compared the Welsh proverb *nid iach ond a fo marw*, or *Death alone brings healing* (word for word: *not whole but who is dead*). The sentiment embodied for Englishmen, once for all, in the great line

After life's fitful fever he sleeps well,

is no doubt common to all languages because common to all peoples. But the Welsh parallel will probably be new to most readers of the *Classical Review*. With it may be coupled another striking proverb, in which the reference is to the impartiality of Death: *ni edrych angau pryw decaf ei dalcen*, or *Death cares not*

*whose forehead is the fairest* (lit. *not looks Death who fairest his forehead*).

A few Welsh and Greek proverbs are, I may perhaps be allowed to add, brought together for comparison on p. 38 of *Chapters on the Aims and Practice of Teaching*, edited by Professor F. Spencer; and a popular collection of Welsh proverbs, with English verse renderings, is accessible in H. H. Vaughan's *British Reason in English Rhyme*. A science (if science it could ever become) of Comparative Prosemyography, or International Folk-Wisdom, would possess great interest. But bold will be οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι who venture to grapple with so vast and vague a theme.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

\* \* \*

## PLAUTINUM, PERSA 777-8.

*Qui sunt qui erunt quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac,*  
*solus ego omnibus antideo facile, miserrimus homi-*  
*nium ut vivam.*

Pro vocabulis *qui erunt*, quae utpote corrupta iam ab aliis (cf. Leo) notata sunt, nobis videtur scribendum esse *miseri*, ut locus se habeat:

*Qui sunt miseri quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac,*  
*solus ego omnibus antideo facile, miserrimus homi-*  
*nium ut vivam.*

Vocabulum *miseri* desideratur in sententia: *qui sunt quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac, solus ego omnibus antideo facile*,—deest aliquid, quod opus est memorari, dico *miseri* (*qui sunt miseri...*) vel *miseria* (*solus ego omnibus antideo miseria*); neque facile ex sequente superlativo (*miserrimus hominum ut vivam*) positivum *miseri* vel substantivum *miseria* ἐξ ἀναλόγου intellegas. Loci, quos critici laudare solent, aut praepositum superlativum habent: Catull. 49, 1: *Disertissime Romuli nepotum, quot sunt, quotque fuere... quotque post aliserunt in annis*: Cic. Fam. xi, 21, 1: *Dei isti Segulio male faciant, homini nequissimo omnium qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt*:—aut substantivum additum, quod ostendat, quia in re ille ceteros anteit: Cic. ad Quir. 16: *vir omnium qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt, virtute, sapientia, gloria princeps* (= omnes anteiens). Longe autem dissimilis loci Plautini est ille Xenophontis (Conv. 2, 10): *χρῆ γυναικὶ τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων χαλεπωτάτῃ*; in hoc enim loco adiectivum *χαλεπωτάτῃ* est praedicatum in eadem sententia (*χρῆ γυναικὶ χαλεπωτάτῃ*...). In Bacch. 1087 sq. non modo substantivum additum est, sed etiam positiva praeposita; Quicumque ubi ubi sunt, qui fuerunt, quique futuri sunt posthac *stulti, stolidi, fatui, fungi, bardii, blenni, buccones*, solus ego omnis longe antideo *stultitia et moribus indoctis*.<sup>1</sup>

THEOPHANES KAKRIDIS.

Athenis.

\* \* \*

ELISION IN THE DIAERESIS OF THE PENTAMETER OF CATULLUS.—The joining together of the two hemistichs of the pentameter was contrary to the nature of the verse, and, as is well known, was avoided by the Latin poets. But three exceptions have been cited (Lucil., cf. Mart. xi. 90, 4; Prop. i. 5, 32; iii. (iv), 22, 10, and Cat.). For Catullus the authorities vary, Christ (Metr.<sup>2</sup> p. 207) citing no passages, Gleditsch (Metr. d. Röm.<sup>2</sup> § 185) but 2, as also Luc. Mueller (Re Metr.<sup>2</sup> p. 362, p. 271), and Havet-Duvau (Metr. Grec et Lat. § 142) citing 3. Plessis (Metr. Grec et Lat. § 123), however, gives a more complete list, citing 11 examples, as follows: 67, 44; 68, 10; 68<sup>b</sup>, 42 et 50; 73, 6; 77, 4; 90, 4; 97, 2; 101, 4; 68<sup>b</sup>, 16; and 99, 12.

To this list the following are to be added:

- (1) 71, 6: Illam adfligit odore, ipse perit podagra.
- (2) 75, 4: Nec desistere amare, omnia si faciat.
- (3) 91, 10: Culpast, in quacumque est aliquid sceleris.
- (4) 95, 2: Quam coeptast nonamque edita post hiemem.

EMORY B. LEASE.

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## ON PHAEDRUS IV. VII. 17 sqq.

Quid tibi videtur? 'Hoc quoque insulsum est' ais falsoque dictum, longe quia vetustior Aegaea Minos classe perdomuit freta iustoque vindicavit exemplo imperium.

To *impium*, my emendation of the corruption in v. 20, it has been justly objected that this acc. with *vindicare* in the sense of 'punishing' is without example.<sup>2</sup> The change of a single letter in it, however, will set this right and at the same time bring it still nearer to the MSS. For *impium* (imperium) we have only to read *impium*. *Impium* is a neuter substantive, the equivalent of *impietatem* and the opposite of *pium*=*pietas* (Ovid A.A. 1, 200 'iusque piumque'). So *iniustum* Hor. S. 1, 3, 111 'metu iniusti,' *inhumanum*=*inhumanitatem*, Plautus, Rud. 767. The use of *impudens*=*ἀναίδεια* in 620 is remarkable enough to quote: 'statuite exemplum impudenti, date pudori praeium.' I have given several examples of this use of the neuter as an abstract, as it is often illustrated from passages where it does not occur; e.g. in Hor. Carm. 3, 30, 12 'ex humili potens' 'humili' is masculine.

The reference is to the unnatural conduct of Scylla to her father Nisus and her condign punishment by Minos. In the face of Propertius 3, 19, 21-28 and especially the last two lines 'non tamen immerito Minos sedet arbiter Orci: victor erat quamvis, aecus in hoste fuit' the allusion cannot be regarded as farfetched. But if it were, this would make no difference, as Phaedrus is professedly quoting from an unreasonable critic.

J. P. POSTGATE.

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EXCUSATOR IN SALVIANUS.—In Salvianus de gubernatione Dei III § 54 we read: quis enim vel nobilium omnino vel divitum horrens crimina? quamvis in hoc fefellerim; multi enim horrent, sed paucissimi evitant in aliis quippe horrent, quod in se semper admittunt, mirum in modum et accusatores eorundem criminum et excusatores.

Throughout the whole passage the contrast is drawn between the severe judgement passed by the great on their neighbours' failings and their blindness to their own misdeeds; *non videmus manticae quod in tergo est*. They are *accusatores* eorundem criminum (in aliis), *excusatores* (in se); cf. Hor. Sat. I 3 25-28.

Halm retains *excusatores* in his text, but gives it no place in his index. Pauly (Vienna 1883) has unfortunately admitted into the text a manifest corruption (*exsecutores*) in deference to Hartel, to whom his edition is dedicated. His critical note is: 'executores Hartelius (propter seqq. quod occulte agant).' In the text (line 16) Pauly reads *agunt*, not *agant*, but let that pass. Salvianus is as fond as is Augustine of alliteration (thus in book vii §§ 12 and 70 *divitiis* and *vitiis*). Forcellini (s.v. *excusator*) cites from Augustine the same juxtaposition of *accusator* and *excusator*; compare Rom. 2 15 and the proverb, *qui s'excuse, s'accuse*. Salvianus himself contrasts the verbs: ad eccl. iv. § 46: quicumque sibi se excusat accusat Deo. The great Latin lexicon now in course of publication gives under *accusator* among contrasted words (*opposita*) *depreccator*, but not *excusator*. Under the latter word this passage of Salvianus may find, let us hope, a place side by side with that from Augustine.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

<sup>1</sup> The priority in this emendation is due to Schoell: but Dr. Kakridis' defence of it will be welcome to readers of the *C.R.*—Ed. *C.R.*

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. A. E. Housman, *C.R.* 1900, p. 467.



"Ἰστέρα FOR *before* IN MODERN GREEK.—The following, as illustrating the confusion of past and future time in language, should be of interest to grammarians. In Calymnos (the usage is doubtless not confined to this island) the adverb Ἰστέρα, 'after,' is commonly used as equivalent to ἀρχίτερα, 'before.' "Ἰστέρα τὸ 'καὶ means 'he did it before'; but it also may mean 'he did it after.' The schools will take a long time to suppress this usage. It seems obvious

that Ἰστέρα, thus used of past time, means 'after something that happened before, but before something that happened after.' So, although only an adverbial and not a verbal form, it might be designated as a strong *Plus quam Perfectum*. It is none the less most confusing to strangers.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS,  
Dec. 2, 1900.

## REVIEWS AND COMPTES RENDUS.

### NESTLE'S *EURIPIDES*.

*Euripides, der Dichter der Griechischen Aufklärung.* Von WILHELM NESTLE. Stuttgart. Kohlhammer, 1901. Pp. xi. 593. 15 M.

THIS book deserves a welcome, and will be found useful, as well as interesting, even by those who may dissent from the general views of the author. Of these, I hasten to say, I am not one; so far as I personally am concerned, I have nothing to do but to express my thanks to Dr. Nestle for the attention which he has given to my essays and my pleasure in the extent of our agreement. I should be hard indeed to satisfy, if I were not pleased with his remarks upon the *Ion* (p. 74) or the *Iphigenia in Tauris* (p. 113), or felt any disposition to enter into controversy at this moment upon those points in which he would modify or reject my suggestions.

The purpose of his book is to present a systematic view of Euripides' opinions and feelings. The division adopted is naturally not that of the poet's works, but of subjects, *Theology, Physics, Psychology* and others, with subdivisions such as *The Family, The State*. It will not be disputed that in the case of Euripides such an attempt is legitimate and promising; that his works, although their dramatic form generally precludes the direct statement of the writer's mind, do, as a whole, suggest a conception of his personality; and that it is desirable, so far as it may be possible, to describe this conception exactly. Dr. Nestle's treatment is full; there are nearly 400 large pages in the main statement, besides copious notes and indices (not the least valuable part); but the arrangement is clear and the style agreeable, and though well adapted for reference, the book is a book to be read. The temptation, in such a task, is

to carry system too far, and to press into service what is not strictly evidence. That Dr. Nestle avoids this danger I will not assert; but those who may desire, for their own purposes, to rearrange or to abridge the material will at any rate find the ground prepared for them and the instruments ready to hand.

For obvious reasons, the author proceeds most safely where the nature of the case allows him to follow the poet's own division of matter, and to discuss, as a whole, an individual play. Special attention may be invited to the treatment of the *Suppliants* (p. 63), the *Helena* (p. 89), and the *Bacchae* (p. 75). Dr. Nestle is with those who think that this problematic drama is no 'palinode', and rightly protests against the Procrustean simplicity of expediting this, or any, explanation of it by the process of arbitrary excisions. According to him, it is in the parts of Tiresias and Cadmus that we see most of the poet's own attitude towards the Bacchic religion. His reasons, which have much weight, cannot fairly be abbreviated, but should be studied as he states them.

The conclusions, at which Dr. Nestle arrives, the general view of Euripides' opinions and manner of thinking, which he presents, appear to be just. But it is possible to feel doubts respecting a portion, and no small portion, of the evidence. In the phrase 'Euripides says', with which these pages abound, there is an ambiguity which must be kept in mind. To gather the opinions of a dramatist from his plays is a delicate operation. A sentiment or proposition expressed dramatically proves *prima facie* nothing about the views of the author, except indeed this, that he thought it such as by some person and in some circumstances might naturally be uttered. How far he

believed or approved it, may and often will be undiscoverable; it can be known, if at all, only by an investigation extending generally to the whole play, and sometimes beyond. Dr. Nestle (p. 212) protests, with natural warmth, when Aristophanes tears from its context the famous

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος

and insinuates that Euripides has spoken in favour of promise-breaking and mental reservation. The *Hippolytus*, since we happen to possess it, shows us that the insinuation is at best a pardonable joke. The doubt expressed by Hippolytus in the citation does not even refer to mental reservation at all. The case is that of a promise of secrecy, obtained by treachery, and used to cover the revelation of an intended crime; and the question is, whether in such a case the promiser can properly hold or be held to consequences which, to the knowledge of the promisee, he did not intend or contemplate. What is remarkable is not that Hippolytus perceives this doubt (he would be incredibly stupid if he did not), but that he instantly dismisses it, and actually sacrifices to his oath not merely his own life, but the dearest interests of others. He is a very fanatic of his word; and if any objection were to be made upon moral grounds to Euripides' picture of him, it must be that, in the sympathy invited by his fate, we are led to overlook the extravagance of his fidelity. Should not then Aristophanes here be a warning? If we attempt to extract something about the opinions of Euripides from the equally celebrated fragment of the *Aeolus*

τί δ' αἰσχρόν, ἦν μὴ τοῖς γε χρωμένους δοκῇ;

and the jests and anecdotes attached to it (p. 46), how can we know that we are not going, or being led, as far astray as in the other case Aristophanes might have led us, if the *Hippolytus* had been lost? We cannot, it seems, be sure that we even understand exactly what was meant by the words; much less can we guess whether the dramatist approved or disapproved them, or implied no judgment at all.

The principle of the matter cannot be better illustrated than by the small group of passages (pp. 142 foll.) in which Euripides refers, or seems to refer, to the doctrines and practices known as 'Orphic'. In the *Cyclops* (646) the cowardly Satyrs excuse themselves from helping actively in the attack on Polyphemus, but sing at a safe distance 'a charm of Orpheus', which, they say 'will make the fire-brand go in of itself'.

Dr. Nestle infers that Euripides had little respect for such conjuring, and the inference, in view of the whole scene and the whole play, is perfectly fair. But when in the *Hippolytus* (952) Theseus, supposing his son to be a detected villain, refers indignantly and contemptuously to the fact that the son has practised and taught the Orphic asceticism of fasting, and warns those present to beware of such hypocrites, how does it appear that the practice itself is condemned, or, if it is, that the dramatist sided with Theseus and not with Hippolytus? Doubtless, as Dr. Nestle says, the subsequent exculpation of Hippolytus does not refute Theseus on this point. But where is the evidence on the other side? Surely the scene would be justified dramatically if, as a matter of fact, some virtuous people did favour the Orphic practices, and also some hypocrites, and if, in consequence, some other persons regarded the practices as at best equivocal. How then can we infer anything more? And if here, with the entire play to guide us, we may remain in doubt, still less can we build upon scraps from the *Polydus* and *Phrixus*, showing that, somewhere in those plays, some personages showed knowledge of the Orphic doctrine that 'death is the true life', and perhaps an inclination towards it. That Euripides knew or could imagine such persons, we hereby learn, but really this seems to be all.

Nor is the fragmentary state of our tradition about Euripides the only imperfection of it which must be kept in mind, if we are to go on solid ground; some of it comes through such channels, and in so questionable a form, that we dare not use it. For example, we are told by Pollux, that Euripides so far neglected the dramatic character of the chorus that 'in many plays' he made them speak simply for himself, as in the parabasis of comedy, and in the *Danae*, by a resulting inadvertence, actually made a chorus of women *masculine*.<sup>1</sup> Pollux moderately calls this 'not tragic'. He might properly have called it unintelligible, impracticable, and absurd. If there had been, what is quite conceivable, such a thing as a parabasis in tragedy, that would not have justified or explained at all the habit ascribed to Euripides. If it is truly so ascribed, the fact is of profound importance for the interpretation of his works, and above all, when we are looking in them for his opinions. It could not safely be limited to the chorus; it would imply in Euripides

<sup>1</sup> Pollux 4. 111; see the fragments of the *Danae* in Dindorf or Nauck.

a tendency, almost a theory, which must be reckoned with everywhere. Anything in such an author might be spoken not in character but 'as for the poet'; and indeed Dr. Nestle (p. 38), combining this allegation of Pollux with other observations, seems to infer something of the kind as a matter of principle, which, if justly founded, should and must affect our estimate throughout. But what about the fact? The reference to the *Danae* cannot be verified; but we have the *Hippolytus*, which is presumably one of the 'many plays' in view; for it exhibits the very same phenomenon (1102 foll.), a chorus which speaks sometimes as if masculine, though in its dramatic character it is feminine; and the fantastic hypothesis of Pollux, that the masculine is the gender of the poet himself, has been current both in ancient and modern times. But there at least no such fiction is necessary, or ought to be entertained. The play has, as every one knows, both a male and a female chorus; and the fact that the genders *alternate* between strophe and antistrophe invites, or rather imposes, the very simple explanation that the two choirs are here combined in responsion. The vagueness and carelessness of ancient play-books has left this distribution unmarked—and that is all.<sup>1</sup> Now how are we to know that Pollux, whose treatment of the topic is sufficient proof that he was not very well qualified to deal with it, did not make in the *Danae*, and in his other 'many plays' (if there were many), the same false inference which others have made, and he plainly would have made, about the *Hippolytus*? His dictum here has as little authority as reason, and should be simply set aside.

Still graver are the reasons for doubting the testimony of comedians, rhetoricians and scholiasts (p. 33), when they imply, or hint, or assert, that in Euripides' *Cretans* the dramatist adopted, as part of his story, the *μῆξις Πασιφάης πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον*. Nothing in Euripides, so far as we know him directly, lends support to this prodigious statement, which, if true, must deeply affect our estimate of him and of Athenian tragedy in general. And one thing is demonstrable, that the tradition of ancient scholarship, in the shape in which it descends to us, is not a sufficient warranty for such a statement. The play in question dealt with the story of Pasiphae no doubt. But there were in the fifth century B.C. various conflicting views about this story. There were those who

repeated, with or without belief, the primitive legend. There were also those who said that the thing was a mere mistake, arising out of the fact that the name of a certain person happened to be *Tauros*. Which of these versions Euripides adopted in the *Cretans*, only his play itself, the whole play, could assure us; and further, to judge by other cases more or less parallel, the question, even if we had the play, could not (as none knows better than Dr. Nestle) be answered by using the text like a mythological dictionary. All probability favours the supposition that the version of Euripides was humanist; and as for the ancients who tell us the contrary, they say the same about an allusion to the same story in the *Hippolytus*, where nevertheless the legendary version is intolerable, and the humanist version not only admissible but imperative. It is enough to say that Phaedra, the Phaedra of the *Hippolytus*, draws a parallel between the story of her mother, Pasiphae, and her own.<sup>2</sup> Readers of the *scholia* to that play will easily suppose that the ancient critics did not come in sight of the question, any more than (for instance) they saw any defect in an 'argument' of the play, which, among many words, bestows not one upon Hippolytus' oath, though the plot is impossible and unintelligible without it.

It must, however, be fully recognised that Dr. Nestle is not only right (as I think) in his general conclusions, but often instructive and acute in treating a particular point of evidence. Thus he well points out in the *Herakles* (p. 106) how the fate, which descends upon the hero, is fitted, and apparently designed, to suggest doubts respecting the prudence of those who, immediately before, in the popular style, have been finding a 'divine judgment' in the fate which descends upon the villain. If the death of Lycus proves, as the chorus tells us, the truth of popular theology, what does the madness of Herakles prove? In raising this question Dr. Nestle is in the right; but does it not suggest some modification of what is said on p. 62 respecting the attitude of the dramatist towards such popular opinions, as expressed in some parts of the *Herakles* and elsewhere? And how, with such an

<sup>2</sup> *Hipp.* 327:

ΦΑ. ὦ τλήμων, οἶον, μήτερ, ἡράσθης ἔρον.

ΤΡ. ὃν ἔσχε Ταύρου, τέκνον, ἢ τί φῆς τόδε;

That Euripides meant Ταύρου (not ταῦρον, cf. Palaeph. Incredib. 20, Plutarch *Thesens* 16) has been pointed out to me by Professor Murray, and, when pointed out, is plain enough.

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction to my edition of Aeschylus *Agamemnon*, pp. 1, li.



example before us, can we safely determine in what relation to the opinions of the dramatist we should rank a detached passage from the *Bellerophon* (p. 130); or how can we presume (p. 167) that a certain chorus of the *Hippolytus* expresses feelings shared by the poet, since to the chorus of the *Herakles* he has assigned, as we have just seen, feelings which were not his own, and which he was rather disposed to blame? On certain subjects, for example on the nature of Chance (τύχη), the sphere of Chance in the world, and the relation of Chance to other things or powers, we find (and what else could we expect?) among the various personages of Euripides opinions and sentiments, which, as Dr. Nestle seems to admit (pp. 56, 57), cannot be reconciled. Should we not then be cautious how we select a doctrine for Euripides out of the propositions, perhaps less unmanageable but certainly discrepant, which persons of

different ages, ranks, sexes, characters (and many unknown to us) were made by him to utter in different circumstances (and many unknown to us) upon such provocative themes as Rhetoric, Woman, Heredity, or the political value of the middle classes?

But enough of reservations, especially since it is impossible here to represent the work adequately, or even to notice the most striking points. Such a point is the stress laid by Dr. Nestle on the connexion of thought between Euripides and Heraclitus. This and much else we must leave to the reader. To sum up, it appears that the author, if he does not always use the available evidence with discrimination, at all events knows it thoroughly, presents it fairly, divines not unreasonably much which cannot perhaps be proved, and traces correctly the fundamental lines.

A. W. VERRALL.

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#### LEBRETON ON CICERO.

*Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Cicéron.* PAR JULES LEBRETON, S.J., Docteur ès lettres. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 8vo. Pp. xxvii, 472.

THE *Études* of Father Lebreton furnish a good example of patient and scientific method, and supply contributions of real value towards a better knowledge of the language of Cicero. The ground has been apparently so thoroughly worked that it would seem quite superfluous to give any more attention to it. As Dr. Lebreton himself says: scholars are ready to believe that nothing can be found of interest except in the syntax of the Africans or of archaic writers. None the less there are not a few statements in even our latest and best authorities on classical Latin prose, which really will not bear careful examination, and not a few gaps which might be filled up. Dr. Lebreton has made it his aim in a series of investigations, not covering the whole field of vocabulary and syntax, but dealing with the most interesting points open to doubt, to verify or disprove by the most elaborate statistics and an array of quotations the generally accepted rules. As natural with a French scholar, he has taken as his standard authority for the orthodox doctrine either Riemann's *Syntaxe Latine* (as revised by Lejay) or Riemann-Goelzer's *Grammaire*

*Comparée*. But he has not neglected the views of any standard grammarian, with the rather surprising exception of Mr. Roby, and the Gildersleeve-Lodge manual.

The value of such an elaborate collection of facts depends upon three points: its exhaustiveness, its critical care, and the soundness of the interpretation regulating the admission or exclusion of instances. To test the first would be a task requiring hardly less time and patience than were needed by the compiler; but Father Lebreton has utilised the best monographs in French, in German, and in English, and has often added to them from his own reading; so that they may be regarded as probably for his purpose exhaustive.

As to the critical care, Dr. Lebreton takes pains in every case, as far as I have observed, to give the authority on which the disputed reading rests; and he has used the best critical editions of the several works, as well as Müller's text for his basis. The work of English scholars like Dr. Reid, Dr. Tyrrell, Dr. Sandys and others is recognised; but it is odd to find that Dr. Joseph Mayor's storehouse of learning in his edition of the *De Natura Deorum* is ignored. Sorof, too, would have been of more use than Fiderit for his object in the *De Oratore*. As to the interpretation, it is very noteworthy how many passages have been often cited as

examples of a rule, which when rightly translated are seen to have nothing to do with it—cases, *e.g.*, where a hypothetical subjunctive has been discovered, which is one due solely to reported speech. Father Lebreton has removed not a few of them; it might be too much to say that he leaves none; but at any rate they are very rare. One can usually follow his classification with complete confidence.

To give any adequate conception of the range of the *Études* it would be necessary to transcribe the full *Table Analytique des Matières* which covers pp. 467–471. The matter is divided into seven chapters on Concords, the Substantive, the Pronoun, the Verb (its transitive force), the Verb (tenses), the Verb (moods) and the Preposition and the Conjunction.

In the first the two sections deal with the concord of a verb or an attribute referring to several subjects, and with the attraction of a relative or a demonstrative. In the former the investigation is based upon the extensive material collected by Anz; but his conclusions are somewhat modified, and new canons of usage laid down. In the second the object is to reinforce the conclusions reached by Riemann in the *Mélanges Rénier* from a comparatively small number of instances, and to show from a wider induction that attraction is more common than the reverse, even in negative sentences. The rule to the contrary given by grammarians before Riemann rests upon a single corrupt passage in *Sest. Rosc.* 37, 106. Yet Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 211, R. 5, still says, that 'in negative sentences . . . there is no change,' quoting an instance from Vergil. The chapter on abstract substantives contains full collections, and some interesting remarks, but hardly any novelties, though there are some sound interpretations of disputed passages. The next section shows how much too strict stylists have often been in refusing to Cicero the use of the name of a country or a town to denote its inhabitants; there are numerous examples which it would be easy to multiply. The next deals with the collective singular, which is shown to be comparatively rare in Cicero, as compared with Caesar or Livy, but not by any means unexampled. Under the head of 'expressions employed substantively,' Dr. Lebreton defends Dr. Sandys' interpretation of *Or.* I, 4, as against Riemann's. Chapter III. begins with a discussion of the various ways of rendering 'that of'; which is followed by a section on the use of *nostrum* and *nostrum*, etc.: and by one

in which Father Lebreton disputes Riemann's rule that when two relative clauses are connected by a copula, the second relative is most frequently replaced by a demonstrative. This is of course often the case in Cicero, though seemingly not in Caesar nor in Sallust; but the retention of the relative is still more common, although it has not been noticed so much, just because it is normal. A long and very thorough discussion of the uses of the relative follows, which results in the sensible conclusion that texts must be interpreted by the general sense of the passage, not by rigorous rules.

Under the head of the verb Dr. Lebreton deals first with transitive verbs used without an object, including in this category, like M. Bréal in his *Semantics*, verbs usually governing a genitive or a dative, and gives a pretty complete set of passages in which they occur. Another chapter treats of the employment of the tenses. The usage of the historical present is carefully analysed; but in the only instance which he quotes for its employment in subordination to a subjunctive (*in Verr.* ii. 2, 20, 50) *faciam* is surely future indicative. Kühner from whom the quotation is borrowed does not seem to misunderstand it.

In treating on the use of the present, especially after *si*, instead of the future, Dr. Lebreton seems to adduce a good deal of doubtful matter. He allows this usage when 'the subordinate clause is equivalent to the principal'; but in many cases it appears to denote an action already commenced, of which the result is still in the future; so that each tense retains its natural force; *quod si efficis, hortos habebō* = 'if you are carrying this out, I shall get the gardens.' Dr. Lebreton would explain 'to do this means to get me the gardens.' Still in view of the usage of the comedians it is impossible to deny altogether this anticipatory use of the present. On the imperative in *-to*, Dr. Lebreton goes with the general current of opinion since Riemann's article, (*cp. e.g.*, the later editions of Schmalz) and accepts a temporal force rather than one of mere emphasis. In the 'futur antérieur' he finds the indication of an aoristic rather than a perfect force, while recognising how they tend to pass into each other.

On the consecution of tenses Dr. Lebreton attacks the 'grievous inexactness' of the rules laid down by Riemann, especially as to 'absolute' and 'relative' time, at considerable length, but our limits do not permit a discussion of his views, which would need to be examined in much detail.

Under the head of the 'Mood of Prohibition' Dr. Lebreton naturally discusses the conclusions of Professor Elmer, to which he does not consider that the articles contributed to the *Classical Review* by Sir W. Geddes, added anything of value; and submits them to a severe criticism, following mostly the lines of Professor Bennett. He protests against the exclusion of the letters, as not representing the classical usage; and insists on the prohibitive force of the perfect subjunctive with *nec, nihil* and *nequidem*, examining the examples of these constructions. With regard to *ne* with the present subjunctive Dr. Lebreton holds that Professor Elmer is as lax in admitting cases, as he was severe in excluding them previously. There is an interesting collection of instances of the usage of *quaeso*, *à propos* of the much-discussed *Att.* xiv., 1, 2, 'Tu, *quaeso*, *quicquid novi (multa autem exspecto) scribere ne pigresce*'; in which Dr. Postgate's view is duly noted, but not discussed. The conclusion is that in Cicero there are forty-three instances of the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions, and not one decisive instance of the present.

In dealing with the use of the moods in relative sentences, Dr. Lebreton adopts fully the negative results of Dittmar's criticism of Professor W. G. Hale's theories (cf. *C.R.*, for December 1898); but considers him to have failed completely in substituting for it his rival theory of the 'polemical' force of the subjunctive. The exegesis of the passages quoted in this part of his book seems to me particularly good. On *Pro Sest.* 67, 140, he is quite clear in his support of Dr. Reid's view as against Dr. Holden's.

In discussing the usage of *cum* 'equivalent,' much use is made of the investigations of Lattmann, which, however, deal more with the tense than with the mood. He definitely rejects the theory of grammarians who like Madvig allow the use of the subjunctive imperfect with an 'equivalent' *cum*. For *cum-tum* Dr. Lebreton accepts the refutation by Professor Hale of the rules laid

down by Hoffmann and widely current, but rejected now by Schmalz in his third edition. He acutely notices that if Riemann was right in supposing *cum* in such cases to be co-ordinating rather than subordinating, the *cum* clause ought to go into the infinitive in reported speech, whereas it is always in the subjunctive.

There is a good discussion of the subjunctive in conditional sentences; but it does not take us much farther than the view stated so clearly by Mr. Roby, that the mental attitude may be shifted between the clauses of a hypothesis.

Several other points call for notice, such as the use of the infinitive with a relative, the omission of the subject of an infinitive, the use of the gerundive, the use of *ab* with passive verbs, and the attaching of *-que, -ne, -ve* to *ē*. But enough has been said to show the nature and variety of the topics treated. It may just be remarked that in the Introduction there is a caveat against an undue assumption of resemblances between Cicero's epistolary style and the diction of the Latin comedians. Dr. Lebreton points out, what no one has better indicated than Dr. Tyrrell, who is here criticised, that Cicero has not one, but a dozen epistolary styles; and that phrases natural in the letter to Lentulus, would be quite out of place in writing to Trebatius or Hirtius. Still it is clear that the Letters must not be left out of account in studying classical Latin prose.

Whatever may be thought of particular conclusions, Dr. Lebreton's studies show so much acuteness and diligence, and, so far as it has been possible to control them, so much accuracy, that all who have to do with the language of Cicero will do well to keep them within easy reach for frequent reference, facilitated as this is by very full indexes of subjects, of words, and of quotations. The last indeed almost amounts to a grammatical commentary on the whole works of Cicero.

A. S. WILKINS.

#### THE NEW MAXIMIANUS.

*The Elegies of Maximianus.* Edited by RICHARD WEBSTER, Classical Fellow of Princeton University. Princeton Press. 1900.

*Studio sulle Elegie di Massimiano.* GIARDELLI. Savona, 1899.

*Der Elegiker Maximianus.* VON PROF. DR. F. HEEGE. Blaubeuren, 1893.

THESE three works on the Elegies of Maximianus, all within the compass of eight years, and especially the first of them, open



again, but hardly solve, the points in dispute about the life, personality and date of the poet, his creed, and the relation of the MSS. to each other. Dr. Heege's program is mainly occupied with the diction, syntax, and prosodial specialities of Maxim., and on these points is copious and erudite; it is perhaps somewhat excessive in demonstrating how closely the language of the Elegies is modelled on the classical period, though it is useful to be assured of this; and I may be allowed here once more to protest against the statistical record of the distribution of dactyls and spondees in the verses of the poet as not compensating the writer's labour by any corresponding utility.

The Savona professor's dissertation is divided into the following sections: 1. Morphology, including peculiarities in the comparison of adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, particles. 2. Syntax. This section is very well done, and forms an excellent introduction to the Elegies. 3. Locution. 4. Metric; short, but dwelling on everything that can fairly be called salient. 5. Imitation. 6. A critical appendix treating many of the more difficult passages. I have read this with great interest, and can recommend Giardelli's lively and unpedantic style as likely to make the poems, themselves lively and natural, more read and studied.

These works, excellent so far as they go, are, however, in importance, not comparable with the elaborate edition of R. Webster. The volume, which is most beautifully printed at the Princeton Press, contains 128 octavo pages, of which the following is a short account. 1. Bibliography, giving a list of all the most recent dissertations, editions, or articles on Maxim. 2. Authorship. 3. Manuscripts. 4. Text of the Elegies with a full app. crit. 5. Critical Appendix mentioning most of the emendations which are of any importance. 6. Commentary. 7. Index.

Webster, remarking on the increasing *unreality* of Roman Elegy as exhibited from Tibullus to Ovid, on the fact that the Elegies are little more than variations on the theme 'old age,' exhibiting in a formalistic way the phrases of the erotic and consolatory Elegy, and the tendency to a rhetorical cast in the *motif* and manner, denies that they are autobiographic, and finds them to be not personal or historical, but a dramatic series of tableaux, in which the supposed hero Maximianus is merely a dramatic personage, not an actual and living poet. It is true that the MSS. seem to favour the view that

Maximianus is the name of the poet himself: e.g. Bodl.<sup>2</sup> after the poems has the words *explicit liber Maximiani*. But it must be observed that the Eton MS., which is acknowledged to be the best, has *no* heading or conclusion of the kind: that Bo<sup>1</sup> (Bodl. 38) ends with a mere *Finit*: while Reg. 15 A 7 has this colophon.

Talibus infecte deponis uerba senecte

Scriptus ab<sup>1</sup> auricamo maximiane lupo

in which the obviously corrupt *auricamo* may perhaps represent an original *eurimaco* or *eumachio*, if we may make such an inference from the form it bears in a marginal note in the Antwerp edition of 1567 *eumacho*, which with other marginalia was written by the younger P. Pithou, as he himself informs us: *contuli cum MS. Puteanorum fratrum Lutetiae MDCXI KAL SEP Petrus Pithoeus*.<sup>2</sup>

Again, it would be easy and natural to transfer the name which originally attached to the hero of El. iv. 26 to the poet himself, to say nothing of a mediaeval Maximianus of cent. XII. who wrote on old age, but of whom little is known.

As regards the *date* of the author, Webster, accepting the prevailing identification of Boetius in El. iii. with the philosopher of that name, and considering it improbable from the close resemblance to the *Consolatio* traceable in many passages, that the poems can be far removed from Boetius' death in 524 A.D., and on the other hand, pointing to the palpable imitations of Maxim. found in the Xth and XIth of the minor poems of Eugenius of Toledo, places them between 524 and the death year of Eugenius 657, yet so that they lie much nearer to the 6th than to the 7th century.

The arguments of Manitius in support of the poet being a Christian, Webster shows to be of an unsolid kind: we cannot argue from the uncertain attitude of the philosopher to the uncertain language of the poet. It is rather more probable that he was *not* a Christian. Heege, however, p. 6 note, calls attention to three passages which to me have a Christian ring. III. 83 *Salve sancta, inquam, semperque intacta maneto Uirginitas: per me plena pudoris eris*: I. 218 *Terram qua genita est et reditura, uidet*: cf. Gen. iii. 19 *donec reuertaris in terram, de qua sumptus es*: V. 118 *Unius ut faciat corporis esse duo*: cf. Gen. II. 32 *et erunt duo in carne una*. And at any rate it

<sup>1</sup> al. arrepto.

<sup>2</sup> For this reference I am indebted to Prof. W. M. Lindsay.

cannot be said that the Elegies contain anything distinctly pagan.

The account of the MSS. has, I believe, nothing very new. Webster does not accept the primacy of the Eton MS. to the extent of Petschenig, who has made it the one basis of his text, a conclusion which has led him to some extravagant results, and which, in the bare form exhibited in his edition, cannot but shock the susceptibilities of most ears. My own re-examination of the earliest Bodleian MS. (Bodl. 38) only confirms the high opinion of it which I stated in 1884, and I have thought it worth while to add to this notice a complete collation of it. Here some typical specimens of its readings may be mentioned. Bo<sup>1</sup> = Bodl. 38. E = the Eton MS.

# I. 177, 8.

Turpe *senum* uultus nitidi uestesque decorae  
Quis hinc iamque ipsum uiuere turpe *senum*.

E. has Turpes enim uultus—turpe sene.

201 Multa licet *nolis*. E. has *nobis*  
(wrongly).

205 nequiquam both Bo<sup>1</sup> and E: most  
MSS. have the inferior spelling nequicquam.

207 Plaudens Bo<sup>1</sup>: plaudent E.

223 Hinc est quod Bo<sup>1</sup>: Hic est quod E.

253 Mollia filtra thoris Bo<sup>1</sup>.

A most important reading. E, according to my collation (made in 1878) has *silcra* or perhaps *filcra*.

Bährens' G = Leid. Gronov. 87 also has *filtra*. The ordinary reading is *fulcra*. But how can *fulcra* be soft? The word implies solid wood or metal. There can be little doubt that *filtra* is the right word. Götz Thesaur. Glossar. Emendatarum, p. 199, s.v. *Centonem* writes "*Centones* ex multis pellibus uestes confectae, II. p. xiv. *filtra* V. 584, 5 *Papias* cf. *feltrum* apud Ducangium, *feltre* apud Osb. p. 117, 144.' From these glosses *filtra* would seem to mean the soft material of a mattress. It remains an interesting question whether this word, which has a prima facie look of a later period than cent. vi. or vii., already existed then as an acknowledged Latin word. It appears to me indubitably right in the passage of Maxim., attested as it is by two such early guarantors as E (XIth cent.) and Bo<sup>1</sup> (perhaps XIIth cent.), see Madan's account of this MS. in his Summary Catalogue III. no. 8849.

266 Et sensus menbris his sepelire suis Bo<sup>1</sup>.  
hic E.

It would be rash to say what is *right* here: but the variant *sic* found in some MSS. would seem to be wrong. *Bis* seems possible.

## 272

Lentaque per senium Caspia tigris erit Bo<sup>1</sup>.  
aspera E.

I am afraid to follow Petschenig and Webster in accepting *aspera* on the evidence of E. This non-elision of *-um* at the end of the first half of a pentameter would be greatly against the careful rules of Maxim.'s metre; and not only is *caspia* attested by the early evidence of Bo<sup>1</sup>, but (if Webster's App. crit. may be trusted) is the reading of *all* the other MSS. Of those I have examined, I have found it also in the two Brit. Mus. codices, and in Bo<sup>2</sup>, where it assumes the form *capsida*.

I shall perhaps be doing the greatest service I can to students of these Elegies by appending a complete collation of Bo<sup>1</sup> with the text of Webster.

I. 59 moribus prouintia 61 mi *corrected to*  
mihī 65 uel ut ante petita 72 ponsus  
73 nāme 77 mihī *om* 80 Nec—nec 84  
honoris habet 85 machra 87 Si de-  
lectat 88 Nec cuiuslibet 90 propiis  
92 cyprus 93 cesaries 99 preciosius auro  
*marg.* 1' aurum 100 Gemma est inditio  
111 Nunc quia (large capital) inutilis 113  
conditio 117 hui *altered to* heu 118 Tar-  
tareas uiuum 119 minor atque caligant  
122 expertam 125 con corpore 126 ad-  
stupet 130 aut rabiis 131 speties 136  
Et placentur (p *half smudged*) uncae scabrida  
menbra manus 137 fronte (r *half erased*)

143 ludisse senes necredere 150 sceptum  
154 Iam duplices aepulae 157 iam *om*  
160 abstineas 163 munia 165 oras 168  
quic quid 169 materie 177 senum 178  
senum 179 cumuiua 182 eris 183 Inmo  
186 apositis 196 ipsa 198 sapit esse  
putat 201 referret reuoluēs 205 nequi-  
quam 206 Nilque satis horret 208 ob-  
probriāo 209 Hee 210 petet 212 speties  
213 humeris 215 ipsa *om* 216 dimidii  
221 requirunt *om* 223 inconbens 225 gressu  
227 genteris(?) 228, '9 *om* 233 expen-  
dere 236 dura *om* 238 attracti 240 me  
putet 248 Telux qua 253 filtra toris 254  
habet 261 HISVENIENS in capitals honerata  
266 menbris his sepelire 267 hieu 269  
longeuo 270 equus 272 Lentaque caspia  
273 consumet 277 figuram 279 qui posset  
281 sequuntur 282 Nec quicquam 284 me  
uocitare 285 gressus iam *om* 292 ruunt.

II. 1 liquoris 6 inbellem 7, 8 om 10  
 Ut spretus uitio iudicer esse meo 11 Hec  
 (H a large capital) 13 huic inquit hesi  
 (*Capital large and conspicuous*) 15 uomitu  
 et ceu 17 Et (largish capital) affers quis-  
 quam 25 Atque equidem 27 PRESTAT  
 ADHVC spetiosa 28 sedspicit *changed to*  
 despicit 33 Reliquias ueterum in niueis 34  
 Sed si quid 38 Nullus ad amplexus 39 solis  
 meritis omnia possunt luctus 40 Quodt  
 habuit 42 nota uiros 43 ERGO prae-  
 scientia 44 memoremur 45 fugiant 46  
 repetant 47 diligit 48 quaerat 49 can-  
 tet philomela 50 Sitque 52 Hospitiā  
 petas 63 NECME addeo 64 En facio uersus  
 et mea dicta cano 68 Et quo pertendi 70  
 affectus 73 HIS After 74 follows EXPLICIT  
 LIB. I INCIPIT LIB. ScDs.

III. 1 NUNC *instead of iuuentae only the*  
*first f of a lost word remains.* The leaves  
 containing iii. 2-iv. 59 have been cut out of  
 the MS. It recommences with iv. 60 Et  
 quod non capiunt pectora bruta uolunt.  
 vi. 1 Missus (*large capital*) functus 4 blanda  
 nefanda 7 amoris *rather than amore* 10  
 greco 13 afflictas amanti 19 Illa syrenum  
 20 ulixis 21 quia cantus euincere molles  
 23 se lege 24 plausibus 26 colore 28  
 abstringens claudetret 29 Ad fractura  
 30 exausto 31 abstringere 33 tua sunt  
 me 36 uenit 42 semen 43 MVNERIS 47  
 sed adfuit 48 Munia grandaeuo 51  
 infesta *but f over another letter, perhaps c*  
 (incesta) triumphum 52 increpitans debita  
 reddis ait 55 Erubui tunc et stupui  
 uerecundia motus 57 Contractare 60  
 focum 61 credelis 64 Hec 67 nonnūquā  
 carpere 68 tristitiam 71 TVNC 72  
 Effusus 73 hieque uitium crimenque

76 Venditor 79 ipse 80 quo 81 Protinus  
 (*large P*) 81 arguias 83 membri 87 MENTVLA  
 88 delitiae 96 Adstans 99 Nampe 100  
 nampe 103 funere 105 Haec 107 lang-  
 orem membri 109 ILLA 110 cahos 112  
 totum 115 geminans toto 116 duos 118  
 Hec 119 gemnia 120 fallat<sup>x</sup> 121 secretaque  
 creta 122 fructiferumque caput 123 Vade  
 124 Et tibi 125 quod est ultra 133 risitque

134 placet 137 usus 138 Nonne quod  
 iuuenis est non amica malis 139 inpendunt  
 143 Tu post 147 potentia uictrix 148  
 sepes uoles 149 resumes 151 rediuiua  
 152 perit *but* <sup>p</sup> *was a later addition* 153  
 Conticuit (*a very large capital*) sotiata.

*but the a is in lighter ink and seems a later  
 addition* 154 obsequiis

vi. 2 Namque et hoc 3 Sit 4 Con-  
 tractata 5 loeti 7 Ac 8 Hic 9 uolubile  
 11 corpore surgo FINIT

Mr. Webster's commentary is perfectly  
 original and new. It exhibits a large and  
 multifarious acquaintance not only with the  
 writers ordinarily drawn upon for quotation  
 or illustration, but, which is more to the  
 purpose, with the later writers of the time  
 which followed the adoption of Christianity  
 as the state religion; Ausonius, Avianus,  
 Prudentius, Orientius, Avitus, Boetius,  
 Corippus, Dracontius, Ennodius, Fortunatus,  
 Sedulius, and many others. The commentary  
 is particularly rich in quotations from the  
 Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, and will be  
 very attractive to those who make this  
 branch of literature their province. The  
 Anthologia Latina has also been utilised  
 not a little. In his judgments on the mean-  
 ing of the many disputed passages in Maxi-  
 mianus, Mr. Webster holds his own, and  
 his opinion comes with all the authority of  
 a learned and unbiassed scholar, who has ob-  
 viously made a *con amore* study of the Elegies.  
 I do not profess always to think he is right  
 and am sometimes disposed to hold to the  
 opinions I have expressed in the *American*  
*Journal of Philology*. But if he is com-  
 pared with the only previous commentator  
 known to me on the whole of the poems,  
 Wernsdorf, he will be found to be far his  
 superior in freshness of treatment, happiness  
 of illustration, and, if one may judge by the  
 great variety of works cited in the notes,  
 width of reading. His style too is attrac-  
 tive, recognisably American and German,  
 rather than English, in freedom and bold-  
 ness of tone.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

#### SWETE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE LXX.

*An Introduction to the Old Testament in*  
*Greek.* By H. B. SWETE, D.D., Hon.  
 Litt.D. (Dublin). With an Appendix  
 containing the letter of Aristeas edited  
 by H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A. Pp. xi.

592. Price 7s. 6d. Cambridge Uni-  
 versity Press.

This well-filled volume affords an admirable  
 illustration of the scientific method as



applied to the study of one department of ancient literature. There is scarcely a superfluous word in the book; and everything is rigorously directed to the end in view, viz.: that of presenting the student of O. T. Greek with a concise account of the language, literature, and history of the Septuagint version. As a manual, it could hardly be bettered; and it places within our reach all the information needful in the way of general introduction to the Greek versions.

'A first attempt,' says Professor Swete in his preface, 'is necessarily beset with uncertainties.' One must, therefore, not expect finality in such an attempt; but students are to be congratulated on possessing in Dr. Swete's manual, as clear and trustworthy presentation of the most recent results of LXX criticism, as could well be imagined. The footnotes and references afford abundant proof (if such be needed) of Dr. Swete's consummate care in overhauling, and rendering conveniently accessible, 'all the published works dealing with the various branches of learning which fall within the range of the subject.' The literature is enormous; but hitherto students have not been able to focus the mass of varied information available on questions, critical, historical, and literary involved in any serious consideration of the Septuagint in particular, and of Hellenistic Greek in general.

Dr. Swete divides his work into three main divisions: (1) The history of the Greek O. T. and of its transmission; (2) The contents of the Alexandrian O. T.; (3) Literary use, value, and textual criticism of the Greek O. T. The fifth chapter—to signalize one out of many—dealing, as it does, with the mss of the LXX, is particularly valuable; all the chief mss are detailed, and the characteristics of each succinctly set before the reader. This is a great gain; but in a second edition of the book a few photographic specimens of the greater uncials and cursives might advantageously be given in the same fashion as has been done by Dr. E. B. Nestle in his recent 'Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N. T.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One might suggest, too, that, in a second edition, Dr. Swete should devote some paragraphs to discussing the functions of conjectural emendation in arriving at a true settlement of the LXX text.

In part ii. chap. 4, Dr. Swete has presented us with a useful collection of specimens of LXX Greek—all the more acceptable as no adequate treatment of the Greek idiom of the LXX exists at present. Some good hopes are held out by Dr. Swete that a Grammar of O. T. Greek will shortly be forthcoming; such a work will be of far-reaching importance.

Dr. Rutherford's remarks on the value of studying the Greek of the N. T. from the right point of view (see the preface to his recent translation of the *Romans*) have equally pertinent reference to the Greek of the LXX; nor is it one of the least satisfactory signs of the present that attention is being directed to the vast field, hitherto all but unexplored, of Hellenistic literature and idiom.

Equipped with Dr. Swete's manual edition of the LXX (already in a 2nd edition), Hatch and Redpath's Oxford Concordance, and with the present thoroughly sound and scientifically arranged Introduction, the reader of the Septuagint may feel that he has, at least, no lack of trustworthy subsidia in his study of LXX Greek. And such study will be amply repaid in an increasing knowledge, not only of the conditions under which the first great Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures was produced, but also of the many interesting problems opened up by a fuller acquaintance with Greek modes of thought and expression as a whole.

I have left myself scant space in which to call attention to Mr. St. J. Thackeray's critical edition of the Letter of Aristæus. Wendland and Mendelssohn's belated edition (which actually appeared just before Mr. Thackeray's) will possess, no doubt, an independent value of its own; but English scholars will not be slow to acknowledge the care and scrupulous accuracy which Mr. Thackeray has expended in rendering the Letter generally accessible; and his critical introduction (pp. 501–518) puts the reader in possession of the requisite material for understanding the condition of the text. The critical apparatus, at the foot of the page, if not absolutely complete, is sufficient for every practical purpose.

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## GREGORIO'S GLOTTOLOGICAL STUDIES.

*Studi glottologici italiani.* Diretti da GIACOMO de GREGORIO. Vol II.<sup>1</sup> Turin, Loescher. 1901.

THE publication of this volume gives us the opportunity of drawing the attention of English philological scholars to the excellent work that is being done at Palermo by Prof. de Gregorio and his pupils. He has founded there a school of linguistic science which bids fair to rival that of northern Italy. The contents of the second volume of its 'Studi' which has just appeared are worthy of the type and paper lavished upon them. They are distinguished by sound learning and scientific research, and though primarily confined to the Indo-European field include Papers on languages belonging to other families of speech.

The first article is an exhaustive examination by E. La Terza of the radical vowel in the theme of the Greek perfect, the results of which throw light on the general subject of primitive Indo-European vocalism. Other articles are upon the modern dialects or languages of Italy and the adjacent islands ;

<sup>1</sup> The contents of the first volume were the following:—(1) G. de Gregorio, Contributi alla Etimologia e Lessicografia romanza con ispeciale considerazione ai vernacoli siciliani; (2) R. Sabbadini, Saggio di toponomastica dell' isola dell' Elba; (3) M. La Via, Il vocalismo del dialetto gallo-italico di Nicosia in Sicilia; (4) M. Niedermann, Recensioni; (5) G. de Gregorio, Sopra un problema di sintassi comparata dialettale.

thus T. Zanardelli writes on Sardinian etymologies, M. La Via on the Gallo-italic dialect of Nicosia in Sicily, and the editor himself, Prof. de Gregorio, on various peculiarities of the Sicilian dialects. He also contributes an interesting article on words of Arabic origin in the dialect of the little island of Pantellaria, as well as an elaborate essay on the structure of the African language generally known as the Ewe. This he has studied from the lips of native speakers, the result being a monograph of the first importance to the students of African philology. He makes it clear that while Ewe is not a Bantu language, there nevertheless exist between it and the Bantu family certain similarities of structure which indicate contact or relationship of some sort in the past.

We must not forget to notice also a very interesting reference to the Basque which has been brought to light by R. Sabbadini. It is contained in a work, *De Rebus Hispaniæ*, published by a Sicilian, Lucio Marineo, in 1535. Marineo passed the latter part of his life in Spain, and in his account of the Basques, gives us the earliest specimens of their vocabulary that have yet been discovered. It is noticeable that the forms of the words are practically the same as they are to-day, and among them is a list of the numerals.

A. H. SAYCE.

CHROUST'S *MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA*.

*Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters.* Erste Abtheilung: Schrifttafeln in Lateinischer und Deutscher Sprache. In Verbindung mit Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Dr. Anton Chroust, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Würzburg. Lieferungen I–IV. (München, Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann A.–G., 1900–1901).

A NEW palaeographical publication, which promises to be of considerable importance, has been undertaken by Messrs. Bruckmann of Munich, under the editorship of Dr. Chroust, Professor of History in the University of Würzburg. The four parts, comprising in all forty plates, which have already

appeared, form half of the first of three volumes, which, according to the prospectus, will be devoted to reproductions of Latin and German writing; while it is hoped in subsequent series to deal with Greek and Oriental palaeography. The form of publication is avowedly copied from that of the now dormant Palaeographical Society, which may claim to have been the pioneer in this department of study. As in that Society's volumes, the plates are accompanied by a transcript of the page reproduced and a brief description, embracing the history and palaeographical features of the manuscript from which it is taken. The plates are slightly larger than those of the Palaeographical Society, measuring  $22\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$

inches, so that even MSS. of considerable size can be reproduced without reduction. On the other hand the price is decidedly higher, twenty marks being charged for each part of ten plates, whereas the Palaeographical Society gave twenty plates for its annual guinea.

The quality of the plates leaves little to be desired, so that subscribers may be satisfied that they will have a handsome volume, as well as one that will be permanently valuable and instructive. Dr. Chroust's descriptions of the plates are admirably complete and careful, the history of the several MSS. being quite sufficiently set forth, while their palaeographical characteristics are fully and minutely indicated. Any student who works steadily through these descriptions, with the plates before him, will have only himself to blame if he has not gained a sound working knowledge of mediaeval Latin palaeography, within the limits adopted (for the present, at any rate) by the editor. The only suggestion which it seems necessary to make for the improvement of the publication on its material side is that the date and title (not merely the reference number) of each manuscript should be given on the plate itself, instead of having to be searched for in the description. In the practical use of such a volume this would save much time and trouble.

The range of the publication, as set forth in the prospectus, is as wide as possible, including all developments of Latin, and eventually of Greek and Oriental writing, both within and beyond the borders of Germany; but the parts actually issued show no traces of this broad field of view. The plates are drawn exclusively from manuscripts at Munich, either in the Staatsbibliothek or the Reichsarchiv; nearly all represent manuscripts written in Germany, and within a moderate distance from Munich, at Regensburg or Salzburg; and nearly a quarter of them are actually drawn from a single manuscript, a register of donations to the monastery of St. Emmeram, at Regensburg. To the student who is accustomed to the wide range of the Palaeographical Society and of similar publications, this limitation may seem strange; but it is deliberate, and with a reasonable object. The editor's intention is to illustrate the development of Latin minuscule script in one or two local schools from a single neighbourhood, so as to establish, if possible, the peculiarities of the local style; and since the manuscripts of Bavaria are readily ac-

cessible to him, it is natural that he should begin with them. Moreover, in devoting himself primarily to MSS. written in Germany, he is filling a gap in palaeographical knowledge. The more attractive MSS. of Italy and France have been reproduced and studied in considerable numbers, while the Palaeographical Society has naturally paid special attention to MSS. produced in England; but the German handwritings, which are artistically less attractive than those of their continental neighbours, have generally been left on one side.

Until Dr. Chroust has published examples from other German localities, it is too early to say whether a definite type of hand can be associated with Regensburg, as it is with Tours or St. Albans. The donation-registers of St. Emmeram afford good material to start upon, since they provide dated examples of writing from the scriptorium of that monastery from 822 to 1231. The hands are not remarkable for grace or beauty; indeed purely German MSS. rarely are so; but they form an instructive lesson in palaeographical evolution. The most beautiful of the MSS. reproduced in the four parts now under notice, though its connection with St. Emmeram's dates back to more than 1000 years ago, was not written there and cannot be reckoned to the credit of any German school; but, as Dr. Chroust acutely notices, it probably furnished a model for the scribes of the monastery. This is the famous Gospels of St. Emmeram, which forms one of the group of 'Golden Gospels' produced in the north of France during the reigns of Charlemagne and his successors. Written, probably at Corbie, for Charles the Bald in 870, and preserved at first at St. Denis, it had probably found its way to Regensburg before the end of the century, and there, about a hundred years later, Abbot Ramvold provided it with its superb golden binding. Its writing, like that of the Harley Golden Gospels in the British Museum and several other MSS. of the same group, is in splendid uncials of gold; while its ornamentation is of that gorgeous style which the artists of north-eastern France developed on the lines of their Anglo-Celtic prototypes. Of this luxurious volume Dr. Chroust gives four representations, one showing a magnificent page of illumination, while the others illustrate different parts of the text.

The only other highly decorated manuscript included in these four parts is the Gospels of Niedermünster, written between 1002 and 1025 either in the nunnery of that



name in Regensburg, or in the neighbouring monastery of St. Emmeram. The style of illumination is plainly modelled upon that of the French school above described, perhaps upon the St. Emmeram Gospel-book itself; but it is somewhat degenerate, and will not bear comparison for beauty with the work of the contemporary Winchester school in England. The writing is a rather large and heavy Caroline minuscule, with a tendency to lean forward, which also appears in other German MSS. of the same period.

The other plates are of purely palaeographical interest. They are spread fairly evenly over the minuscule period, except that the latest stages are only scantily represented. Seven of the MSS. reproduced belong to the 9th century, three to the 10th, eleven to the 11th, six to the 12th, six to the 13th, four to the 14th, and two to the 15th. Six of the plates represent charter hands, while one is a purely private hand, containing a draft letter written in the chancellery of Landshut in 1473; but the remainder consists of various kinds of book-hand, ranging from the year 818 to 1394. They do not, however, represent all the varieties of book-hand within that period.

The handsome style which we find in Bibles and chronicles of the 12th century, and the minute and compressed style of the Parisian Bibles of the 13th century, are not exemplified here. Rather we have the less formal writings of the monastic registers, with a few official documents from the courts of the Bavarian princes. Future parts will no doubt add more variety of style and place; but, considering how far the *general* field of palaeography is covered by existing publications, it is to be hoped that Dr. Chroust will, on the whole, adhere to the plan which he has so far followed, and will give us full materials for an adequate judgment on the development of writing in various parts of Germany. If, however, he wishes to go further afield, it may be worth while to suggest that the libraries of Russia have hardly been touched by the existing palaeographical repertoires.

I may perhaps be allowed to comment from time to time on the future issues of this publication. For the present it must suffice to call attention to Dr. Chroust's enterprise, and to invite for it the consideration of librarians and students of mediaeval palaeography.

F. G. KENYON.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### PLATO, *HIPPARCHUS* 230 A.

MR. H. RICHARDS points out (*Platonica* iii, *C.R.* xv 301) that in the *Hipparchus*, 230 A, οὗτι πᾶν γε τουτί μοι ἀνάθου, a colon should be inserted after οὗτι πᾶν γε. So W. H. Thompson, *Journal of Philology* v (1874) p. 220: 'Ita edd. soloece. Distinguendum οὗτι πᾶν γε τουτί μοι ἀνάθου. Ad quae infra

respondet Socrates ἀνατίθεται τοίνυν σοι τοῦτο.' Thompson's notes were, he says, 'sent to Prof. Baiter of Zürich, who is preparing a new edition of his Plato': but I am not aware that Baiter's new edition has ever appeared.

H. J.

### ON EURIPIDES, *HECUBA*, LL. 1214-15.

'Ἄλλ' ἤνιχ' ἡμεῖς οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει  
καπνῷ δ' ἐσήμην' ἄστν πολέμιων ὑπο  
ξένον κατέκτας.

Mr. Marchant's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that πολέμιων ὑπο should be taken with οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει and not with καπνῷ δ' ἐσήμην' ἄστν is

<sup>1</sup> *Cl. Rev.* (1901), p. 295.

surely neither necessary nor natural. I understand καπνῷ δ' ἐσήμην' ἄστν to mean just what Aeschylus otherwise expresses when he writes, Ag. 815, καπνῷ δ' ἀλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις. In other words, the point of the words may or may not be to indicate 'how Polymestor knew that the Trojans were lost,' but assuredly that in-

dication is not given directly by the words in question. The phrase *καπνῷ δ' ἐσήμην'* ἄστυ is complete in itself and involves no 'singular ellipse.' Cf. also the absolute use of *δηλῶ* in Soph. Antig. 471, *δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ'*

*ὠμὸν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρός | τῆς παιδός.* The similar words, Aesch. Ag. 497 *σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός*, seem to me to support this interpretation.

A. W. MAIR.

### CHARLES LAMB ALSO AMONG THE PROPHETS.

IN the twentieth volume (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1901) of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, p. 178, is a curious proof that bibliographical industry may cast its net too wide. Under the heading 'Israelitische Religionsgeschichte' I find: '*Lamb, C.*, Essays of

Elia. 2nd series. N.Y. Scribner (London, Macmillan).' I gladly bear witness to the general accuracy and astonishing diligence of the contributors to this serial, which stands at the head of its department.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### THE TITULI ASIAE MINORIS.

THE appearance of the first volume of this splendid publication of the Vienna Academy marks a considerable advance in the series of *Corpora* of ancient inscriptions on which a whole army of epigraphists are engaged. It is edited by Prof. Ernst Kalinka, and contains the *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, with the addition of two stray examples, one of Carian, the other of Aramaic—the only inscriptions of their kind from this part of the peninsula. The Corpus is to contain all inscriptions, in whatever ancient language, with the exception of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and Diocletian's Edict; since these documents have already been well edited, and have no special local significance, they will not be included unless fresh circumstances make their revision necessary. We are to have the inscriptions of each site collected together, whatever their language—an arrangement which will considerably lighten the physical portion of the labours of historian and topographer. The first volume forms an exception to this rule, since the Greek inscriptions of Lycia are severed from the native ones, except in cases where the two languages figure on the same stone. The reason for making this exception is as excellent as it is obvious; the main object of the student of Lycian inscriptions at present is a philological one,

and what he requires more than anything else is a convenient collection of all known texts. The vast majority of Greek texts from these parts belong to a later date, and their inclusion would only hamper the 'Lyciologist.' Indeed, the honorary decree of the demos of Telmessus (No. 5) cut on a tomb already provided centuries before with a suitable sepulchral inscription, might very well have been excluded.

The recent publications of the Vienna Academy and the Austrian Archaeological Institute have taught us what to expect in the way of printing and illustration. In many of the epigraphic collections which we have to use, anything in the way of a facsimile comes like an oasis amid a desert of type. Here every inscription, where the original is not lost or inaccessible, is reproduced in facsimile, and there is a considerable use of blocks showing the construction of some of the more important inscribed monuments. A brief, but carefully written introduction, full indices (arranged both by initials and by terminals), and a revision of Kiepert's map by Dr. Rudolf Heberdey, make the equipment of the book admirably complete.

The introduction contains, among other things, a good summary of what we know about the Lycian accidence—it does not fill two pages!—and an interesting paragraph on the ethnological relationship of the Lycians. The editor argues that nearly all

the sites which have produced Lycian inscriptions are either near the sea-coast, or in the comparatively broad Xanthus-valley; that the majority both of the names of these places and of the personal names occurring in the inscriptions are not of the forms characteristic of the indigenous Anatolian race; that the striking peculiarities of Lycian architecture are not found elsewhere in Asia Minor; that the same is true of the *Mutterrecht* characteristic of the Lycians. All which suggests that the Lycians are settlers who came by sea and mingled with the indigenous stock; and the Lycian language may be similarly a mixture of the two tongues. The theory is very attractive, but there is some difficulty in finding sufficient ground for a rigid distinction between Lycian and the language of the indigenous race, seeing how little we know of the former, and how very much less of the latter. Who shall say that isñt . . . (Isinda), kadawāti (Kadyanda), telebehi (Telmessus) are not properly Lycian names, but simply Lycian transliterations of indigenous names? The common noun miñti (μιντις) has also an indigenous sound about it. Yet, unless we mistake the argument, these are to be regarded as borrowed words. The argument from the position of Lycian sites is also attractive; a glance at the map on p. 10 shows how they are most thickly crowded round the good harbours. And although this habit of living near the sea is not necessarily confined to those who have in the first instance come over the sea, nevertheless there is good reason to believe in the transmarine origin of the Lycians. Tradition connects them with Crete; in Crete also there is a trace of the *Mutterrecht* which existed in Lycia. It would be difficult to find place-names in Crete which have a specially Lycian sound; but there are some, such as Tylisus, which suggest a connexion with the Anatolian stock. Further, if we look for architectural analogies to the Lycian style, we shall find something of the kind, however faint, in Mycenaean architecture. The architecture of the Lycians, with its extraordinarily faithful reproduction in stone of wood technique, shows how intensely conservative they were; probably therefore that *Mutterrecht* which they preserved was once more widely prevalent in Asia Minor; the dominance of the worship of the Mother-Goddess has often been remarked in this connexion. It seems, therefore, that the isolation of the Lycians may not have gone

back so far as at first sight one would expect. It is still tempting to suppose that Lycian is a relic of the original Anatolian tongue, which may have been spoken in Crete as well as in Asia Minor (although, it is true, the Praesian 'Eteocretan' inscription bears no apparent resemblance to Lycian). Many are the problems of which the solution waits on the decipherment of the Cretan clay tablets!

The most important of all the Lycian inscriptions is admittedly the great Xanthian stele (no. 44). We know that it deals with the history of the last third of the fifth century B.C.; this is especially clear since Benndorf published his remarkable study in the *Jahreshefte* (iii. p. 98 f.) of the Austrian Institute. The names of many of the dynasts mentioned are also known from coins. As regards the dates ascribed to the issues of most of these rulers, there is no serious discrepancy between the views published in the *Revue Numismatique* (1886, 1887) by the late J. P. Six, and those which I have adopted in the British Museum Catalogue of Coins (1897). All the dynasts but Kuprlli and Teththiweibi we agree in placing at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. But while Six's approximate dates for these two series are 440-400 and 405-395 B.C., I have ventured to date them about 480-430 and 480-460 B.C. respectively. In the case of Kuprlli, however, I was able (Introd. p. xxxi.) to state that Six changed his view—a point which Prof. Kalinka seems to have missed. In the ten years following the publication of his article, a good deal of new material had been found, and in 1896 the distinguished Dutch numismatist held that the two series of coins—(for there are two, and not one)—reading Kuprlli were to be dated between 470 and 440 B.C. Now as to Teththiweibi. His staters, when Six wrote, were extremely rare; and it must be remembered that many specimens of his coins have that smooth surface, due to the use of worn dies, which obscures the style of so many Lycian coins. Further, the staters of Spñtaza, which closely resemble those of Teththiweibi, were unknown. Six's materials for dating these coins were insufficient. In publishing for the first time a stater of Spñtaza, and a new one of his elder (?) contemporary (*Num. Chron.* 1893 p. 15 f.) Mr. Warwick Wroth called attention to the difficulty of accepting so late a date as Six had proposed. No one who knows how willing Six was to appreciate new evidence will doubt that he would have



modified his date, had he had occasion to write on this subject. From this somewhat lengthy statement it follows that, by the numismatic evidence, the earlier Kuprilli and the Teththiweibi of the coins cannot be contemporary with the Xanthian stele. But does it follow that, as Prof. Kalinka says, *si modo recte Hill hoc statuit, alius eiusdem nominis homo appellatur in titulo, alius in nummis?* Until we can satisfactorily translate the monument, it seems safer to suppose that the man of the inscription is the dynast of the coins, and is mentioned in connexion with the historic past, some account of which the inscription appears to give. This alternative is perhaps confirmed by the absence of Teththiweibi's contemporary Sppūtaza from the inscription; had he been reigning at the time, a ruler whom his coins prove to have been so important would hardly have escaped notice; but if he was dead, only some connexion with the past history of the Xanthian princes would have led to the mention of his name.

This, however, is overmuch space to give to a small matter of criticism. Prof. Kalinka is heartily to be congratulated on the splendid beginning of a great work which it has been his good fortune to make. All Lycian students will be grateful to him, as much for the restraint he has exercised over himself, as for the care with which he has executed a task rendered peculiarly trying by the enigmatic nature of the language with which he has had to deal.

G. F. HILL.

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*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* (Athens), Vol. iii., Parts 3 and 4, 1900.

J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie.' Descriptive list of the coins of Aradus (continued) and Berytus.—E. Dutilh. 'Deux têtes ptolémaïques en marbre.' The heads are attributed to Ptolemy IV. Philopator and his wife Arsinoë III.—Dutilh. 'Un petit bronze inédit de Diospolis-Magna.'—Svoronos. *Περὶ τῶν εἰστηγίων τῶν ἀρχαίων*. Part iv. dealing with the leaden σύμβολα.—Mowat. 'Bibliographie numismatique de l'Égypte grecque et romaine.'

Vol. iv., Part 1, 1901.

Svoronos. 'Die Polykletische Tholos in Epidaurus.' Proposes to identify the Tholos (Paus. ii. 27, 3) with the circular temple, containing a figure of Hygieia, found on Epidaurian coins of Antoninus Pius.—A. Baldwin. 'A bronze coin of Bithynia.'—Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie' (continued).—O. Rossbach. 'Rhoimetalkes König des Bosphoros.' Marble bust at Athens, identified, by comparison with the coins, as Rhoimetalkes.—Svoronos. 'Finds of coins in Greece.' Chiefly of Macedonia, Histiaea, and Rhodes.

*Numismatic Chronicle*, Part iv. for 1900.

W. Wroth. 'Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1900.' Describes specimens selected from the 915 Greek coins acquired by the Museum in the course of last year; with two Plates.—J. Maurice. 'Classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier de Siscia pendant la période constantinienne.'—G. F. Hill. 'Bibliographical notes on Greek numismatics.'

*Revue Numismatique*, Part i. 1901.

Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le cabinet des médailles.'—Mowat. 'Le vase sacrificatoire des reines d'Égypte, symbole monétaire.'

Part ii. 1901.

Parazzoli. 'Essai sur l'origine des monnaies des nomes d'Égypte.' Dates (regnal years) occur on the nome-coins of the Emperors Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Ant. Pius and M. Aurelius Caesar. Mr. Poole (Cat. *Alexandria*) considered that these dates had no special significance, but Parazzoli points to the curious fact that dates on the coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus occur at intervals of eighteen years. He thinks that the coins were struck when periodical remissions were made by the Emperors of debts due to the treasury. But this is no more than a conjecture. Parazzoli supports the usual view that the nome-coins were struck at Alexandria and not at the nomes themselves. There is another paper on the dates of the nome-coins by G. Dattari in the *Rivista italiana di num.*, Part ii., 1901.

*Revue belge de Numismatique*, Part iii., 1901.

J. N. Svoronos. 'Les monnaies de Ptolémée II. qui portent dates.' Svoronos claims to have made the important discovery that numerous coins of the Ptolemies are inscribed with dates which have been entirely overlooked by Poole and other numismatists who have attempted the classification of this difficult series. This discovery will be utilized by Svoronos in the arrangement of the *corpus* of Ptolemaic coins that he has now in preparation: meanwhile, he publishes a list of the dated coins of Ptolemy II., including a series on which dates had not previously been recognized.—M. C. Soutzo. 'Examen critique d'une nouvelle théorie de la monnaie romaine.' A criticism of the article 'Münzwesen (Rom)' by Dr. B. Pick in Conrad's 'Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften.'

WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. 25, 3. July 1901.

*Location du domaine sacré de Zeus Téménites* (Amorgos), J. Delamarre. A commentary and emendation of the text of this inscr. first published by Weil in 1876. It is especially interesting for information on Greek farming. *Découverte d'un fragment de manuscrit d'Horace*, P. Sjöbeck. Discovered at Lund and contains Hor. *Od.* iii. 4. 12-65. It appears to be of the tenth century, and the commentary of the eleventh. *Les composés syntactiques et la loi de Porson dans le trimètre iambique des tragiques grecs*, G. Dottin. *Plaut.* Aul. 3-8, J. Chauvin. Suggests for 5 patri < suo > avoque iam heres qui nunc hic habet and for 7 thesaurum auri < aulam > clam omnis in medio foco, and inserts a new line after 5. *Terentius*, Phormio, L. Havet. Various notes. *Ovide*, Met. ix. 557, R. Cahen. Keeps the reading of the archetype *tantum sit causa timendi* where vulg. is *tantum absit c.t.* and some edd. give *tamen ut sit c.t.* *A propos d'une édition récente de Thucydide*, D. Serruys. On Stuart Jones' edition which is called rather 'heureuse vulgarisation qu'un progrès considérable,' but much merit in it is recognised. *Corrections au texte de Grégoire de Nazianze*, A. Misier.

**Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc.** Vol. 7. Part 2, 1901.

*Die Analyse als Grundlage der höheren Kritik* (continued), A. Gercke. In this part the writer treats of transpositions, changes of words and changes of sense, and then points out the advances in philology since the time of the Alexandrians. *Alkestisstudien* (concluded), L. Bloch. The *Alkestis* belongs, together with the *Peliades* and the *Medea*, to the Iolic-Thesalian circle of legends. By making the figure of Heracles subordinate to that of Alkestis the poet endeavoured to emphasize the more serious side of the material which had been hitherto treated as comic. This tragedy marks an important point in the history of the drama, having been produced, at a second representation in 438 B.C., to take the place of the usual satyric play as the fourth piece of a tetralogy. J. Ilberg notices the German edition of Mau's *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* and the very useful book of P. Kabbadias, *Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπίδαυρῳ*.

## Part 3.

*Die inschriftliche Poesie der Römer*, J. Tolkiehn. With reference to Buecheler's edition of the *Carmina Latina epigraphica*. Most of them are naturally anonymous, being either of ritual contents or epitaphs, as well as inscriptions of honour and dedicatory, and finally the erotic street-poetry of Pompeii with numerous reminiscences of Vergil and Ovid. The inscriptions offer much that is of the vulgar speech and much that is arbitrary in metre. *Die Analyse als Grundlage der höheren Kritik* (concluded), A. Gercke. Interpolations, shorter or longer, are often connected by brackets and when these are removed the origin of the whole becomes clear. This leads to the consideration of the fundamental unity required in literary productions which, though often disturbed in the course of the work, is again restored. The rights of the free-creating poet and the limits of criticism are weighed against one another. W. Ruge reviews *Der Hannibalweg* of W. Oslander and F. Vogel contributes a favourable notice of Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*.

**Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.** Vol. 46, 2. 1901.

*Vermuthungen zur Jouventa-Inscription*, R. Thurneysen. *Der Typhonmythus bei Pindar und Aeschylus*, A. v. Mess. P.V. 367-388 depends on Pindar *Pyth.* i. 15-28. For the narrative, which is lacking in Pindar, Hesiod is the source. In an appendix H. Usener shows a common source for both poets, viz. a Hesiodic poem which is quoted from Chrysippus by Galen in his work on the dogmas of Hippocrates and Plato. *Zur lex Manciana* (concluded), A. Schulten. *Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Φαρία*, L. Radermacher. This is the beginning of an edict quoted in Athen. 547 a. It was forged in the Jewish circles of Egypt in order to exhibit one of the Syrian Antiochi as a foe to learning. *Bemerkungen zu griechischen Historikern*, C. Wachsmuth. 1. Herodot in Thuriol. It cannot be proved that H. ever returned from Thuriol. 2. Alexanders Ephemeriden und Ptolemaios. 3. Das Alexanderbuch des Kallisthenes. The title of this was 'Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις. *Der Anfang von Tacitus Historien*, O. Seeck. It is probable that T. has in his Histories continued Fabius Rusticus, not Cluvius Rufus. *Ein Bundeskunde aus Argos*, M. Fränkel. Published by Boeckh C.I.G. 1118. *Die Antwerpener Handschrift des Sedulius*, C. Caesar. *Die Ueberlieferung über Aspasia von Phokaia*, O. Neuhaus. The information upon the first part of her life goes back to Ktesias from whom Aelian derived it through Pamphila, Plutarch through Deinon, and Trogus-Justinus through Ephorus. *Zu Herodianos Technikos περί μουσικῆς λέξεως*, P. Egenolf. *Notula grammatica*, G. Kroll. *Wörterweiterung*, H. Usener. A frequent source of error, as *propicius* for *propius*, *locutus* for *locus*, etc. *Bakchylides VIII. (IX.) 36 Bl.<sup>2</sup>*, O. Hense. *Von zwei kleinen Leuten* (Papyrusschnitzel), S. Sudhans. Berl. Urk. I.<sup>8</sup>No. 229 and a duplicate No. 230; Grenfell and Hunt, Greek papyri II. 84. *Zu Ciceros Rosciana* § 11, G. Landgraf. Suggests *non dimissum iri*. *Zu Cicero*, H. Usener. *On de rep.* I. §§ 56, 69, II. § 4. *Chrysippos von Knidos und Erasistratos*, F. Susenmihl. *Schriftquellen und ihre Folgen*, C. Wachsmuth. Against A. Malinin's view of the situation of the Agora at Athens. *Wandel von l zu i im Italischen*, A. Zimmermann.

**Mnemosyne.** Vol. 29, 3. 1901.

*Homeric* (continued), J. van Leeuwen. On the house of Ulysses. *De Regia observatiuncula*, J. J. Hartman. On Dio Cassius 54, 27 compared with Plin. Ep. iv. 11. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. On *Lyc.* 27 and 6. *Observationes criticae ad Lucianum* (continued), S. A. Naber. *Ad Tacitum*, J. J. H. In *Ann.* vi. 4 conjectures *posse se puerili modo moneri*. *Ad titulos Acraephienses*, H. van Gelder. On the inscriptions published by Perdrizet in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Lyc.* 14 suggests *πόνους* for *τόκους*. *Deorum coronae*, S. A. Naber. On the Indian fable of the loves of Nalus and Damayantis compared with Heliod. *Aethiop.* p. 278 ed. Didot. *Observationes criticae ad Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiq. Romanas*, S. A. Naber.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1901.

26 June. O. Puchstein, *Die griechische Bühne* (A. Körte), unfavourable. O. Giri, *Due questione*

*Lucreziane* (O. Weissenfels). M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. II. 2. Vom Tode des Augustus bis zur Regierung Hadrians. 2. A. (F. Harder), very favourable.

3 July. P. Foucart, *Les grands mystères d'Eleusis* (H. Steuding). 'Essentially increases our knowledge.' *Ciceronis orationes*, vol. vi. Pro Milone, pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro, Philippicae i.-xiv. rec. A. C. Clark (W. Hirschfelder), 'Shows knowledge and acumen.' E. Mueller, *De Posidonio Manilii auctore*. I. (Breiter), favourable.

10 July. E. Wilisch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Korinth* (A. Höck). 'Deserves our thanks.' *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* vi. 2, vii. 1. Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum, conf. G. Goetz, I. 2, II. 1 (P. Wessner). H. Menge, *Lateinische Synonymik*, 4. Aufl. (C. Stegmann), favourable.

17 July. O. z. E., *Von Asdod nach Ninive im Jahre 711 v. Chr.* (M.), unfavourable. O. Puchstein, *Die griechische Bühne* (A. Müller), favourable. C. Morawski, *Rhetorum Romanorum ampullae* (W. Gemoll). 'Too bold in conclusions.' A. Kunze, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik*. I. *Mea refert* (C. Stegmann).

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# The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1901.

## ARISTOPHANICA.—II.

(Continued from p. 355.)

### KNIGHTS.

Why do English editors go on giving us characters called Demosthenes, Nicias and Cleon? There are no such people in the play at all, and it would greatly vex Aristophanes to see his satire so spoiled. From an editor with Dr. Merry's sense of humour the comic poet might have looked for better treatment, and now Messrs. Hall and Geldart in their new *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* text have done the same thing. The foreign editors are usually too skilful to make this mistake. Neither Kock, nor Von Velsen, nor Van Leeuwen falls into it, though Zacher does. Dr. Blaydes, too, in his monumental Aristophanes knows better. But the editions which in this country will be in every one's hands continue what I must take leave to call the absurd tradition. Cleon, Nicias, Demosthenes do not appear in the *Knights*. There are three slaves, two like those in the *Peace* without any distinctive names at all, the third named Paphlagon, which is as much a name as Syrus. They stand for the distinguished men in question, but the point of the whole thing is that it is a sort of humorous allegory or imaginative burlesque, and attaching the names of the real men to the three slaves dulls and blunts the humour in an unpardonable way. Paphlagon is not Cleon: he only holds towards his master

and his fellow slaves a relation burlesquing that of Cleon towards the people and the other prominent public men of Athens. We must not confound the caricature with the thing caricatured by putting the true names to the fancy picture. As well might Dryden in his great satire have written *Shaftesbury* and *Shadwell* for *Achitophel* and *Og*.

15. [OIK. A.] ἀλλ' εἰπὲ θαρρῶν, εἴτα καγὼ σοὶ φράσω.

OIK. B. πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξεις  
ἀμὲ χρὴ λέγειν;

OIK. A. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνὶ μοι τὸ θρέττε. πῶς  
ἂν οὖν ποτε  
εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομπηური-  
πικῶς;

OIK. B. μή μοί γε, μή μοι, μὴ διασκανδι-  
κίσης.

This is the order of the lines in all MSS. Recent editors, seeing that they are rather incoherent as they stand, have put 16 before 15, and it is certainly the case that 17 gains by following directly on 15. But what seems to me the true order of the five lines has not been suggested. Line 16, the quotation from Euripides, is the key to the difficulty. In 18 A asks how he can express himself in subtle Euripidean fashion. He then answers his own question by this quotation (16) πῶς ἂν κ.τ.λ. and it is this quotation which provokes from B the excla-

mation of disgust, μή μοί γε κ.τ.λ., with the reference to the Euripidean manner in διασκανδικίσῃς. The lines will then run :

[ΟΙΚ. Α.] ἀλλ' εἰπεῖ θαρρῶν, εἴτα καὶ γὼ σοὶ  
φρίσω.

ΟΙΚ. Β. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνι μοι τὸ θρέττε. πῶς ἄν  
οὖν ποτε

εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευρικῶς;  
πῶς ἄν σύ μοι λέξεις ἀμὲ  
χρὴ λέγειν;

ΟΙΚ. Α. μή μοί γε, μή μοι, μή διασκανδικίσῃς.

If this transposition be adopted, some slight change must be made elsewhere, if we are not to alter the speakers through the rest of the scene. We might give 11 and 12 to B and so proceed, or λέγε σύ in 13 might be given to A, σὺ μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ. to B. For the transposition compare perhaps 258–265, where it seems best to put 264–5 after 260.

188 ἀλλ', ὦ γὰρ, οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι  
πλὴν γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι κακῶς.

Dr. Blaydes quotes the imitation in Procopius *Bell. Pers.* p. 70 c : οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς, γράφαι. Has he noticed that Gibbon in a note to his fortieth chapter has quoted the historian's description of John of Cappadocia, adding the comment 'a forcible expression'? Apparently Gibbon did not remember that the words were a quotation from Aristophanes, and his editors, as far as I know, have not pointed it out.

598 ἀλλὰ τὰν τῇ γῇ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄγαν  
θανυόμεν,  
ὡς ὅτ' εἰς τὰς ἱππαγωγὰς εἰσεπηδῶν ἀνδρικῶς.

This very imperfect sentence should not have been left so long uncorrected. Herwerden, indeed, has proposed for οὐκ ἄγαν to write οὐτόσον, but Attic prose and comedy do not use τόσος for τοσοῦτος or τοῖος for τοιοῦτος. It is curious that the μέν of 598 has not suggested to any one the true correction, ὡς <δ'> ὅτ', for it points to it very clearly. Compare a few sentences of more or less similar form :

*Ach.* 654 καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν ἐκείνης  
οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν  
ποιητὴν ἀφείλονται.

*Wasps* 482 ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀλγείς, ἀλλ'  
ὅταν κ.τ.λ.

Plato *Lysis* 204 D καὶ ἃ μὲν καταλογάδην  
διηγείται δεινὰ ὄντα οὐ πάνν τι δεινὰ ἐστίν,  
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τὰ ποιήματα ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσῃ  
κιταντλεῖν.

*Ar. Eth.* 4. 7. 1127 b 12 εἰ δ' ἔνεκά τινός, ὁ  
μὲν δόξης ἢ τιμῆς οὐ λίαν ψεκτός... ὁ δὲ ἀργυρίων  
... ἀσχημονέστερος, though not elliptic in con-  
struction, is worth citing for the οὐ λίαν.

1385 ἔχε νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τουτονὶ τὸν ὀκλαδίαν  
καὶ παῖδ' ἐνὸρχῃν ὅσπερ οἶσει τόνδε σοι.

I ventured to say in vol. xi. p. 19 of 'this *Review* that ὅσπερ could not be used thus for ὅστις or ὅς. I ought to have seen then what is very obvious on a little thought, that Aristophanes wrote ὅς περιόσει. So in 727 of this play Elmsley corrected the unmetrical οἶάπερ ἱβρίζομαι to οἶα περιβρίζομαι, and in Lucian *Eunuchus* 7 the MSS. vary between εἶπερ ἦν and εἰ περιῆν.

#### CLOUDS.

145 ἀνὴρετ' ἄρτι Χαιρεφῶντα Σωκράτης  
ψύλλαν ὀπόσους ἄλλοιτο τοὺς αὐτῆς πόδας·  
δακοῦσα γὰρ τοῦ Χαιρεφῶντος τὴν ὀφρὺν  
ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Σωκράτους ἀφήλατο.

All the editors seem to give ἄλλοιτο. Both R and V however, with other MSS., are said to have ἄλοιτο, and that (or perhaps ἄλαιτο) must be right. The question is not a general one, how far fleas jumped. 148 shows that it refers to the particular flea by which Chaerephon was bitten : δακοῦσα γὰρ κ.τ.λ. is inconsistent with anything else. The question of Socrates therefore (if it was not rather Chaerephon's, as Piccolomini thinks, reading Χαιρεφῶν τὸν Σωκράτην) was, how far a flea *had* jumped. So apparently the scholiast took it, who wrote in his note ὀπόσους (πόδας) πηδήσειε.

1366 ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν  
ποιηταῖς  
ψόφου πλέων, ἀξύστατον, στόμφακα,  
κρημνοποιόν;

There should be no doubt that these two verses are a *question*, indignantly uttered by Pheidippides. In a *statement* made by Strepsiadēs the second line could hardly pass as a stroke of humour, but there is no need to have recourse to transposing 1365 and 1366 with Hermann, Kock and Thompson. To the precisely similar questions of indignant surprise quoted by Blaydes (*Vesp.* 1159 : *An.* 815) add the following : *Vesp.* 1188 ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεώρηκα πάποτ' ; οὐδαμοῖ (for so it should be written) : *Soph. Aj.* 1130 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν ψέξαιμι δαιμόνων νόμους ; *Plat. Rep.* 344 E ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Θρασύμαχος, τοῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν ; *Euthyd.* 297 B ἀδελφὸς γάρ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ εἰμι Εὐθυδήμου ; Every one of these passages except *Vesp.* 1188 has a γάρ and every one



an emphatic ἐγώ. Probably the obscure passage in Xen. *Symp.* 4. 45 is to be explained in the same way.

1415 κλάουσι παῖδες, πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς;

Many have been the suggestions for adding on three syllables at the end to make this a tetrameter. I think the addition quite necessary, but I would not add anything like Cobet's σὺ χρῆναι or Herwerden's προσήκειν. Though some such word as χρῆναι seems logically necessary, the poet might venture to dispense with it under the circumstances; the parody is more perfect without it. Suggestions are rather idle, but I will contribute mine—ἴσως δὲ or ἴσως οὖν, going with the next verse, φήσεις κ.τ.λ.

## WASPS.

967 ὦ δαιμόνι', ἔλεει τοὺς ταλαιπωρουμένους.

Mr. Starkie in his admirable edition (1897) reads αἰδοῦ for the unmetrical ἔλεει. Perhaps I may put on record that I made the same suggestion to the Oxford Philological Society at a meeting on November 2, 1894. I should prefer to regard ἔλεει as a gloss on αἰδοῦ and not as a corruption of it. With αἰδοῦ the line reminds us to some extent of *Nub.* 1468 ναί, ναί, καταιδέσθητι πατῶν Δία, in which the last three words are of course borrowed from tragedy. There is a certain mock solemnity about both. For this use of αἰδέσθαι may be compared such passages as *Od.* 3. 96 μηδέ τί μ' αἰδόμενος μελίσσσο μῆδ' ἐλαίρων: *Eur. Med.* 326: *Hec.* 286: *I.A.* 1246: *Antiphon* 1. 26 and 27.

## PEACE.

24 For ὡσπερ write ὅσαπερ, not with Blaydes ὅτιπερ. In *Plat. Rep.* 390 B I have suggested the alteration of ὡς to ὅσα, omitting α̃.

83 μή μοι σοβαρῶς χώρει λίαν.

σοβαρός is much more likely. Such words are much preferred, especially in verse, in their adjectival form. So *Nub.* 406, φέρεται σοβαρός: *Plut.* 872, ὡς σοβαρός...εἰσεληλύθειν.

139 τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτον χορτάσω.

It is such a fixed thing in Greek that ὁ αὐτός comes before, not after, οὗτος (ταῦτα ταῦτα, not ταῦτα ταῦτά, &c.) that perhaps we ought to find some way of altering this verse. We may think of τοῦτόν γε τοῖς

αὐτοῖς τούτοις χορτάσω, contrasting the beetle with Pegasus (135). [Dr. Postgate suggests τούτοις κοῦκ ἄλλοις, comparing *Soph. O.C.* 908.]

180 πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ'; ὦναξ Ἡρίκλεις.

τούτῃ τί ἐστι τὸ κακόν;

Write πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ'—; ὦναξ, κ.τ.λ. Dr. Merry sees that the sentence is thus imperfect, not elliptical. Perhaps other editors see it too. If so, why not write it accordingly?

306 οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀπειπεῖν ἂν δοκῶ μὲν τῇμερον.

If this is really the text of the MSS. (Messrs. Hall and Geldart do not notice it), δοκοῦμεν rather than Blaydes' δοκοῖμεν would seem the alternative to the δοκῶ μοι usually read.

479 ὅσοι γ' αὐτῶν ἔχονται τοῦ ξύλου.

If this refers to the prisoners from Sphacteria, may not ἐνέχονται τῷ ξύλῳ be suggested? The loss of ἐν after ὦν might lead to the corruption of τῷ ξύλῳ.

729 ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων ἡμεῖς δὲ τέως τάδε τὰ σκευή παραδόντες τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἔδωμεν σφῆρει.

Certainly δῶμεν and παραδόντες cannot be right together. Cobet approved (*N.L.* 51) of Hamaker's τήνδε σκευὴν ἀποδόντες, in which an article would surely be wanted. σκευή is confirmed by 552, 886, 1318, and by ταῦτα in 732. Dr. Blaydes reads τάδε τὰ σκευή καταθέντες, though it ought rather to be καταθέμενοι (886).

Since these are the first lines of a parabasis, the right word and the least possible change is παραβάντες. So immediately below in 735 αὐτὸν ἐπῆναι πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις: *Eq.* 508 πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι: *Thesm.* 785 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς εὖ λέξωμεν παραβᾶσαι: *Plato Comicus*, frag. 92 οὐκ ἂν παρέβην εἰς λέξιν τοιάνδ' ἐπῶν. [Dr. Postgate suggests 'παποδύντες. cf. *Ach.* 627.]

## BIRDS.

79 τρόχιλος ὄρνις οὔτοσί.

I commented above on the mistake of calling Paphlagon Cleon. In its way it is equally a mistake and equally the spoiling of a joke, that this servant-bird (ὄρνις δοῦλος 70) should appear as a *dramatis personae* bearing the name of Τρόχιλος, just as his

master does that of Ἐποψ. If he really were a trochilus, cannot the editors see that there would be no joke in saying of him here, *τρόχιλος ὄρνις οὐτοσί?* In the lines which precede he has been describing how he runs (*τρέχει*) for this or that thing, and so Euepides says, 'why, he is a trochilus, this fellow.' The one thing then certain about him is that he was not recognised by the spectators as belonging to that kind. He may have been any bird in the world, real or imaginary, except a trochilus.

280 ΠΕΙ. τί τὸ τέρας τουτί πότ' ἐστιν; οὐ σὺ  
μόνος ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἔποψ,  
ἀλλὰ χούτος ἑτερος; ΕΠ. ἀλλ' οὐ-  
τος μὲν ἐστι Φιλοκλέους  
ἐξ ἔποπος, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτου πάππος,  
ὥσπερ εἰ Λέγοις  
Ἰππόνικος Καλλίου κὰξ Ἰππονίκου  
Καλλίας.

The editors find great difficulty in explaining ἐξ ἔποπος. Some say 'son of Philocles' hoopoe,' others 'son of Philocles, the hoopoe's son.' In the second case 'the hoopoe' would be the speaker: in the first the alternation of generations (283) would be lost, since son, father, and grandfather, would be 'hoopoe' all three.

Εἰς ἔποψ might, I think, make fair sense. He is asked, 'Is this another hoopoe?' and answers, 'Yes, he is one hoopoe, and I (whom you already know as hoopoe) am his grandfather. It is like Callias, etc.' The confusion of ΕΙC and ΕΚ is familiar (see above on *Ach.* 410). Cf. Cobet ad Dion. Hal. p. 182, who corrects ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ..ἀνίσταται τοῖς εἰς δὲ τῶν δημάρχων.

519 αὐτοῖς is obscure and awkward here. Perhaps οὔτοι or αὐτοῦ.

701 ξυμμιγνυμένων δ' ἐτέρων ἐτέροις γένετ' οὐρανὸς ὠκεάνος τε.

The unaugmented γένετ' is absolutely unparalleled in Aristophanes and must be regarded with the very greatest suspicion. γέγον' is a correction which has found favour, though the tense is much against it. We might, however, compare Thuc. 1. 50. 2 ναυμαχία αὐτῇ—μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ ἐαυτῆς γεγένηται: Plut. *Apol.* 28 c τῶν ἡμιθέων ὅσοι ἐν Τροίᾳ τετελευτήκασιν: Lysurg. 70 μόνοι δ' ἀμφοτέρων περιγεγόνασι: and γέγονα = the aorist is quite common in late Greek. The use being at least suspicious and the perfect here being only conjectural, perhaps another conjecture may be admitted, namely, that (ἐ)γένετ' was originally a gloss on some quite different word, e.g. ὤρετ' or φύετ' (φύεται:

there is no objection to the elision of such an *αι* in verbs).

753 εἰ μετ' ὀρνίθων τις ἡμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, βού-  
λεται  
διαπλέκειν ζῶν ἡδέως τὸ λοιπόν, ὥς ἡμᾶς  
ἴτω.

No one that I know of has demurred to this, but the sense is surely most unsatisfactory. We want 'If any one wishes for a pleasant life, let him join us birds,' not 'if any one wishes to lead a pleasant life with the birds, let him come to us.' In the first place, there are not various communities of birds, between which the Athenian yearning for a pleasant time might make his choice. The chorus are *the* birds, all the birds that are, and there is no other set of birds elsewhere for any one to join. The chorus are not comparing themselves advantageously with other feathered peoples. The things they say of themselves prove this, if proof were needed. Secondly, 'if any one wishes to join the birds' is not the thing to say. It is Aristophanes' own fancy that there is a bird-community and that men might join it with advantage. He must not put the case of people having formed the wish to join it independently of him and before he made the pleasant, wise suggestion. He can only have said 'if you want to enjoy yourselves, join the birds.' This being so, I do not see how μετ' ὀρνίθων can be right. It also strikes one that this is the only passage in Greek in which διαπλέκειν is used without an accusative. It occurs some half-dozen or more times, but always with some word like βίον (*Herod.* 5. 92: *Laus* 806 A) or ἡμέραν (*Alcman* 16. 4). τὸ λοιπόν here is adverbial as usual—so L. and S. and the editors take it—and not the object of the verb: I doubt whether it is ever used except adverbially. We may say therefore that, while μετ' ὀρνίθων is not wanted, we do want an object for the verb.

Then we remember the line in the *Wasps*

1071 εἴ τις ἡμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, τὴν ἐμὴν ἰδὼν  
φύσιν,

and think that the line in the *Birds* may very well have run in the same way down to θεαταί; the missing words might come at the end. Finally we arrive at something like

εἴ τις ἡμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, βούλεται τὰς ἡμέρας  
διαπλέκειν ζῶν ἡδέως τὸ λοιπόν, ὥς ἡμᾶς ἴτω.

Of course no one would venture to say that this is exactly what Aristophanes wrote. I

only submit that it makes good sense and that the vulgate does not.

## FROGS.

167 μὴ δῆθ', ἱκετεύω σ', ἀλλὰ μίσθωσαί τινα  
τῶν ἐκφερομένων, ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔρχεται.

The last words are a great difficulty and have moved many scholars to think that the whole line should be omitted. To my mind that is not at all the way to deal with it. The fault is not in τοῦτ', however, but in ἔρχεται. Xanthias is proposing that instead of himself one of the dead men taken out to burial shall be hired to carry the luggage. 'Hire' he says 'a dead man, who (or any one who)—for this.' What is the blank? Something like *will serve, will do*, i.e. ἀρκέσει. It is not every corpse that is competent. They must have a stout stalwart corpse for their purpose. Cf. Plat. Rep. 369 D, πῶς ἡ πόλις ἀρκέσει ἐπὶ τοσαύτην παρασκευήν; Theaet. 174 A ταῦτὸν δὲ ἀρκεῖ σκῶμμα ἐπὶ πάντας; Xen. Mem. 2. 6. 30 εἰ ἐξαρκέσει μοι ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κ.τ.λ. : Oecon. 12. 4 ὅστις μέλλει ἀρκέσειν...ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιμελούμενος, τί αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖ ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ ἅπερ ἐγώ; Cyrop. 6. 2. 34 τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀρκέσον and *ib.* 31 ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρκεῖ. For the future cf. e.g. 98 of this play, ὧδε γόνιμον ὅστις φθέγγεται κ.τ.λ.

The change of α to ε and κ to χ is not difficult. Thus on Lucian *De Calumn.* 2 Cobet remarks (*V.L.* 286) *libri confundunt ἄρχεται et ἔρχεται pervulgato errore*, which he illustrates from the miswriting of ἀρχομαι with future participles in the place of ἔρχομαι, and he gives some examples of a different kind in *Misc. Crit.* 141. See also the *index Graecitatis* in Bast. p. 1042 A. In [Xen.] *R.A.* νομίζουσι τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἄρχειν is now corrected to ἀρκεῖν, and *Hell.* 3. 5. 15 ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐχ ἐκόντων ἤρχετο to οὐκ ἐχόντων. In 1099 of this play ἔρχεται is by no means certainly right.

301 ἴθ' ἥπερ ἔρχει. δεῦρο δεῦρ', ὦ δέσποτα.

It seems to have escaped notice that ἴθ' ἥπερ ἔρχει is not addressed to Dionysus (nor spoken by him to Xanthias, as Van Leeuwen gives it) but to the imaginary goblin Empusa, with whom the slave is terrifying his master. This appears clearly from the parallel passage *Lysistr.* 833.

ὦ πότνια Κύπρον καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ Πάρον  
μεδέουσ', ἴθ' ὀρθὴν ἥπερ ἔρχει τὴν ὁδόν.

369 τούτοις αὐδῶ καὶθις ἀπανδῶ καὶθις τὸ  
τρίτον μάλ' ἀπανδῶ  
ἐξίστασθαι μύσταισι χοροῖς.

τούτοις αὐδῶ V and the text of Aulus Gellius: τούτοις ἀπανδῶ R and most MSS. Two things are clear: (1) αὐδῶ and ἀπανδῶ cannot be combined in one and the same sense: (2) ἀπανδῶ *forbid* is quite out of place. It is ludicrous to suppose that ἀπανδῶ ἐξίστασθαι is a confused expression for ἀπανδῶ (μὴ) ἐμποδῶν εἶναι. I cannot see any plausibility in *πρωυδῶ* (*ter*) read by Blaydes and after him by Van Leeuwen. The true reading really stares one in the face:

τούτοις αὐδῶ καὶθις ἐπανδῶ καὶθις τὸ τρίτον μάλ'  
ἐπανδῶ.

ἐπανδῶ *tell again* does not happen to occur elsewhere, but that is quite immaterial. ἀντανδῶ seems to occur only in Soph. *El.* 1478: κατανδῶ only in *Ant.* 86; συνανδῶ only in *Ag.* 943 and once in Theophrastus. ἐπί and ἀπό are quite easily confused in compounds: thus in Thuc. 5. 50. 1 ἀπομόσαι must be corrected to ἐπομόσαι (Stahl).

456 ὅσοι μεμνήμεθ' εὐ-  
σεβῇ τε διήγομεν  
τρόπον κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps ὅσοι 'μεμνήμεθ', had been initiated and then went on living (διήγομεν).

467 ὃς τὸν κύν' ἡμῶν ἐξελάσας τὸν Κέρβερον  
ἀπῆξας ἄγχων κάποδρὰς "χου λαβῶν.

He did not *drive* Cerberus out; he *dragged* him out. Should we change ἐξελάσας to ἐλκύσας?

553 καὶ κρέα γε πρὸς τούτοις ἀνάβραστ'  
εἴκοσιν  
ἀνημιωβολιαῖα.

So apparently the best MSS. with others; some, however, ἀν' ἡμιωβολιαῖα, and in this form Pollux quotes it 9. 64, if Bekker's text may be trusted. Both seem impossible. 'At half an obol apiece' is either ἡμιωβολιαῖα or ἀν' ἡμιωβόλιον. Van Leeuwen πάνθ' ἰοῖ ἀν'. Did Aristophanes write εἴκοσιν ἔν ἡμιωβολιαῖα with a comic exactitude as to the number? cf. 49

καὶ κατεδύσαμέν γε ναῦς  
τῶν πολεμίων ἢ δώδεκ' ἢ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα.

and 1129 τούτων ἔχειν ψέγεις τι;  
ΕΥ. πλεῖν ἢ δώδεκα.

814 foll. In the four stanzas here beginning, and too long to quote, I cannot doubt



that Dobree was right in thinking that 822-825 should follow on 817. *φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμον κ.τ.λ.* is strictly continuous with *ὄμματα στροβήσεται*. It is most awkward for 818-821 to come between the two passages in which Aeschylus is described, and it much obscures the subject of *φρίξας κ.τ.λ.* But I think Dobree was wrong for once in putting 818-821 after 825. They should stand at the very end after 829. First come lines (814-817, 822-825) which depict Aeschylus bearing himself in the fray like a Titan or a mighty beast of the forest: then a stanza (826-829) setting forth the deft and subtle art of Euripides: finally one (818-821) which gives the conflict and the contrast of the two. In 826 read *ἔνθεν* δέ *on the other side*, not *ἐνθεν* δή.

905 ἄλλ' ὥς τάχιστα χρή λέγειν· οὕτω δ' ὅπως  
ἐρείτον  
ἀστέα καὶ μήτ' εἰκόνας μῆθ' οἳ ἂν ἄλλος  
εἴποι.

No edition that I have looked at explains *εἰκόνας* properly. Thus Kock *Der Chorführer verlangt dasz sie unverblümt die Wahrheit sagen*: Blaydes *imagines, similitudines. Quibus indulgebat Aeschylus multo frequentius quam Euripides*: Merry *ἀστέα implies 'smartness' and 'neatness'; either of which would be lost by the use of metaphor (εἰκόνας) or commonplace*. But any one who remembers what Aristotle says with truth about metaphors (Poetics 22. 1459 a 7), that a good use of them is a mark of fine natural parts (*εὐφυΐα*) and not a thing to be just taken from somebody else (*παρ' ἄλλου λαβεῖν*) must be surprised to find metaphors put side by side with things οἳ ἂν ἄλλος εἴποι. Moreover the scene that follows is full of metaphorical expressions, e.g. 941 foll. The truth is *εἰκόνας* here are not *metaphors*, but *comparisons*. The reference is to the rude humour of comparing a man to so and so, usually something ridiculous. This seems to have been a rather favourite, if unmannerly, pleasantry at Athens. See for instance *Wasps* 1308

εἰτ' αὐτὸν ὥς εἶδ' ἦκασεν Λυσίστρατος,  
'ἔοικας, ὦ πρέσβυτα, νεοπλούτῳ τρυγί (Φρυγί  
Kock)  
κλητῆρί τ' εἰς ἀχυρμόν ἀποδεδρακότι.'  
ὁ δ' ἀνακραγὼν ἀντήκασ' αὐτὸν πάρνοπι  
τὰ θρία τοῦ τριβῶνος ἀποβεβληκότι  
Σθενέλῳ τε τὰ σκενάρια διακεκαρμένῳ.

*Av.* 804-7: Xen. *Symp.* 6. 8 σὺ μέντοι  
ῥαιὸς εἰ...εἰκάξεν...ἀλλ' ὅμως...σὺν αὐτὸν μὴ  
εἰκάξῃ: Plat. *Meno* 80 A the famous com-

parison of Socrates to a torpedo-fish, followed by ΣΩ. γιγνώσκω οὐπερ ἔνεκά με ἦκασας. MEN. τίνας δὴ οἶε; ΣΩ. ἵνα σε ἀντεικάσω. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο οἶδα περὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ὅτι χαίρουσιν εἰκαζόμενοι: and Plat. *Symp.* 215 A the still more famous comparison of him to a silenus-image: Aristotle *De Gen. An.* 4. 3. 769 b 18 διὸ πολλάκις οἱ σκώπτοντες εἰκάξουσι τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπίους τοὺς μὲν αἰγὶ φυσῶντι πῖρ, τοὺς δ' οὐ κuryttonti. What is meant in the *Frogs* therefore is that great men like Aeschylus and Euripides are not to indulge in these easy and often vulgar jokes at one another's expense. They are to contend in a way more worthy of their genius.

949 ἄλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χῶ δοῦλος οὐδὲν  
ἦττον  
χῶ δεσπότης χῆ παρθένος χῆ γραῦς ἄν.

I can never read these lines without wondering whether χῶ δεσπότης should not be τοῦ δεσπότου, or possibly ἡ δεσπότης. 'The master' has no business to come in third and on a level with the rest without even an ἴσως or an ἐξ ἴσης to carry it off. Also οὐδὲν ἦττον might stand if there were no χῶ δεσπότης there, but with those words surely it is very odd.

964 γνῶσει δὲ τοὺς τούτου τε κάμους ἐκατέρου  
μαθητάς.

Perhaps these words should be datives, τοῖς...μαθηταῖς. Cf. *Eccles.*

780 γνῶσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γε τῶν ἀγαλ-  
μάτων.

1180 ἔθι δὴ λέγ'· οὐ γάρ μοῦστίς ἄλλ' ἀκουσ-  
τέα  
τῶν σῶν προλόγων τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν  
ἐπῶν.

It had occurred to me whether ἄλλ' ἀκουστέα does not conceal ἀλλὰ γευστέα. I should, however, hardly have mentioned this, if I had not subsequently noticed the mysterious scholium γνῶναι πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι. γνῶναι points to some other reading.

1415 τὸν ἕτερον λαβὼν ἄπει  
ὁπότερον ἂν κρίνης, ἵν' ἔλθῃς μὴ μάτην.

In 1163 Hirschig pointed out that ἔλθειν is a mistake for ἦκειν. The point of the whole passage there is the distinction of the synonyms ἦκειν and κατιέναι, and this is lost if ἔλθειν is stupidly substituted for ἦκειν (ἐλθ εἰν μὲν εἰς γῆν ἔσθ' ὅτῳ μετῇ πάτρας). Here in 1415 is it not equally clear that the same error has occurred? The sense should be 'that you may not have come here for nothing,' and this is ἵν' ἦκῃς μὴ μάτην. The

only possible meanings of ἴν' ἔλθης are (1) 'that you may come,' (2) 'that you may go.' The first would be unmeaning. As to the second, the sense of 'go' is comparatively uncommon, and indeed hardly possible where any ambiguity would ensue. Also μάτην can only apply to the coming, not to the going: 'that you may not go away for nothing' would be nonsense.

It may be pointed out on the one hand that MSS. sometimes vary between the corresponding parts of ἦκω and ἦλθον, e.g. Thuc. 1. 18. 2 ἦλθε and ἦκε: 8. 65. 1 ἦλθον and ἦκον: Xen. *Hell.* 1. 3. 11 the codices

ἦλθεν, the papyrus fragment ἦκεν: and on the other that in the scholia we find parts of ἦκω glossed by the corresponding parts of ἦλθον, which fact suggests how the latter may here and elsewhere have driven out the former. See for instance the scholia to the *Plutus* 357. 828. 841. 1179. 1190. 1201 and to the *Prometheus* 284. 299. They take such straightforward forms as ἦκεις: ἦλθες (*Plut.* 357). Of course in Attic the two words are in most cases not really equivalent, but this the scholiasts did not know.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

### ON PLATO, *REPUBLIC* X 616 E.

THE passage which I propose to discuss reads as follows:—

Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ ἑξωτάτῳ σφόνδύλον πλατύτατον τὸν τοῦ χείλους κύκλον ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἕκτου δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τετάρτου, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ὀγδοοῦ, πέμπτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐβδόμου, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου, ἑβδομον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τρίτου, ὄγδοον δὲ τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου.

The astronomical theory of which this sentence forms a part has been much discussed. The conclusions at which, after long study of the subject, I have arrived, and which I hope shortly to establish in my forthcoming edition of the *Republic*, are in general agreement with Boeckh and Zeller, as well as with the incidental remark—so far as it goes—dealing with this subject in Professor Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 203. Briefly stated, they are these. The ἡλακάτη is the axis of the Universe, and passes through the middle of the Earth, which is a motionless body occupying the centre of the Universe. The ὑπόζωμα is the Milky Way. Inside the whole are 7 concentric bowls, or as Plato calls them whorls, in the 'lips' or rims of which globes of fire are fixed, and these globes are the planets. The whorls are carried round from East to West every day together with the celestial sphere, but in order to account for the movements of the planets in their own orbits, Plato assigns to each of them also an independent motion on its own account from West to East. The order of the different circles is as follows, proceeding, as Plato does, from the outermost to the innermost:—

1. The Fixed Stars.
2. Saturn.
3. Jupiter.
4. Mars.
5. Mercury.
6. Venus.
7. The Sun.
8. The Moon.

So much for the general outline of the theory, which is as clearly conceived and lucid as Plato's theories always are. The particular difficulty with which this article deals concerns the breadth of the rims of the different whorls. What does Plato intend us to understand by the different breadths? On this question there is no agreement of opinion among those who have investigated the subject. Zeller, so far as I have noticed, does not touch upon the question, and I have not found anything satisfactory in Boeckh. It is difficult, or rather impossible, to understand how 'the breadth of the rings may be intended to signify the supposed distances of the orbits from each other' (Jowett and Campbell), or 'the surfaces traversed by the different Sirens,' (Donaldson in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* X 305–316), or 'interiecta inter aequatores et tropicos arcticos planetarum spatia' (Schleiermacher, quoted by Schneider. Cf. Schleiermacher's translation of the *Republic* 622 f.). Stallbaum says that Plato's meaning is here involved in 'Cimmerian darkness,' and even Schneider, who rarely evades a difficulty, complains that 'it is easier to say what the words cannot, than what they do, mean.' The simple

and natural explanation is that the breadth of the rims represents the size of the different planets. Each rim must of necessity be broad enough to contain the planet which resides in it, and no reason can be conceived why it should be any broader. That this is Plato's meaning will be seen if we look a little farther on. In the next sentence Plato writes: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου (the circle of the Fixed Stars) ποικίλον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου (the circle of the Sun) λαμπρότατον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὀγδοῦ (the circle of the Moon) τὸ χρῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔχειν προσλάμποντος, τὸν δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου (the circle of Saturn) καὶ πέμπτου (the circle of Mercury) παραπλήσια ἀλλήλοις, ξανθότερα ἐκείνων, τρίτον δὲ (the circle of Jupiter) λευκότατον χρῶμα ἔχειν, τέταρτον δὲ (the circle of Mars) ὑπερῤῥον, δεύτερον δὲ λευκότητι τὸν ἕκτον (the circle of Venus). Now what is τὸν in τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου etc.? A glance at the previous sentence (quoted at the beginning of this article) shews that it is τὸν τοῦ ἐβδόμου (σφονδύλον) χείλους κύκλον i.e. *the-circle-of-the-rim of the seventh whorl*. Similarly with the others. Now if the circle of the rim of the seventh whorl is brightest, if that of the eighth derives its colour from the seventh and so on, it follows, that since it is the Sun which is the brightest, the Moon which derives its light from the Sun, and so on—it follows, I say, that the 'circles of the rim,' in the case of the seven inner circles, are for all practical purposes identical with the planets fixed in the several circles. Hence the *breadth* of the rim must in each case denote the diameter of the planet and nothing else.

This view was held by Theo Smyrnaeus (ed. Hiller p. 143. 14), and also, as we shall presently see, by other critics in antiquity, and is mentioned, though with disfavour, by some editors of the *Republic*. The only modern writer, so far as I know, who has insisted that this and nothing else is the meaning of Plato, is Schaubach in his *Griechische Astronomie* pp. 403–406, but Schaubach has unfortunately fallen into some serious errors in his explanation of the Greek. To me this interpretation appears to be necessitated by Plato's language, and we are therefore bound, I think, to accept it, to whatever conclusions it may lead as to the actual size, according to Plato, of the planetary bodies.

These conclusions are sufficiently startling, for according to the received text, we are invited by Plato to believe that the planets should be arranged as follows in the descending order of their size: Venus,

Mars, Moon, Sun, Mercury, Jupiter, Saturn. There is no evidence as to the views of the ancients on the size of the other planets, at all events so early as Plato's time, but we know that some of them were sensible enough to consider the Sun much larger than the moon (see Diels *Dox. Gr.* pp. 348, 355 and Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa *art. Astronomie* pp. 1844 ff.), and it is very difficult to believe that anyone—even a man of science—could ever have imagined Venus to be bigger than the Sun!

Till the present year, it seemed to me likely that the matter would have to rest at this stage: for although Schaubach had suggested the possibility of corruption, the MSS shew no variants of any consequence,<sup>1</sup> and in the absence of external corroboration, it would have been rash to interfere with the text. But the complete publication by Kroll in 1901 of the hitherto unprinted part of Proclus' commentary on the *Republic* throws a new light upon the difficulty, and enables us to solve it, as I think, by means of emendation.

Proclus (l.c. ii. 218 1 ff.) informs us that there were two readings of this passage, the one δευτέρα καὶ νεωτέρα, κρατούσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις ἀντιγραφοῖς, the other προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα. 'The second and newer reading' is that which appears in our MSS (see Proclus l.c. 219 ff.); the 'earlier and older' he thus describes. καὶ ἡ μὲν προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα (sc. γραφὴ τῆς λέξεως) τοῖς μεγέθεισιν ἀκολουθεῖ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην σφαῖραν ἀστέρων, τῆς μὲν μείζονα περιεχούσης μείζον τὸ βάθος ἔχουσα, τῆς δὲ ἐλάσσονα ἐλασσον. οἷον μ. . . τὸν ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ἀλανοῦς, περιέχων τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἀστρῶν κατεσπαρμένον κατὰ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ βάθος, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀποδείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος μείζονα τῆς γῆς—μετὰ τοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸν ἀπλανῆ κύκλον πλατύτατον ὄντα διὰ τε τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀστρῶν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾷ ἐπιφανείᾳ ὄντων—τὸν τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σφόνδουλον τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβδόμου ὄντα τῷ πλάτει διαφέρειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τῶν φαινόμενων φαίνεται μείζων. ἔπειτα <τὸν> τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ (καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πρὸς αἴσθησιν τὸν πέντε μείζων—), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (μείζων γὰρ καὶ αὕτη τῶν λοιπῶν φαίνεται), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεῖκοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀρεῖ φασιν ἐν τοῖς περιγεῖοις ὄντα μείζονα τοῦ Διὸς

<sup>1</sup> The scribe in Vat. Θ omitted the word ἕκτου (not ἔκτον, as appears by a printer's error in Schneider) in τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἕκτου δεύτερον, probably, as Schneider remarks, because he (or his adviser) could not force himself to believe that Plato seriously thought Venus the largest of the planets.



δρᾶσθαι), καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς σφόνδύλου καὶ ἐξῆς τὸν τοῦ Κρονίου, καὶ τελευταῖον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμαϊκοῦ καὶ ἀπλῶς κατὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὸν σφόνδυλον ἔχειν τὸ πλάτος (l.c. 218. 2-28). That is to say, according to the 'earlier and older reading,' the circles, in respect of breadth of rim, were as follows, if we arrange them as before in descending order; Fixed Stars, Sun, Moon, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

Compared with the former order, this is reason itself, whatever the man of science may say, and as it gets the relative sizes of the Sun and Moon right, it is in harmony with the opinions of most of the ancients before the time of Plato, so far as we know them. It would be a gratuitous insult to the memory of Proclus to suppose that the 'earlier and older' reading is an invention of Proclus' own, or a conjecture of some other equally unauthorised commentator, and his explanation of that reading is so full and

clear that it is easy to restore the προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα γραφή in the text of Plato.<sup>2</sup>

The reading of which Proclus speaks must have been τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον πλατύτατον τὸν τοῦ χειλοὺς κύκλον ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἑβδόμου δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ὀγδόου, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἑκτοῦ, πέμπτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τετάρτου, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τρίτου, ἑβδομον δὲ τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου, ὄγδοον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου.

The bearing of this passage of Proclus on the question as to when and how our text of Plato was constituted, is a subject which I hope to discuss on a future occasion.

J. ADAM.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 414 of Proclus l.c. Kroll also suggests 'Ob uns Proklos mit der Lesart *a* den echten Platotext aufbewahrt hat? In *b* ist irgend welche ratio nicht zu erkennen und Proklos' Herumredereien zeigen, dass niemand mit dieser Reihenfolge etwas anzufangen vermocht hat.' Kroll does not attempt to restore the text of Plato, but could, of course, have done so, had he wished.

#### τὸν ἄνδρα 'MANHOOD,' AND THE SHAVING OF THE BEARD.

Polyb. iv. 4. 5 ἦν δέ τις κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀσυρῆς ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, τῶν ἐξηρμένων τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ὄνομα Βαβύρτας, who closely resembled Dorimachus in appearance. ἀσυρῆς is 'filthy' or 'disgusting' and means the same as ἀσελγής: but ἐξηρμένων is nothing; it cannot be what Stephanus (s.v. ἀσυρῆς) imagined, 'of such as had surpassed humanity,' 'significatur, insigni eum fuisse improbitate sive audacia, ita ut omnes homines ea superaret'; nor can it be what Casaubon and Ernesti thought, 'of those who had exalted Dorimachus.' Schweighaeuser (*Index* p. 222) came near the truth in rendering it 'qui virilitatem prorsus omnibus modis exuerat,' adding 'sed fortasse ἐξηρμένων legendum.' ἐξηρμένων is the reading of two MSS., which Büttner-Wobst (p. xxiv in Teubner's edition) holds to be merely a conjecture: but it has also the authority of Cobet. I was curious to see what he would adduce in favour of it; and was not surprised to find that he had nothing: all he says is 'pro ἐξηρμένων nulla dubitatio est quin ἐξηρμένων sit emendandum.' But there is no support for such a phrase, and Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst were right in declining to admit it. The true reading is a little off the beaten track, but will not presently

be questioned: it is τῶν ἐξηρνημένων τὸν ἄνδρα 'such as have denied their manhood.' This was a philosophical phrase (unknown to the Dictionaries) used by later moralists of ἀνδρόγονοι or κίναιδος:

Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 3 p. 264. 11 ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐγὰς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀρνούμενος<sup>1</sup> πρόδηλός ἐστι νύκτωρ ἐλεγχόμενος γυνή.

ib. p. 264. 37 παῖδες, ἀρνεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν φύσιν δεδιδαγμένοι, προσποιῶνται γυναῖκας.

Euseb. *de vita Const.* iii. 55 p. 217 Heinichen σχολή τις ἦν αὐτῇ κακοεργίας πᾶσιν ἀκολάστοις πολλῇ τε ραστώῃ διεφθορόσι τὸ σῶμα· γύνιδες γοῦν τινες, ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄνδρες, τὸ σεμνόν τῆς φύσεως ἀπαρνησάμενοι<sup>1</sup>, θηλείᾳ νόσφ τὴν δαίμονα ἱλεοῦντο.

Firmicus *de errore profan. relig.* 4 *dic mihi, hoccine est quod in viro feminam quaerunt, cui aliter servire sacerdotum suorum chorus non potest nisi effeminent vultum, cutem poliant, et virilem sexum ornatu muliebri dedecorent . . . exornant muliebriter nutritos crines, et delicatis amicti vestibibus vix caput lassa cervice sustentant. deinde, cum sic se alienos a viris fecerint, . . . quod hoc monstrum est, quodque prodigium? negant se viros esse, et sunt; mulieres se*

Not in the *Thesaurus*.

*volunt credi, sed aliud qualiscumque qualitas corporis confitetur.*

A.P. xi. 272 εἰς κιναιίδους :

ἀνέρας ἢ ρνήσαντο<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἐγένοντο  
γυναικες

Tertull. *de virgin. velandis* 12 *facilius illa mulier negabitur quam ista virgo credetur.* 15 *iam se etiam mulierem negat quae virginitatem celat.*

The verb then I think we may consider settled, and may turn to this use of τὸν ἄνδρα with the article. It sounds like a Latinism, for in Latin the use of the substantive was familiar; e.g. Ov. *Met.* viii. 463 *pugnant materque sororque.* xii. 30 *rexque patrem vicit.* xiii. 187. Seneca *Medea* 927 *ira decessit loco, materque tota coniuge expulsa redit.* *Thyest.* 937 *veterem ex animo mitte Thyesten.* Stat. *Theb.* xi. 659, 668. Claudian *Rapt. Pros.* iii. 104 *quod si non omnem pepulisti pectore matrem.* *De Bell. Gildon.* 397 *naturamque simul fratremque hominemque cruentus exiit.* *De III Cons. Honor.* 157 *indue mente patrem* (your father). Sil. Ital. vii. 495. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 52 *exueret magistrum* (his master). xvi. 28 *nisi proditore palam et hostem induisset.* Val. Max. v. 8. 1 *exiit patrem ut consullem ageret.* Most of these are taken from Hein- sius and Burmann (II p. 435) on Ov. *Met.* vi. 629. It is from Latin that it came into modern language, 'assumes the God,' 'the father softens, but the governor is firm.' They used *virum* in the same way: Catull. 63. 6 (Ellis) *relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro.* Arnob. v. 39 *sibi Attis virum abstulit.* 13 *quid admiserat gallus ut se viro privaret?* Lucan x. 133 *ferro mollita iuventus atque exsecta virum.* Post- gate (Silua Maniliana p. 47 note) cites Prop. 4. 3. 59 *exstimulare (et simulare codd.) virum pretium facit*, Manilius 5. 151 *atque odisse virum sterilisque optare lacertos.* But in Greek,—which could use the adjective with the article, as τὸ δοῦλον,—it is far less freely used. This of Polybius is the earliest I find, unless the philosopher Pyrrho actually used the phrase put into his mouth by Diog. Laert. ix. 66, *κυνὸς ποτ' ἐπενεχθέντος διασο- βηθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ὡς χαλεπὸν εἶη ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκδύναί<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἄνθρωπον, hominem exuere.* Elsewhere I have not met with it before the following: Dion. Hal. *A.R.* xi. 5 οὐκέτι μετρίζοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐκείνον ἐνδύομενοι. Lucian ii. 730 Gall. 19 ἀποδυσά- μενος δὲ τὸν Πυθαγόραν τίνας μετρημιάσω μετ' αὐτόν; Paul. *ad Rom.* vi. 6 ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ἀνεσταυρώθη. xiii. 14 ἐνδύσασθε

τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν on which Wetstein (to whom I owe several of my examples) quotes Chrysostom *H.* 24 et in *Ephes. H.* 13 οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ φίλων λέγομεν, ὁ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα ἐνεδύσατο, τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην λέγοντες καὶ τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον συνουσίαν. *ad Galat.* iii. 27 Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. *ad Ephes.* iv. 22 ἀποθέσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον 24 ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον. *ad Coloss.* iii. 9, 10 ἀπεκδυσάμενοι<sup>1</sup> τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* prooem. 1 p. 9 Heinichen *ὑνὶ δ' ὄλον αὐτὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι<sup>1</sup> (τὸν Καίσαρα)* 'assumed.' Liban. *Epist.* 956 Φιρμίνος ῥίψας τὸν στρατιωτὴν ἐνέδυ<sup>1</sup> τὸν σοφιστὴν. So I understand Rufin. *A.P.* v. 73: 6 σὺ, δοκῶ, τὴν θεὸν ἐνέδεδυκας<sup>1</sup> v.l. (as I had conjectured) for ἐκδέδυκας: 'you, Rhodocleia, I imagine, have put on the goddess': not as Bothe takes it, 'deam exspoliasti.' Choricus Boissonade p. 190 ἀπέθου<sup>1</sup> τὸν πρεσβευτὴν καὶ τὸ σύννον . . . ἀπεδύσω<sup>1</sup> τὸν ὀπλίτην. Eumath. i. 7 ἀπόθου<sup>1</sup> τὸν πρεσβευτὴν, ἀπόθου τὸν κήρυκα. Another verb was ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, to display: Marc. Anton. i. 7 τὸν ἐνεργητικὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι<sup>1</sup>: and the opposite of *denying* or *concealing* your manhood was to *show* it, δέδειξαι: in Lucian ii. 382 an effeminate young man, on being taunted by Demonax with μαλακία, retorts αὐτίκα σοι μάλα τὸν ἄνδρα δείξω.<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. p. 263. 22 ὁ δὲ (Man) προήκατο γὰρ τὸ λείον. ἔμεινεν τε ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα δεικνύει.<sup>1</sup> Julian *Μισοπώγων* p. 38 (Paris 1583) δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἐξόν, οἶμαι, λείον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλόν, ὁποῖόν οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παίδων ἔχουσιν ἀπασαί τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἷς φύσει πρόσεστι τὸ ἐράσμιον. ἡμεῖς δὲ (people of Antioch) καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρῳ ζηλοῦντες τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν νείας καὶ τὰς θυγα- τέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄβροτάτου<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἴσως ἀπολουσάτου τρόπου λείον ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες<sup>1</sup> διὰ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

The phrase in these last passages derives from a philosophical idea. The Puritan school of morality—Pythagorizers, Lacon- izers, Cynics, Stoics, Christian Fathers and their followers—held it a *denial of manhood* to shave the hair upon the face<sup>2</sup>; so that

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ λαβροτάτου in this edition, but rightly translated 'pro ista vestra delicatissima vita.'—In case they have not been made, the following corrections are worth noting: p. 91 οὐ πάντως (as suggested, or πάνν) εἰς τὰ θεάρα γ' ἐπτοημένοι for πάντες and πεπονημένοι: p. 140 λιμὸν ἀλοιητῆρα βροτείων, ὡς ὁ θεὸς (?) ἔφη for ἀλύκτῆρα (the translation has 'fameum vexatricem mortaliū').

<sup>2</sup> Pythagoreans, later at any rate (Ath. 163 e, f), wore the rest of their hair long too: Stoics cut it close (Jahn, Persius p. 155, Orelli-Mewes on Hor. Ep. i. 18. 7). κομήτης commonly implied κίναϊδος, which is the point of Caracalla's contemptuous

the πώγων became with the τρίβων the badge and symbol of their life. Here is an anecdote from Plutarch's life of Phocion, c. 10 : ἦν δέ τις Ἀρχιβιάδης ἐπικαλούμενος Λακωνιστής, πώγωνά τε καθιεμένος ὑπερφύῃ μεγέθει καὶ τρίβωνα φορῶν αἰεὶ καὶ σκυθρωπάζων· τοῦτον ἐν βουλῇ θορυβούμενος ὁ Φωκίων ἐπεκαλεῖτο τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυν ἅμα καὶ βοηθόν. ὥς δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐκείνος ἂ πρὸς χάριν ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευεν, ἀψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν γενειῶν ὧν Ἀρχιβιάδης εἶπε 'τί οὖν οὐκ ἀπεκείρω;' *Chrysippus* (quoted by *Ath.* 565a) says τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται (παρῆκται *Kaibel* 'introduced'), τῶν προτέρων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ . . . And then he mentions two sayings of *Diogenes* : Διογένης δὲ ἰδὼν τινα οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ γένειον ἔφησε 'μή τι ἔχεις ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ φύσει, ὅτι ἄνδρα σε ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ γυναικα;' ἕτερον δὲ τινα ἐπὶ ἵππῳ ἰδὼν παραπλησίως ἔχοντα καὶ μεμυρισμένον καὶ τοῦτοῖς ἀκολούθως ἡμψυμένον, πρότερον μὲν ἔφησε ζητεῖν τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἰππόπορος, νῦν δ' εὐρηκέναι. *Tertull. de spectaculis* 33 *placebit et ille qui vultus suos novacula mutat? infidelis erga faciem suam . . . non amat falsum auctor veritatis: adulterium est apud illum omne quod fingitur. proinde vocem, sexus, aetates mentientem . . . non probabit qui omnem hypocrisin damnat.* The Stoics found shaving to be in conflict with two of their main principles; it was *contrary to nature*, and it was not *manly*. Their position is most clearly stated by *Musonius* *περὶ κουρᾶς* (*Stob. Flor.* vi. 62) . . . τὸν δὲ πώγωνα καὶ σύμβολον γεγονέναι κατ' ἄρρενος, ὥσπερ ἀλεκτρυόνι λόφον καὶ λέοντι χαίτην. ὁθεν τῆς μὲν κόμης ἀφαιρετέον εἶναι τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν, τοῦ δὲ πώγωνος οὐδέν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἔως ἂν ὑγιάνῃ τὸ σῶμα . . . Then he quotes *Zeno* with approval as saying τούτου ἕνεκα καρτέον οὐ καὶ κομητέον, τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, ἵνα μὴ βαρούμενός τις ὑπὸ τῆς κόμης μὴδ' ἐνοχλούμενος ἢ πρὸς μηδεμίαν ἐνέργειαν; and continues ὁθεν καὶ καρτέον μόνης ἕνεκα τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως τοῦ περιτοῦ, καὶ οὐχὶ κόσμου χάριν, ὅπερ οἴονται δεῖν ἔνιοι, τὰ μὲν γένεια λεαινόμενοι καὶ μιμούμενοι τοὺς ἀγενεῖους, ἢ νῆ Δία τοὺς ἄρτι γενειάσκοντας· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως κειρόμενοι, διαφόρως δὲ τὰ πρόσω τῶν ὀπίσω. καὶ γὰρ τοι δοκῶν εἶναι κόσμος οἷτος πολλὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἔχει, καὶ διαφέρει οὐδὲν τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν. ἐκείναι τε γὰρ . . . οἷ τε κειρόμενοι οὕτως κατάδηλοι εἰσιν δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ φαίνεσθαι καλοὶ οἷς βούλονται ἀρέσκειν . . . ὥς ἂν εὐοπτοὶ εἶεν γυναῖξί τε καὶ παισὶν ὑφ' ὧν ἐπαινεῖσθαι

δέονται. ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ βαρύνεσθαι τὰς τρίχας κείρονται καὶ λεαινοῦσι τὰ γένεια, σαφῶς οὗτοί γε κατεαγότες ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἐκνευρισμένοι παντάπασιν, οἷ γε ἀνέχονται ἀνδρόγυνοι καὶ γυναικῶδες ὁράσθαι ὄντες, ὅπερ ἔδει φεύγειν ἐξ ἅπαντος, εἰ δὴ τῷ ὄντι ἄνδρες ἦσαν· τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ εἰσὶν αἱ τρίχες ἀνθρώποις βάρος; . . . It has been recognised that *Clement* of Alexandria derived largely from *Musonius*,<sup>1</sup> and the whole of *Paed.* iii. 3 πρὸς τοὺς καλλωπιζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν is little more than a rhetorical amplification of this theme. I have already made three extracts from that chapter, and have an object in making yet two more : p. 263. 14 τοῦτο οὖν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ σύνθημα, δι' οὗ καταφαίνεται ὁ ἀνὴρ. 263. 28 τὸ οὖν τῆς ἀνδρώδους φύσεως σύμβολον, τὸ λίσσιον, παρανομεῖν ἀνόσιον· τὸ δὲ καλλώπισμα τῆς λεαινσεως—θερμαίνομαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου—εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας, θηλυδρόν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικάς, μοιχολῷ. Cf. *Synes. Laud. Calv.* p. 58-9 (ed. Turneb.) Now let us look at a fragment of *Alexis* (264) quoted by *Athenaeus* 565 b, the same passage as before :

<ἀν> πιττοκοπούμενον τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον ὁρᾶς, τοῦτον ἔχει τι θάτερον' (sic)  
ἢ γὰρ ἐρατεύειν ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται.  
καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία,<sup>2</sup>

ἢ πλουσιακὸν τοῦτ' <τι> προσπίπτει κακόν·  
τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς, πρὸς θεῶν,  
δι' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται,  
εἰ μὴ τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς ;

that is ' unless you suppose that designs are entertained against them and the manhood which they symbolize.' Remark the resemblances in phrase between this and the passages of *Musonius* and *Clement*, and if there should remain a doubt that the speaker here is using the language of philosophy, it should be removed by the word *πλουσιακόν*. It is not, of course, ordinary Attic; it has the air of a technical word, and so it is; when we meet it next it is in the vocabulary of Stoicism : *Marc. Anton.* i. 3 τὸ λιτὸν κατὰ τὴν διαίταν καὶ πόρρω τῆς πλουσιακῆς διαγωγῆς. Gataker's note upon the word is right : 'est enim a πλούσιος, non a πλοῦτος, efformatum. διαγωγὴν autem πλουσιακὴν *Marcus* dixit quod δρᾶμα πλουσιακόν *Plutarchus de avaritia* [*Mor.* 528 B] pompam illam epularum sump-

<sup>1</sup> *Wendland Quaestiones Musonianae* (noticed by Prof. Mayor in *Class. Rev.* I p. 74).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dio. Chrys.* II p. 29 R. δταν ἀνὴρ τις ὦν καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἔχων τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φύσεως μὴ δυνάμενος ἀνελεῖν . . . , πάντα βούληται ποιεῖν καὶ μὴδὲν ὧν ἐπέφυκε, which last seven words may very well be verse.

observation on *Philiscus* with his effeminate mien and voice, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρα δεικνυσιν ἡ κόμη, τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα ἢ φωνή (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* ii. 30 p. 262 *Dübner*).



tuosam ac magnificam quae apud ditiores exhiberi solet. At Alexis apud Athenaeum *lib.* 13 πλουσιακὸν κακὸν etiam *mollitiem* dixit.' It means 'a vice arising from a life of sybaritic luxury,' as in Musonius also *τρυνή* is the other motive suggested for the practice. What the first is we have been very plainly told; to make themselves appear attractive in the eyes of women, or of others (cf. Lucian's ironical advice to the aspiring orator, *iii.* 24): and therefore for the absurd *στρατεύειν* of the MSS I have substituted *ἐρατεύειν* 'to play the *ἐρατὸς*' (*ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν* Tyrtæus 10. 29), as natural a verb as *ὑπατεύειν* is from *ὑπατος*. The Attic prose form of the adjective was *ἐραστός*, *ἐπέραστος* (see e.g. Lucian *i.* 206-7); but *ἐραστεύειν* had been already coined as early as Aeschylus *P.V.* 922 in the active sense 'to be a lover,' from *ἐραστής*. The Epic *ἐρατίζειν* also had the active sense, and when Photius records the word, *Ἐραστρίαν καὶ Ἐρατίζειν* (Schleusner for *ἐρωτίζειν*)

*λέγουσιν*, it is in the active sense I suppose we are to understand it.

There are many passages in Greek and Latin literature which cannot be appreciated without familiarity with the current language of philosophy<sup>1</sup>; Kock here calls πλουσιακὸν 'manifesto corruptum.'

Three more examples will complete the list I have at present: 'Lucian' *ii.* 425 μεταβὰς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα. Eu-eb. *Vit. Const.* *i.* 19 p. 35 Heinichen ἡδὴ δ' ἄρτι ἐκ παιδὸς (as corrected) ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίαν διαβάς. Synesius in Reiske's Dio Chrys. *I.* p. 13 ὅστις φιλόσοφος ὢν εἰς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἔλκεται.

W. HEADLAM.

<sup>1</sup> For instance in Aesch. *Cho.* 956 I see some editors content to acquiesce in *κρατεῖται τὸ θεῖον*. Surely a strange kind of *οὐρανοῦχος ἀρχή*, and a strange form of *Te Deum*! But it would also be a contradiction in terms. From Xenophanes downwards the very condition which defined and limited τὸ θεῖον was τὸ κρατεῖν:—would they not rather express their triumphant exultation by exclaiming *κρατεῖ πως τὸ θεῖον αἰεὶ*?

## THE DIVISION OF SYLLABLES IN GREEK.

AMONGST the questions of Greek orthography which were considered when the *Oxford Classical Texts* were prepared for the press was that of the right division of words at the end of the line. It was found, on examining the editions in current use, that the rules which govern this practice were not always strictly observed; and a memorandum was therefore issued to editors, press-readers and printers, in which certain principles were laid down for their guidance. It does not appear, however, that an accurate knowledge of these principles is general amongst scholars, and erroneous statements are not infrequently to be met with, even in the pages of the *Classical Review*. On p. 31 of the present volume Mr. J. H. Moulton gives as examples of irregular divisions drawn from papyri ἀποκαθεσ-ταμένον, which is legitimate, and δρα-χμάς, which is correct. Even the discussion of the subject in Kühner-Blass, *Griechische Grammatik* *I.* § 91 is not free from incidental error. The statement that a combination of three consonants is not found in Greek unless the first be σ or the last ρ (based on Choeroboscus) finds an exception in ἄντλος and its derivatives, to say nothing of the proper names Ἀλκμαίων, Ἀλκμήνη. I have therefore thought it worth while to restate as briefly as possible the

laws to be observed in this matter and the principles underlying them.

The general principle that the division of words at the end of the line should coincide with the close of a spoken syllable needs no discussion or justification. As will be seen, it only obtained gradual recognition amongst the Greeks themselves; but when once established, it remained unquestioned. Now 'syllabification,' which, as writers on Phonetics have pointed out, is due to the breaking-up of the sentence, regarded as a continuous flow of sound, by interruptions in expiration, is a matter of pronunciation; in the case of Greek, therefore, it can only be determined by inference. This practically means that we must accept the orthographical rules laid down by the Greeks themselves as reflecting actual pronunciation, for the evidence to be derived from other sources—which will be mentioned later on—is extremely slight.

What then were the rules laid down by the Greeks on the question of syllable-division? The answer to this question may be drawn either from an examination of the most carefully written documents (literary papyri of early date) and of inscriptions, or from the study of Greek grammatical tradition. It will be convenient to treat

these two sources of information separately, and we may legitimately describe the one as 'ancient practice,' and the other as 'ancient theory'; for although the rules actually observed spring from the application of a theory communicated by education, yet the nature of such instruction was without doubt essentially practical, whereas the grammarians, as will shortly be seen, treat of syllable-division as part of a wider subject and are concerned rather with its *rationale* than with its practical application.

I. *Ancient practice*.—Our earliest witnesses are the inscriptions, although the beginnings of strict division are but little anterior to the Ptolemaic papyri. The custom of inscribing documents in the style known as *στοιχῶδόν* prevailed in Attica until the close of the fourth century, and, since it involved the disposition of letters in vertical columns and consequently the assignment of a uniform number of letters to each line of the inscription, excluded all possibility of phonetic division. In the Attic inscriptions not thus disposed (e.g. C.I.A. II 52 c [369/8 B.C.], C.I.A. II 55 [362 B.C.], C.I.A. II 114 [342/1 B.C.], C.I.A. IV 2, 179<sup>b</sup>, II. 66–80 [325 B.C.], irregularities occur with varying degrees of frequency. In other parts of Greece, however, inscriptions of the fourth century are found which display the strict observance of rules. A good example is furnished by the Elean decree set up in Olympia circ. 350 B.C. recording honours conferred on Democrates of Tenedos (Dittenberger-Purgold 39.) But this is an exceptional case. With the period of the Diadochi, however, a change begins. The rescript of Alexander inscribed at Chios (*Revue de Philologie*, 1893, p. 188) is accurately divided; and although instances of laxity are to be found in the letter of Antigonos to Teos (Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 149) and the decree of Cassander (Dittenberger 127), the stone copies of the rescripts of the Diadochi are generally accurate in their divisions, while the stone-cutters of the kings of Pergamon were trained from the first to observe the rules of orthography (Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* p. 131 f.). The same is true of the Delphic Amphictyony and the city of Delphi, while in Athens, as the *στοιχῶδόν* style was abandoned, it was gradually, though not immediately, replaced by the rule of syllable-division. We find, it is true, a number of third century inscriptions in which no attention is paid to syllabic division (e.g. C.I.A. II 317 [282 B.C.] and C.I.A. II 331 [circ. 272 B.C.]);

but a gradual progress may be traced in this respect. This is especially noticeable in the case of the ephebic inscriptions (C.I.A. II 478 *sqq.*).<sup>1</sup>

With the third century B.C., to which the triumph of the strict observance in inscriptions thus belongs, begins the series of papyri. From the Ptolemaic period onwards, these documents present but few deviations from the rules of orthography. This is especially true of the literary papyri; the non-literary documents (except some of the more important official documents such as the Ptolemaic Revenue Papyrus) do not, as might be expected, conform so precisely to the orthographical standard, although the rarity of mistakes proves that Greek education was very thorough in this respect, while their absence even from documents whose orthography is generally incorrect shews that the rules closely reflected actual pronunciation and were therefore followed by instinct.<sup>2</sup>

What then are the rules which Greek scribes and lapidaries are found to observe? They may be stated briefly as follows:—

General rule: *Each vowel (or diphthong) ends a syllable.*

Exceptions:—

(1) The first of two doubled consonants belongs to the preceding syllable.

This covers the case of the groups κ-χ, π-φ, τ-θ which are in reality doubled consonants (cp. the spelling BAXXE Kretschmer *Vasenschriften*, p. 174).

(2) The first of two or more consonants, if a liquid or nasal, belongs to the preceding syllable.

Thus we divide πάν-τες, ἀν-δρῶν, θέλ-κτρον. There is, however, one exception to this rule; μν are not divided. Cp. γυ-μνασί[αρχίας], C.I.A. II 481, 31/2, γυ-μνάσιον, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 458, 4/5, λλ-μναις, Oxyrhynchus Papyri II 221, etc.

<sup>1</sup> References to these will be found in Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 7 f. Some inscriptions not there included amongst the examples of 'strict' division might be added, as the exceptions are found in editorial supplements (C.I.A. II 465 and 468); while C.I.A. II 471 and 481 (which Meisterhans includes) shew φαν/εροι and προση/έσια respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Exaggerated statements have been made on this subject. Mr. Kenyon (*Palaeography of Greek Papyri* p. 31 n) rightly condemns Wattenbach's dictum that the division of words in Egyptian papyri is 'ganz regellos'; but his own statement as to the accuracy even of non-literary papyri is far too sweeping. See the letters of Gemellus (No. 112) and Harpocration (No. 127) in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* for examples of irregular division.

(3)  $\sigma$ , when followed by one or more consonants, is often attached to the preceding vowel.

Practice is very variable in this matter. The Attic and Pergamene inscriptions, with but few exceptions, divide  $\sigma$  from the following consonant or consonants (Meisterhans, *op. cit.* p. 8<sup>29</sup>, Schweizer, *op. cit.* p. 132). In many, if not most of the best literary papyri, on the other hand, such as those of Bacchylides and Thucydides (Oxyrhynchus Papyri I 16), the division is made before  $\sigma$ . The papyrus containing the *Ἐπιτάφιος* of Hyperides, however, divides after  $\sigma$  (Blass, *Hyperides*<sup>3</sup> Praef. p. xvii.). It is not, however, true to say as Blass does in Müller's *Handbuch* I<sup>2</sup> p. 310 that the practice of the same scribe is always consistent. Both in inscriptions and papyri inconsistencies are found in the same document.

(4) In the case of compounds, the logical division is sometimes carried through at the expense of phonetic rule.

This seems to be regular in the case of  $\epsilon\kappa$  ( $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  when followed by a consonant. When a vowel follows we do indeed find such divisions as  $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\xi\text{-}\delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota$  Dittenberger 353, 35/6,  $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron$  in the Bacchylides papyrus (V 74/5)<sup>1</sup>, and  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$  more than once in the Hyperides MS. already referred to: but this is not the prevailing practice.  $\epsilon\nu$  and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  are also at times written separately from the following vowel ( $\epsilon\nu\text{-}\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Dittenberger 353, 108/9). Rarely we find a preposition whose final vowel is elided in composition forming a syllable. Examples are  $\pi\alpha\rho\text{-}[\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma]$  in the Thucydides papyrus from Oxyrhynchus and  $\pi\alpha\rho\text{-}\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\iota\iota$  in Cauer, *Delectus* 181, 22/3—a long inscription recording a treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna, correctly divided but for two examples of *ἱεραπυτνίων* (*ois*). The Pergamene inscriptions furnish three instances.

[NOTE.—It must be emphasised that in ancient Greek writing the syllable often oversteps the limits of the word. This is the case under two sets of conditions. (1) Atonic prepositions, such as  $\epsilon\kappa$  and  $\epsilon\nu$ , or particles such as  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$  ( $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\chi}$ ) are joined with the following word for the purpose of syllabification,  $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\chi}\ \eta\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  and so forth being the normal divisions. (2) Elision binds the word whose final vowel is lost to that which follows, so that we have  $\kappa\alpha\text{-}\tau'\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\phi\acute{\omega}\text{-}\theta'\ \iota\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$  (Bacchyl. xv. 15/6) and so on.]

II. *Ancient theory*.—Our knowledge of the rules laid down by the great grammarians of antiquity depends (apart from casual references) on the fragmentary remains of Herodian's treatise on orthography preserved by late compilers and excerptors. These will be found in Lentz's *Herodian* II 393 ff and 401 ff. Unfortu-

nately Lentz's arrangement obscures the fact that all the statements derived from Herodian were to be found in the first part of his work *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*, which bore the heading *περὶ συντάξεως τῶν κῶ στοιχείων*. Furthermore, Lentz failed to make use of the tract published by Gütting under the name of 'Theodosius.' This epitome, poor as it is, is not without a certain value; some of its lacunae may be supplied by the rather fuller excerpts of Joannes Charax, on which Egenolf *Die orthographischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* should be consulted. Reitzenstein (*Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* p. 301 ff) has recently published (from a palimpsest at Leipzig) some scanty remains of the commencement of Herodian's treatise. The most important fact which we learn from them is that Herodian's work was based immediately upon that of Tryphon: this is the inference drawn, no doubt rightly, by Reitzenstein from the fact that a list of authorities on orthography reaches its climax in the words *αὐτὸς τε ὁ Τρύφων*.<sup>2</sup>

Of orthographical treatises other than that of Herodian we know practically nothing. His great rival, Apollonius Dyscolus, likewise wrote *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*, but we can recover nothing of his doctrines apart from one or two arguments from orthographical analogy drawn by Apollonius himself in the *Syntax*. Possibly the arrangement of the subject under the three heads of *ποσότης*, *ποιότης*, *μερισμός*, to which Sextus Empiricus<sup>3</sup> refers, may be his, since the order (and nomenclature) of Herodian differs slightly—*σύνταξις*, *ποιότης*, *ποσότης*.

It lies outside the scope of this article to examine in detail the fragments of the treatises to which we have referred. The rules which are there laid down are those which we find in actual observance, and their statement is not remarkably logical. It will suffice to say a few words as to the method of treatment which the grammarians adopt.

The division of syllables falls under the more general head of *σύνταξις* (more fully *σύνταξις τῶν κῶ στοιχείων*), with which, however, it is not coextensive. *Σύνταξις* denotes the *order* or *combination* of letters, and it was under this head that the grammarians discussed what combinations of consonants were permissible, whether *initial*, *medial* or *final*. In the second of these three cases they were brought face to face

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand we find  $\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* xii 19/20.

<sup>2</sup> Tryphon's definition of orthography is also quoted (Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* p. 303).

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. math.* p. 633 Bk.



with the question of syllable-division; for when the consonants were distributed between two syllables, combinations were possible which would be illegitimate at the beginning of a word.

The rules laid down for such division were cumbrous and unsystematic. The following are the most important.<sup>1</sup>

1. Every consonant standing between two vowels in one word (or in two words connected by elision) belongs to the second vowel.

2. Every syllable ending in a consonant is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant.

3. Every syllable beginning with a vowel is preceded by a syllable ending in a vowel.

4. Groups of consonants which are found initially are not divided medially.

5. Other combinations, not permissible initially, are also undivided medially.

[Herodian (An. Ox. IV 332, 10) gives  $\overline{\theta\mu}$ ,  $\overline{\phi\psi}$ ,  $\gamma\delta$ ,  $\chi\mu$ ,  $\kappa\mu$ ,  $\sigma\gamma$ ,  $\overline{\sigma\delta}$  as examples. Some of these are of course found initially in dialectic forms. See also Ioannes Charax ap. Egenolff, *op. cit.* p. 13. Apollonius Dyscolus (*Synt.* p. 7 Bk.) distinguishes *συλλαβαὶ προτακτικαὶ* (Herodian used the term *ἀρκτικαὶ*) *ὑποτακτικαὶ*, *ληκτικαὶ*. Under the first head fall aspirated vowels, under the second syllables containing the consonants  $\gamma\mu$ ,  $\kappa\mu$ ,  $\chi\mu$ , under the third those terminated by  $\lambda\sigma$ ,  $\rho\sigma$ ,  $\nu\sigma$ ].

6. Doubled consonants are always divided.

7. Liquids and nasals preceding (a) mutes (b) other liquids and nasals (except in the case of  $\mu\nu$ , which falls under rule 4) belong to the previous syllable.

8. Two mutes whether tenues ( $\overline{\kappa\tau}$   $\overline{\pi\tau}$ ), mediae ( $\overline{\beta\delta}$   $\overline{\gamma\delta}$ ) or aspirates ( $\overline{\chi\theta}$   $\overline{\phi\theta}$ ) are not divided.

9. No syllable ends in an aspirate.

[This rule is framed to meet the cases of  $\overline{\tau\theta}$ ,  $\overline{\kappa\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\phi}$  which should rather fall under the head of doubled consonants, and of such words as  $\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ].

10. A legitimate conjunction of consonants becomes illegitimate if their order is reversed.

[Thus e.g.  $\overline{\theta\nu}$  are found  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *συλλήψει* ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\nu\sigma$ ), but  $\overline{\nu\theta}$  are not ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\sigma$ ). This rule is also mentioned by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Synt.* p. 58, 2 Bk.)]

11. The ordinary rules of division apply also in the case of compounds.

<sup>1</sup> Consonants which are not separated in syllable-division are said to be  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *συλλήψει*; those which are so separated are  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *διαστάσει*.

[Such is the doctrine attributed to Herodian by Priscian (II 2, p. 89 K.); but his words<sup>2</sup> make it clear that the point was a subject of controversy.]

Besides general rules such as the above, we find statements which apply to particular letters. The most important case is that of  $\sigma$ . Herodian (see Lentz II 393, 16 ff., 391, 4 and add Ioannes Charax ap. Egenolff *op. cit.* p. 13) ruled that  $\sigma$  should always be  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *συλλήψει* with the following consonant, and the same is implied by Hephæstion (p. 7); but, as we have seen, the practice of inscriptions and papyri fluctuates, and Sextus Empiricus (*adv. math.* p. 638 Bk.) mentions that the division of such a word as  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  was a moot point amongst grammarians.<sup>3</sup>

Exceptions to this treatment of  $\sigma$  were recognised in the case of compounds formed with  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\delta\upsilon\varsigma$  when followed by a consonant; when a vowel followed, however, the division took place before  $\sigma$ .<sup>4</sup>

Examples of particular laws are

(a) Every syllable ending in  $\sigma$  (subject to the exceptions just mentioned) is followed by a syllable beginning with  $\sigma$ .

(b)  $\rho$  is never preceded by a consonant  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *διαστάσει* unless that consonant be  $\rho$ .

(c) Every syllable ending in  $\mu$  is followed by a syllable beginning with one of the letters  $\pi$   $\beta$   $\phi$   $\psi$   $\mu$ .

From these and the like premises deductions were drawn as to the legitimacy of phonetic formations. Thus Herodian argued<sup>5</sup> that the perfect of  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$  should by analogy be  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\kappa\alpha$  (cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha$ ); but this was impossible, since  $\overline{\mu\kappa}$  was an illegitimate conjunction. For (1)  $\overline{\mu\kappa}$  could not co-exist  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *συλλήψει*, since the conjunction would be a reversal of the legitimate  $\overline{\kappa\mu}$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\mu\acute{\eta}$ ) [v. rule 10]. (2)  $\overline{\mu\kappa}$  could not co-exist  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *διαστάσει*,

<sup>2</sup> Herodianus de orthographia ostendit rationalius esse sonoriusque quantum ad ipsam vocis prolationem in compositis quoque simplicium regulam in ordinandis syllabarum litteris servare.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to see what doubt could have arisen in the other instance given in this passage ( $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\mu\sigma$  or  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\text{-}\rho\iota\mu\sigma$ , where the first division is the correct one). It seems possible that as the  $\gamma$  in such a word as  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha$  became nasalised and gave rise to the spelling  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\mu\alpha$ , recommended by Herodian (II 408 L), so  $\beta$  in  $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\mu\sigma$  may have been similarly affected (cp. the spelling  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\rho\iota\mu\sigma$ ), and it may have been held by some that it should be treated as a nasal.

<sup>4</sup> So too, though  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  before consonants was  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *διαστάσει*,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  formed no exception to the usual rule. Papyri shew divergences in this case, as was shewn above.

<sup>5</sup> Lentz II. 398, 17 ff.

for a syllable ending in  $\mu$  must be followed by one beginning with  $\pi \beta \phi \psi \mu$  [above, (c)].

It would be tedious to pursue this subject further. Enough has been said to shew how cumbersome were the rules by which the grammarians obscured the simple phenomena of syllable-division, as well as how the subject was by them treated in a wider connexion. A word must be added, however, as to the doctrine of the 'rhythmicians' with regard to *quantity* in its bearing upon this question. 'Metric' deals with *conventional* quantity and recognises two degrees only; but the professors of 'rhythmic,' who regarded the phenomena of rhythm and metre from a somewhat less narrow point of view, had something to say as to *natural* quantity, or the absolute time-value of syllables. They did not indeed anticipate modern writers on Phonetics in postulating an ascending scale of vowel-quantities such as has been found, for example, in English.<sup>1</sup> But they refer to the time-value of *consonants* in the syllable. Thus Choeroboscus<sup>2</sup> attributes to the  $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$  the doctrine that the time-value of a consonant is half a  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (the 'time-unit,' equivalent to the short syllable of 'metric'), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>3</sup> constructs an ascending scale of 'short' syllables, illustrated by the words  $\acute{o}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\rho\acute{o}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\sigma\rho\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , and gives  $\sigma\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$  as an example of the longest of 'long' syllables. But it is important to note that in these speculations no account is taken of the conventions by which *metrical* quantity is determined. For the consonants which produce length 'by position' are those which *follow* the vowel; whereas the  $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$  assign a time-value to those which *precede* it. And further, the  $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$  in their division of syllables presuppose the current rules of orthography. Thus Marius Victorinus (Aphthonius)<sup>4</sup> takes the final syllable of  $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  as an example of short vowel + 3 consonants; whereas, *metrically* speaking, the quantity of the second syllable is determined by the consonants belonging by rule to the last.

We have now considered the theory and practice of the Greeks themselves in the matter of syllable-division: it remains to enquire whether the rules which they observed in writing accurately reflected the

pronunciation in use. From the nature of the case it is extremely difficult to obtain any evidence on this subject; a brief notice of two or three points must suffice.

(1) Misspellings due to 'haplography,' or the omission of one of two identical syllables, may throw light on the division of words. Thus the spelling  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  points to the pronunciation  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\eta\nu$  and thus justifies Herodian's rule as to prepositions elided in composition (Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* p. 131).

(2) In certain cases we find a consonant doubled between two vowels, from which we may infer that the Greeks wavered in pronouncing the consonant in question between two syllables. Now in by far the greater number of these cases the consonant is either a liquid, nasal or  $\sigma$ , explosives being rarely doubled. G. Meyer (*Griechische Grammatik* § 289) quotes  $\chi\alpha\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\nu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , W. Schulze (*K.Z.* xxxiii 397 and *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1896, p. 250)  $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\eta\phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\eta}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omega\varsigma$ . Kretschmer (*Griechische Vaseninschriften* p. 50) shews that doubling of  $\nu$  is common at Gortyn and (p. 174) collects examples of an analogous phenomenon, viz. the very common doubling of  $\sigma$  before a *consonant* (NEΣΣTOP &c.) in vase-inscriptions. Schweizer (*op. cit.* p. 132) states that the doubling of  $\sigma$  is the most frequent case, that of nasals less so; but this seems hardly borne out by the facts. However, we may fairly argue from the fact that such doubling is extremely rare in the case of explosives that syllables ending in such were practically unknown in Greek.

(3) A more difficult question, which cannot here be discussed adequately, is raised by the conventions of metric in the matter of 'length by position' and 'common' quantity. Sievers (*Phonetik* § 658) cuts the knot by the following statement: 'Syllables long by position are those which end in a consonant. The statement of the ancients that more than one must follow the vowel is due to the fact that consonants only end a syllable in such cases.' 'Common' quantity has been explained on the same lines as due to variation in syllable-division, as for example (Soph. *O. C.* 442).

$\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma}\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{-}\rho\iota\ \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu.$

Now Sievers' doctrine accords well with the fact that 'liquid or nasal + mute, liquid or nasal' makes position; for in such cases the

<sup>1</sup> V. Sweet, *Handbook of Phonetics*, p. 59. The Romance languages do not possess anything like so rich a gamut of quantity as those of the Teutonic family, and ancient Greek was probably like them in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> In *Heph.* p. 34 Stud.

<sup>3</sup> *De comp. verb.* c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> P. 39, 6 ff. K.

first syllable ends in a consonant. And the sole exception—shortening before  $\mu\nu$  as in ἔμνωδῇ Aesch. *Ag.* 990—would be due to the fact that  $\mu\nu$ , as an initial combination, belonged to the succeeding syllable. But we should expect, if the true ground of the convention were to be sought here, to find that such groups as  $\kappa\tau$ ,  $\phi\theta$  and the like permitted the shortening of a previous vowel, while the fluctuating treatment of  $\sigma$  in syllable-division would naturally be reflected in the 'common' quantity of a vowel followed by  $\sigma + \text{cons.}$

It may be asked in conclusion what modifications or adaptations of the ancient rules should be adopted in modern printing.

Three would seem to be required:—

(1) The syllable should be confined within the limits of the word;  $\epsilon\kappa$  *τούτου*, *κατ' ἐμοῦ* and the like are unsuited to modern typography.

(2) A consistent rule should be observed in the case of  $\sigma + \text{cons.}$

(3) Similar consistency is desirable in the case of compounds. Perhaps the occasional occurrence of 'logical' division (*παρ-όντες*) in ancient texts may be held to justify its adoption (as against *πα-ρόντες κ.τ.λ.*) by modern printers.

H. STUART-JONES.

### ΤΟΚΕΩΝ 'A PARENT' AND THE KINDRED FORMS.

τοκέων (or τεκέων) is an old Ionic form to be restored in two epigrams of the *Anthology*, each of which uses it in reference to an old Ionian:

Meleager *A.P.* vii. 79: εἰς Ἡράκλειτον τὸν Ἐφέσιον, τὸν σοφόν, τὸν ἀγέλαστον.

ΗΡΑΚΛ. Ὀνθρῶπ', Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφὰ μῶνους ἀνευρεῖν φαμί· τὰ δ' εἰς πάτραν κρέσσονα καὶ σοφίῃσ'.

λάξ γὰρ καὶ τοκέωνας, ἰὼ ξένε, δύσφρονας ἄνδρας,

ἰλάκτειν. ΞΕΝΟΣ λαμπρὰ θρεψαμένοισι χάρις.

HP. οὐκ ἂπ' ἐμεῦ; ΞΕΝ. μὴ τρηχύς.

HP. ἐπεὶ τάχα καὶ σύ τι πεύσῃ

τρηχύτερον πάτρας. ΞΕΝ. χαῖρε.

HP. σὺ δ' ἐξ Ἐφέσου.

Heraclitus: *I, sir, Heraclitus, claim to have been alone<sup>1</sup> in discovering wisdom: and surpassing even wisdom was my behaviour towards my people. Ay sir! for I assailed even my own parents, evil-minded folks, with contumelious abuse. Traveller: A brilliant return to those who brought you up! Heraclitus: Away from me! Traveller: No harshness! Heraclitus: Because you shall presently hear something harsher than my people did. Traveller: Farewell. Heraclitus: And you get out of Ephesus!*

The MS. readings are ἀνευρῶν in v. 1 and

<sup>1</sup> The Greek admits the sense '*I was the only discoverer of wisdom*,' and this would be in character with the tradition about Heraclitus (Diog. Laert. ix. 1). But probably the meaning is rather '*I made my discoveries unaided, single-handed*,' for he was definitely credited with this pretension: Diog. L. ix. 5, Suid. s.v. Ἡράκλειτος.

in v. 3 λάξ γὰρ καὶ τοκέων ἀσίῳ ξένε, the first hand having written τεκέων ἀσίῳ

Leonidas *A.P.* vii. 408 εἰς Ἴππώνακτα τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητήν· ἦν δ' οὗτος Ἐφέσιος.

Ἀτρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ

πικρὸν ἐγείριμτε σφῆκ' ἀναπαινόμενον·

ἄρτι γὰρ Ἴππώνακτος ὁ καὶ τοκέωνε βαύξας

ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

'For the temper of Hipponax, that snarled even at his parents, has only just been lulled to sleep in peace'.

Here the 1st hand of the Palatine wrote ὁ καὶ τοκέων εἰα leaving the verse unfinished; the reviser completes it with βαύξας. Planudes' copy has ὁ καὶ τοκέων ἔο βαύξας, the ἔο having been altered from ια in another ink.

Before proceeding to examine the form τοκέων, let me point out the steps that led to finding it. As usual, the plan was to eliminate improbabilities. In the first epigram θρεψαμένοισι of course means 'those who brought you up', as Kaibel *Ep.* 121 Δμῶις δρηστοσύνησι κεκασμένη, οἷσι ποθεινὴ θρεψαμένοις, τύμβον τοῦδε θανούσ' ἔλαχον: and Heraclitus is required to say 'I snarled at my parents', otherwise there would be no relevance in the comment made on his remark. καὶ in both epigrams implies a degree to which the subject carried his moroseness. In the second the clue lies in βαύξας: the regular construction of βαύξεν and ἰλακτεῖν 'to bark at' *adlatrare* is an accusative of the object: βαύξεν (which appears to be rather the Ionic word) Heraclitus in Plut. *Mor.* 787 c 'κύνες γὰρ καὶ βαύζουσιν ὃν ἂν μὴ γινώσκωσι' καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. Aesch. *Pers.* 13 νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαύζει. ἰλακτεῖν *Ar. Vesp.* 1402,



Isocr. p. 8 c, Theocr. vi. 29, Polyb. xvi. 24. 6, Lucian i. 548, 605, ii. 924, Heraclid. Pont. (Bekk. An. 178. 27), Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 19. 2, Ael. *N.A.* xi. 5, Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 60, ἑλαον Hom. π 5. Plutarch has ἑλακτεῖν πρὸς τινα in *Cimon* 18 (bis) and *Arat.* 8: κατὰ τινος would be Greek, though I have not found it except in Phot. *Bibl.* 109. 1 τοὺς λαθραίους μιμεῖται τῶν κυνῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ἑλακτῶν: and καθυλακτεῖν τινος was in use with later writers. Planudes' ὁ καὶ τοκέων ἑο βαύξας is merely a conjecture, and a bad one, for it is not grammar, nor more conceivable as Greek than λέγειν θεῶν for 'to speak against the Gods'. ὁ καὶ τοκέων καταβαύξας, so far as grammar goes, would be correct, though I cannot see why it should have so baffled a transcriber. But there is another objection to it, which has been urged by Meineke: βαύζειν occurs often enough in verse, but it is always a trisyllable, never βαύζειν, βαῦξαι: and the adjective in Aesch. *Persae* is δυσβαῦκτος, not

δυσβανκτός. The presumption is that we have ὁ καὶ — — — βαύξας, the blank to be filled with an accusative τοκέωνε or τοκέωνα, and that is confirmed when we see how simple it is to read τοκέωνας in the other place. The loud call ἰὼ ξένε suits the rising tone of defiance there, and is used to hail a passer-by in Kaibel *Epr.* 241 οἱ δισσοὶ συνόμαι-μοι, ἰὼ ξένε, τῷδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ ἄψανστοι τεκέων κείμεθα κουριδίῳ. It always looked as though the same solution would account for both these epigrams.

The word may very well have been used by one of these antique Ephesians, for it is old Ionic. The class it belongs to is a small one, and in that class the dialects make many variations, all of which are exhibited by ξυνῶν = κοινωνός. -ῶν may be taken as the central form, which on one side contracts into Doric -ᾶν or into -ήν which is one sort of Ionic; on the other hand becomes in Ionic -ήων or -έων and in Attic -ών. You see the tendency in other cases:

|                                 |                      |                                                                            |                                                                                           |                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Μενέλας<br>ἀχᾶεσσα <sup>1</sup> | Μενέλαος<br>λαϊτάεις | ἡχῆεις<br>χαίτηεις<br>τελήεις<br>βρωμήεις<br>Θρήισσα<br>χρηίζω<br>ληίζομαι | Μενέλεως<br>ἡχέεντα<br>χαιτέεσσα<br>τελέεντα<br>βρωμέεις<br>Θρέισσα<br>χρεῖζω<br>λεῖζομαι | Archilochus<br>Simon. Amorg.<br>Tyrtaeus<br>? Archilochus<br>Herodas,<br>(Hipponactean) |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The chances are that from a list we shall learn something further:

|          |          |          |          |          |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|          | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   |          |
|          | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   |          |
|          | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   | Ἀμυθῶν   |          |
| Ἀλκμήνη  | Ἀλκμήνη  | Ἀλκμήνη  | Ἀλκμήνη  | Ἀλκμήνη  |
| Ἑλλήνη   | Ἑλλήνη   | Ἑλλήνη   | Ἑλλήνη   | Ἑλλήνη   |
|          | Ποσειδῶν | Ποσειδῶν | Ποσειδῶν | Ποσειδῶν |
|          | Παιῶν    | Παιῶν    | Παιῶν    | Παιῶν    |
|          | Ἰᾶν      | Ἰᾶν      | Ἰᾶν      | Ἰᾶν      |
| Τιτῆν    | Τιτῆν    | Τιτῆν    | Τιτῆν    | Τιτῆν    |
| Τιτηνίς  | Τιτηνίς  | Τιτηνίς  | Τιτηνίς  | Τιτηνίς  |
| Τιτηνῆ   | Τιτηνῆ   | Τιτηνῆ   | Τιτηνῆ   | Τιτηνῆ   |
| νεηνίς   | νεηνίς   | νεηνίς   | νεηνίς   | νεηνίς   |
| νεήνις   | νεήνις   | νεήνις   | νεήνις   | νεήνις   |
|          | Λυκῶν    | Λυκῶν    | Λυκῶν    | Λυκῶν    |
| ξυνῆν    | ξυνῆν    | ξυνῆν    | ξυνῆν    | ξυνῆν    |
|          | κοινῶν   | κοινῶν   | κοινῶν   | κοινῶν   |
|          | ὀπῶν     | ὀπῶν     | ὀπῶν     | ὀπῶν     |
|          | Πορθῶν   | Πορθῶν   | Πορθῶν   | Πορθῶν   |
| Ζήν      | Ζήν      | Ζήν      | Ζήν      | Ζήν      |
| μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν |
| μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν |
| μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν |
| μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν | μεγιστήν |

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Theb.* 899 δόμων μάλ' ἀχᾶεσσα τοὺς <προπομπὰ>.

It appears from this comparison that the proper Ionic accent is paroxytone. ἀπατεῶν, λυμεῶν, πορθεῶν indeed are oxytone, and expressly mentioned as such by the grammarians on the subject of accentuation<sup>1</sup>; but these three are the only examples of the form (except proper names) they quote at all—doubtless because these alone survived as Attic. Dr. Postgate makes a suggestion which I readily accept: 'It seems possible that the accentuation of λυμεῶν etc. is an Attic innovation; caused, it may be, by confusion with the collectives.' These were invariably oxytone; and in their case too the old Ionic termination seems to have been -εῶν, as in πυλεῶν, ἐσχαρεῶν, ἀνθερεῶν, πρηγορεῶν, κενεῶν, while -ῶν was the true Attic. Later 'Attic' writers, however, often used the termination -εῶν, a use reprehended by Phrynichus: see Lobeck p. 166, to whose list add κωνωπεῶν. In the case of πρῶν 'a promontory' we find the forms πρῶν, πρῶνες, πρῶνες, πρῶν, πρεῖνος, πρῶν, πρηῶν, πρηῶνος, πρηῶσιν: and besides ἀνδρῶν and ἀνδρέων there is a lengthened form ἀνδρειῶν used by Leon. Tar. A.P. ix. 322. ἡ παστὰδα τις τοιοῖσδε καὶ ἀνδρειῶνα καὶ αἰλὰν κοσμεῖτω. Probably it was the call of metre that dictated this extension and also that of ὄργεων 'a performer of ritual' or 'a sacrificial priest' to ὄργειῶν or ὄργιῶν: in *Hom. h. Apoll. Pyth.* 211 we have οὐστιας ἀνθρώπους ὄργιῶνας εἰσαγάγοιτο: in a fragment of Antimachus (ἔνθα) Καβάρηνος θῆκεν ἀγακλέας ὄργιῶνας<sup>2</sup>; and in *Hermesianax* (Ath. 597d) Hermann is evidently right in reading Ἀντιόπην, ἣ τε πολλὴν μύσθησιν Ἐλεσίνος παρὰ πέζαν εὐασμὸν κρυφίῳν ἐξεφόρει λογίων, Ῥάριον ὄργειῶνι νόμῳ διαποιπνύονσα Δήμητρα for ὄργιωνανέμωι. From Phot. s.v. ὄργεῶνες we learn that it was used by Aeschylus—in the *Musoi*, it may be noted—ποταμοῦ Καΐκου χαίρε πρῶτος ὄργειῶν, εὐχαῖς δὲ σφύζεις δεσπότης παιωνίας, and that it also figured in the *ἄξονες* of Solon: from Harpocration that there was a speech of Isaeus πρὸς τοὺς ὄργεῶνας and apparently that Theophrastus used it in his will (though it does not occur in it as given by Diog. Laert.). Doubtless also Lysias:—we are told, indeed, that he used ὄργεων as a genitive plural: Harpocr. Ὀργέων: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄργεῶνων Ἀσσίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Θεοπόμπου κλήρου: Suid. p. 1150 Bernhardt Ὀργέων (sic): ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄργεῶνων Ἀσσίας: but the

grammarian who originated this is generally held to have been deceived by a defective text (*Thes.*, Schmidt on Hesych. Ὀργέων: ἱερῶν ἢ ἱερέων). Though there does not appear anything *a priori* against ὄργεων, there is no record of it elsewhere, and certainly no one was less likely than Lysias to employ an unfamiliar form. Athenaeus, Harpocration and Photius use the adjective ὄργεωνικός. As an Attic word, therefore, ὄργεων may be permitted to be oxytone; but when we find in Hesych. βοσκέων<sup>3</sup>: ὁ τροφεύς, Liddell and Scott have no warrant for saying 'βοσκέων (not βοσκέων)', nor the editors generally for altering ἅλα ξυνέωνα in Alexand. Aetol. v. 15 (Parthen. 14. 3).

Hesych. gives τιτῆναι: βασιλίδες. <Διοσχύλος Φρυξίν> ἡ Ἐκτορος λύτροις, and (τιτῆν by an error for) τιτῆνη: ἡ βασίλισσα. I think if you compare Ἀλκμάν and Ἀλκμήνη it will be seen that Τιτῆνη is merely a feminine of Τιτῆν or Τιτάν. He also gives τίταξ: ἔντιμος. ἡ δυνάστης. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς: which is formed like νέας, πλούταξ and the like. In both these words the iota must be long; so that it was an unfortunate proposal of Hermann's (*Opusc.* v. 162) to read in Aesch. *Cho.* 398 τὰ χθονίων τίτηνά: I do not suppose that even χθονίων τίτηναι could have been said any more than χθονίων Τιτάνες.—Τιτώ, which was used by Lycophr. 941 and Callimachus (*Tzetzes ad loc. cit.*) for ἡμέρα or ἥως (Schmidt on Hesych. iv p. 161), is of course a feminine ὑποκοριστικόν of Τιτάν as the Sun. Τιθωνός is explained as meaning ἡ ἡμέρα by Et. Mag. 758. 28 and Tzetz. on Lycophr. 18, and the Schol. on *Hom.* Δ1 makes the same connexion as my comparative list had led me to infer: Ἥως δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγανοῦ Τιθωνοῖο τὸ δλον τοῦτο νομιστέον ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα γέγονει. 'Τιθωνοῖο' δὲ ὥσεί ἐλεγε 'Τιτωνοῖο'. Τιτάν γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὅτι ἀπὸ Λητοῦς τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἥλιον νενομίκαμεν. Whatever be the original meaning of the root (which I should look for in Iranian), I believe Τιτάν to be related to Τιθωνός as κοινάν to κοινωνός.

If you wanted to form a verb from such a substantive as λυμεῶν, what would you make the termination? There was a choice of four: if you meant simply 'to be a λυμεῶν', you would make it -έω, as κοινανέω, κοινωνέω, τελωνέω: if you meant rather 'to play the λυμεῶν', 'to act as such', you could choose between -εῖω, -εῖομαι (the middle was generally used), -ίζω, -ίζομαι or -αῖνω: often you find several of these terminations formed from the same substantive or adjective. But

<sup>1</sup> Lentz *Herodian* I p. 19, II p. 724. For forms in -άν, -ήν see I 12 sqq., II 717 sqq., Lobeck *Parall.* 189 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Phot. s.v. ὄργεῶνες p. 24 Naber, who says 'Codex ἀγακλέας ὄργιῶνας': whence Suid. II p. 1150 has ἀβακλέας ὄργεῶνας.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the *Thesaurus*. Add to the Dictionaries ἱδμάν *Lentz Herodian* I p. 13, 32.

far the commonest was -εύεσθαι, and λυμω-  
νεύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> was used by Polyb. v. 5. 8 οὔτοι  
μὲν οὖν λυμωωνόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα συν-  
βούλευον. It may seem strange, but not to  
those who know something of the freedom  
with which these verbs were coined. This  
to the Thesaurus is merely 'the reading of  
several MSS. for λυμαινόμενοι'—who finding  
λυμαινόμενοι would write λυμωωνόμενοι?—  
while Liddell and Scott make it worse by  
adding *de suo* '=λυμαίνομαι.' It is no more  
equivalent to λυμαίνομαι than χαριεντίζομαι to  
χαρίζομαι: λυμαίνομαι is transitive, while  
λυμωωνόμεναι and χαριεντίζομαι are intransitive  
and formed from λυμῶν and χαριείς: and  
that is just the point which critics often,  
and the Dictionaries with them, fail to re-  
cognize. There will be room presently for  
another list.

In Meleager's epigram Stadtmueller ought  
to have accepted my correction ἀνευρεῖν.  
Jacobs, I find, had already proposed ἐφευρεῖν,  
but there was no reason for objecting to

<sup>1</sup> The Ionic (προ)λεσχηνεύεσθαι (Heracleit.,  
Hippocr., Hdt.), implies a genitive λεσχηνος, though  
not necessarily a nominative λεσχῆν.

ἀνευρεῖν: in fact it was in illustrating the  
phrase ἀνευρίσκειν σοφά (Eur. *fr.* 267, *Trag.*  
*fr. adesp.* 488, 509) that I made the cor-  
rection originally. ἀνευρών cannot stand;  
we must in any case have had ἐγὼ ὁ σοφὰ  
μῶνος ἀνευρών, and φαμί cannot of course  
mean 'I speak.' The phrase as restored is  
of a common type, as when Parrhasios (Ath.  
543c) asserts of himself εἰ καὶ ἄπιστα  
κλύουσιν, λέγω τάδε· φαμί γὰρ ἤδη τέχνης  
ἐρῆσθαι τέρματι τίσδε σαφῆ χειρὸς ἱφ' ἡμετ-  
έρης. ἀνυπέρβλητος δὲ πέπηνεν οὖρος.

Whengiving a list before, of words like φύζα  
(*C.R.* xiv. p. 112), I ought to have corrected  
Hesychius ῥύζα: βία. ἢ τοῦ τόξου τάσις. It  
should be ῥύζα βιοῦ: ἢ τοῦ τόξου τάσις, as  
on the next page ῥυσίαν βολάν: τὴν τῶν  
τόξων τάσιν, like τόξου ῥῦμα in the *Persae*. If  
he had given any other explanation, it would  
not have been βία but ὀλκή. For ἀροτόν:  
τὸν ὀλκὸν τοῦ Ἑκτορος, ἢ τὸ ἀντίσταθμον.  
Αἰσχύλος Φρυγί it will be evident from Hom.  
X 351 and the schol. (Nauck p. 84) that  
we should read ἀρυτόν or ἐρυτόν.

W. HEADLAM.

## ELUCIDATIONS OF LATIN POETS.

### III

#### HORACE EPODE XV 1—10.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno  
inter minora sidera,  
cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum  
in uerba iurabas mea,  
artius atque hedera procera adstringitur  
ilex 5  
lentis adhaerens bracchiis,  
dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion  
turbaret hibernum mare  
intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura ca-  
pillis,  
fore hunc amorem mutuum. 10

Since it is nonsense to say 'dum lupus  
turbaret mare,' the construction of 'dum  
pecori lupus' is commonly explained by the  
note 'scilicet infestus esset.' Such explana-  
tions are easier written with the hand than  
entertained in the head. For a wolf to cause  
storms at sea is doubtless difficult; but not  
more difficult than for the same adjective to  
serve as attribute to one noun and as predi-  
cate, with *esset* understood, to another.  
'Prouissime' says Madvig 'primum ad  
infestus auditur esset, deinde idem adiectivum

sine *esset* cum Orione coniungitur, subiecto  
alio uerbo, quod nullo modo fieri potest.'

Bentley was too busy corrupting the  
tenses of the verbs to examine the construc-  
tion of the sentence; and the only editors,  
so far as I know, who have seriously con-  
sidered it are Peerlkamp, Lehrs, and Lucian  
Mueller. Peerlkamp, ever in chase of the  
spurious, ejected verses 8 and 9, the latter  
of which he did not understand: this leaves  
'dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion,  
| fore hunc amorem mutuum,' an omission  
of *esset* without parallel in Horace, as Lucian  
Mueller has observed. Mueller himself  
writes 'man könnte das Ueberlieferte noth-  
dürftig vertheidigen, wenn man hinter Orion  
interpungirte und zu u. 7 *esset* ergänzte.  
Dann stände turbaret intransitiv, wie Aen.  
vi 800 et septemgeminī turbant trepida ostia  
Nili, Lucr. ii 126 corpora quae in solis radiis  
turbare uidentur und sonst.....Allein die  
Auslassung von *esset* wäre sehr hart und  
ohne Beispiel bei Hor., auch wird man nur  
ungern u. 8 vom Orion, der zu Anfang des  
November untergeht (i 28 21), trennen.'  
Therefore he prefers the proposal of Lehrs,  
to assume the loss of two verses between  
lupus and et nautis, 'in der noch ein oder



zwei Beispiele von stets unveränderten Dingen erwähnt waren.'

What we have here is a brachylogy of that sort to which they have attached the name of *zeugma*. Aeschylus *supp.* 1006 *sq.* writes μή πάθωμεν ὦν πολλὸς πόνος | πολλὸς δὲ πόντος εἶνεκ' ἡρόθη δορί, Euripides *Iou* 1064 *sq.* ἡ θηκτὸν ἰξίφος ἡ λαϊμῶν ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειρήν, Pindar *Pyth.* iv 185 *sq.* οὔτε ἔργον οὔτ' ἔπος ἐκτράπελον κείνοισιν ἐπὶ ὦν, Virgil *georg.* i 92 *sq.* 'ne tenues *pluviae* rapidius potentia solis | acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus *adurat*,' Cicero *ad Att.* x 4 4 'fortunam, qua illi *florentissima*, nos durior *conflictati* uidemur'; and the meaning of Horace's words is the following: 'dum lupus pecori infestus (*terreret ovilia*, or what you will,) et Orion nautis infestus turbaret hibernum mare.'

I think the examples quoted above are enough to establish this interpretation; but I will further cite the following instances, because they are even more licentious, because one of the boldest is Horace's, and because the others are either neglected or misunderstood. They differ from *epod.* xv 7 and resemble *Cic. ad Att.* x 4 4 in that the notion omitted is rather opposite than parallel to the notion expressed.

The first occurs in a context very like our own: *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 335-8.

ante ab occasu dies  
nascetur, Indos ante glacialis polus  
Scythasue tepida Phoebus inficiet rota,  
quam me relictam Thessalae aspiciant nurus.

That is 'Indos glacialis polus (*refrigerabit* or the like) Scythasue Phoebus tepida rota inficiet.' It will not do to supply *inficiet*, since *inficere* unqualified does not mean to *bleach* and does mean to *tan*. Horace says 'albus ora pallor inficit,' but that is no defence of 'polus Indos inficiet' for 'inficiet pallore.'

Ovid *her.* xix 171-4.

uel pudor hic utinam, qui nos clam cogit  
amare,  
uel timidus famae cedere uellet amor.  
nunc male res iunctae, calor et reuerentia,  
pugnant:  
quid sequare in dubio est: haec decet, ille  
iuvat.

Prof. Purser translates 'would that this shame which now compels us to a secret love, or our too fearful love could bring itself to surrender and be known (lit. surrender to publicity),' words which seem neither to cohere with the context nor to make sense in

themselves nor to be reconcilable with the Latin: how can *famae cedere* mean 'surrender to publicity'? how can *utinam pudor fama cedere uellet* mean anything at all? and when Hero wishes 'that her shame could bring itself to be known' has her language any thought behind it? The sense required is 'would that love would vanquish shame or shame would vanquish love; instead of which they now wage an equal conflict, and I know not which to obey': no other meaning will be tolerable, and if the words do not contain it they must be altered till they do. Bentley therefore proposed 'uel pudor hic utinam, qui nos clam cogit, *amori*, | uel' etc.; but 'clam cogit' alone has no fit sense. The construction of the text is 'utinam uel hic pudor, qui nos clam amare cogit, (*amori cedere uellet*), uel amor fama (*i.e.* pudori).' *fama* means good reputation, honest name, as in *amor.* iii 14 36 'si dubitas fama parcere, parce mihi,' and stands for the same thing as *pudor* in 171 and *reuerentia* in 173: *calor* in 173 is identical with *amor* in 172.

Hor. *serm.* ii 2 11-13.

seu pila uelox  
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,  
seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco.

That is, as Lambinus explained, 'seu pila te agit, (*lude pila*), seu discus, pete aera disco'. Similar, but much easier, is *epist.* i 3 23-5 'seu linguam causis acuis, seu ciuica iura | respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen, | prima feres hederæ uictricis præmia', where 'feres hederæ præmia' is the apodosis only to the third of the three protases, for ivy is not the meed of caudidici and iuriconsulti.

Lucan vii 320-5.

sed, dum tela micant, non uos pietatis imago  
ulla nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes  
commoueant: uoltus gladio turbate uerendos.

sive quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro  
ibit, seu nullum uiolabit uolnere pignus,  
ignoti iugulum tamquam scelus imputet  
hostis.

That is 'sive quis in cognatum ibit, (*scelus imputet*), sive in non cognatum, huius caedem imputet tamquam scelus': *imputo* as in *Suet. Ner.* 36 'coniurati . . . dixero causam, cum quidam ultro crimen faterentur, nonnulli etiam *imputarent* ('claimed credit for it'), tamquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere dedecorato flagitiis omnibus'. Caesar is urging his soldiers to spare no enemy who faces them: 'if you strike a

kinsman, count the crime a distinguished service; if one who is no kinsman, count the deed a service no less distinguished than if it were a crime like the other.' Parricide committed on Caesar's behalf will naturally constitute a claim on Caesar's gratitude, and he further promises to regard the killing of any Pompeian as no less meritorious than parricide.

It is not likely that such things could happen in formal prose; and I do not defend the MSS, for instance, at Liu. xxx 4 5 'proinde, seu ipsi staret iam sententia, <promeret>, seu consulendus Hasdrubal et Carthaginienses essent, consuleret', or Cic. pro Sex. Rosc. 22 'cum eodem tempore et ea, quae praeterita sunt, <sanet> et ea, quae videntur instare, praeparet'.

Now listen to the fashionable commentator Kiessling, for whom the multitude have deserted their old favourite Orelli.

*infestus* sc. *foret* gehört ἀπὸ κοινού auch zu *lupus*, aber die ursprünglich als Attribut gewollte Bestimmung *qui turbat hibernum mare* ist um des Parallelismus mit dem folgenden *agitaret aura* willen zum Prädikat geworden, und hat dadurch ein leises Anakoluth bewirkt.

This fabulous narrative is a specimen of the 'sympathetic exegesis' which is supposed to have arisen in the last twenty years of the

19th century; though in point of fact it flourished high at the century's beginning in Cicero's philosophical works, amidst great though temporary applause, under the auspices of Goerenz. The engine was invented to protect corrupt passages from correction: let a text be impeached as bad grammar or nonsense, and the commentator instantly overflows with fictitious details of the disorder which he alleges to have existed in the author's mind: they may seem incredible, they may lack all confirmation, but he is a sympathetic interpreter and you disbelieve him at your peril. This practice of concocting fictions at a moment's notice, instead of stopping and thinking, or trying to think, is naturally attended with a certain amount of moral and intellectual damage; and often when the sympathetic interpreter arrives at a passage which is not corrupt, but only difficult, and which really wants interpreting, the event proves that his bad habit has crippled his powers of interpretation. Instead of probing the difficulty to find its solution, he resorts to the easier and more familiar expedient of smothering it under a cascade of figments; and the office of interpreter devolves upon the unsympathetic.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## VINDICIAE PROPERTIANAE.—II.

(Continued from p. 44.)

I PASS to places where my readings have been criticised through their having been wholly or partially misconceived.

I begin with a re-punctuation:

II xxii. 17 sq.

uni cuique dedit uitium natura: creato  
mi fortuna aliquid semper amare dedit.

I understand this passage, and have always understood it, in the same sense as my critic, as meaning that every man is born with some frailty, and that the congenital frailty of Propertius is to be always in love. Accordingly I am concerned with nothing but the observation [that 'otherwise [viz. unless I adopt an interpretation which is clearly incorrect] the change is aimless.' Strictly speaking there is no change; for the vulgar punctuation of Propertius has no warrant in tradition, and we are free in all respects to punctuate as the sense requires. Nor is

it aimless. That *fortuna* and *natura* may in this connexion have the same sense of 'destiny' is well known and may be proved from authors nearer to Propertius than Seneca; e.g. Lucretius 5. 77 'expediam qua uiflectat *natura* gubernans' and not a page off 'quod procul a nobis flectat *fortuna* gubernans' (107). But when we have the choice, it seems better to allow *creato* to go with *fortuna* whose sense it helps to determine than with *natura*, which certainly stands in no need of its support (Lucr. ib. 871 'at quis nil horum tribuit *natura*'). The pause after the last trochee is quite Propertian. Turning over the pages of this second book my eye lights on viii. 15 'uisus? an usque,' xxviii 9 'Venus ipsa? peraeque.'

The second re-punctuation which is regarded as detrimental is that of III xi. 34, to which I refer here because of the important principle which its consideration

involves. For the same reason I quote the criticism in full, with the note from the *praefatio* (to the separate edition of *Propertius*) to which it refers.

“At putide *tres*—*una* inter se opponuntur”—immo, si uis, putidissime modo poetae cum Graecitum Romani totiens in hunc modum numeris luserint, modo Propertius ipse ita dixerit ‘*una decem uicit missa sagitta rates.*’”—*Praef.* p. vi.

“The second change of stops to which I referred is at III xi. 34 sqq. where Dr. Postgate punctuates thus: ‘*totiens nostro Memphi cruenta malo, | tres ubi Pompeio detraxit harena triumphos | una; Philippeo*’ cet. What then is the normal number of shores required to rob a man of three triumphs? and how many places would you have expected Pompey to die in? Dr. Postgate in *praef.* p. vi. cites IV vi. 68 ‘*una decem uicit missa sagitta rates*’ to justify the antithesis of *tres* and *una*. There is nothing absurd in the antithesis of *tres* and *una*. The numerals do indeed create the antithesis, but its absurdity resides not in them but in the substantives, which are the names of things between which no antithesis is conceivable. And even if you removed the antithesis by removing *tres*, *una harena* would still remain intrinsically absurd, because a man cannot be assassinated on two shores nor be ‘robbed of his triumphs’ piecemeal.”

Now there is a strong family resemblance between this criticism and those of the immortal Lord Dundreary (a creation of the late Mr. Sothorn not yet, I hope, forgotten) upon certain of our English proverbs. ‘*Birds of a feather | Flock together.* Absurd,’ ‘pon my word. *Flock together*; of course they do. It would be a dashed silly bird that would go and flock in a corner by itself!’ The same treatment may be applied to any kind of literature with interesting results, as for example to the following:

Now, of my threescore years and ten,  
*Twenty* will not come again.<sup>1</sup>

No more will the ‘fifty’ for that matter.  
Or to the following:

Buoyed on the heaven-heard whisper  
Of dancing leaflets whirled  
From *all* the woods that autumn  
Bereaves in *all* the world.<sup>2</sup>

Why not ‘From all woods in the world’ or ‘From the woods in all the world’? ὅς ταῦτὸν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ὁ σοφὸς — — Or, to come back to Propertius (III xv. 39 sq.)

tibi gloria Dirce  
ducitur, *in multis* mortem habitura locis.

Why not ask ‘and how many places would you have expected Dirce to die in?’ I confess that in all these cases my own

sympathies would be with the poet rather than the critic.

The criticism appears to consist of two parts, of which the first is that ‘the substantives are the names of two things between which no antithesis is conceivable.’ Then I suppose that the statement ‘reportauit *tres triumphos ex una harena*’ of a general who gained triumphs by conquering three times on the same shore, would involve an inconceivable antithesis. The second count is that the statement attributed to Propertius is ‘intrinsically absurd.’ To this it will be, I imagine, answer enough to show, firstly, that, if by ‘intrinsic’ we understand literal absurdity, intrinsically absurd expressions abound in language and literature; secondly, that, if we regard the meaning intended, this, whatever else it may be, is by no means absurd; and thirdly, that the ‘absurdity,’ such as it is, may be explained if it cannot be justified. With the first point I have already dealt in part. I will, however, add some words translated from an excellent little book,<sup>3</sup> published since the criticism was penned, and which have a special relevance to the passage before us. ‘It is not only quite natural psychologically that a man in passionate excitement should use strong words, even when they run counter to his object; but it is also psychologically quite true and established by experience that the stronger his language the stronger is the effect upon his hearers, who consider far less *what* is said than with what force and to what end it is said.’ Now this poem of Propertius, which deals with the saving of Rome from Cleopatra, is pitched throughout in a high key of excitement; and more than one expression in it might be blamed as literally ‘absurd.’ Let verse 44 [ausa] ‘*baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi*’ serve as an example. Cleopatra we know from Horace ‘*dementis ruinas funus et imperio parabat.*’ But no one has ever supposed her so ‘demented’ as to have pursued Liburnian gallies with Nile barges. Secondly, the thought is not absurd, unless cavil make it so. ‘One day,’ says the poet, ‘stripped Pompey of all his glories:’ the glories of Pompey being symbolized by the three triumphs which to Roman eyes were the most striking feature of his career (cf. Cicero de diuin. 2. § 22, Velleius 2. 53. 3, Lucan 8. 814, Petronius 123 v. 240 and elsewhere) and the day of his death symbolized by the shore on which was left his headless corse: ‘*iacet ingens litore truncus.*’ And it is Proper-

<sup>1</sup> *A Shropshire Lad* (II). The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> The same (XLII). The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> F. Polle *Wie denkt das Volk ueber die Sprache?* 2nd ed., 1898 p. 26.



tian; II. xi. 3 *sq.* *omnia*, 'crede mihi, tecum uno munera lecto | auferet extremi funeris atra dies' upon which it might be asked 'what was the normal number of biers required to carry all the charms of Cynthia?' Lastly, it is not difficult to assign the reason why it would not have occurred to Propertius that the phrase is 'intrinsically absurd.' For some reason or other numbers and their relations have long had a strange fascination for the human mind. In the case of the ancients this fancy often issued in antitheses which seem somewhat inept or inane to us, because we have lost the feeling which informed them. This I called in my praefatio 'playing with numbers' and illustrated by the trifling opposition of *una* to *decem* in the poem upon Actium. But more noticeable instances can be produced. I will cite one. Of the elegies of Propertius' predecessor Cornelius Gallus, one pentameter alone survives. It describes how the Hypanis of Scythia separates Europe from Asia; '*uno* tellures diuidit amne *duas*.' Now unless we are prepared to maintain that it requires more than one diameter to divide a circle into two, or more than one diagonal to bisect a parallelogram, we must admit that, from our point of view, the antithesis in 'one river dividing two continents' is destitute of significance.

### III. ix. 37 *sq.*

non flebo in cineres arcem sedisse paternos  
Cadmi nec semper proelia clade pari.

Here for *paternos* I read *repentes* which is characterised as 'a useless epithet and a form not known to exist.' Whether '*repenti* fulminis ictu' in Lucretius (5. 400) is a sufficient warrant for the acc. plur. is a question I would leave to the reader;<sup>1</sup> but my citation should have saved the adjective from the reproach of 'uselessness.' I understand the passage, as I understood it in my *Select Elegies of Propertius*, to allude to the destruction of the royal palace at the birth of Dionysus and the death of Semele. I there compared Stat. Theb. 3. 183 *sqq.* '*ueteris cum regia Cadmi | fulmineum in cinerem monitis Iunonis iniquis | consedit*' (cf. ib. 10. 902 *sqq.* quoted in the same place). So far then from my epithet being useless, it is

absolutely necessary to fix the allusion. It is their 'suddenness' which distinguishes the ashes caused by the lightning-stroke from the ashes of the burning town.

The extent of the influence of Lucretius upon Propertius is an interesting subject upon which I could wish I had the space to enlarge. I have come to think it greater than I did formerly. My emendation of IV i. 57 (which Mr. Housman has commended) owes a good deal of its probability for me to the parallel of Lucr. 1. 47. In this very poem (III ix) verse 7 and possibly verse 5 ('quod nequeas') seem to me unlike Propertian in expression and reminiscence of Lucretian phraseology 6. 959 *sqq.* '*non omnia . . . rebus sint omnibus apta*, 5. 543-5, 5. 836 '*quod potuit nequit ut nequeat quod non tulit ante*.' Mr. Nairn in this journal (1899 p. 393) has recently defended Jacob's conjecture at III vii. 46 'in terra nil ubi flare potest,' by what he rightly calls a remarkable parallel from Lucretius 6. 138 *sqq.* The chief objection which I felt to this conjecture, that the use of the infinitive is strange to Propertius, obviously loses much of its force if Propertius is imitating Lucretius with whom such infinitives are very common.

I proceed to another passage where the question of literary borrowing or reminiscence is involved:

### III. xvii. 1 *sq.*

nunc, o Bacche, tuis humiles aduoluimur  
aris:  
da mihi placatus uela secunda pater.

The MSS. have here *pacato* which it is proposed to take as 'tranquillized.' I have no objection to this if it can be got out of the Latin. But no parallel is forthcoming (for III. xiii. 25 can hardly count). *Pacata mente* Lucr. and the like I know: but they are not near enough. If *pacato* could be the abl. of *pacatum*, the text might stand. I do not expect however any one to maintain this. There is additional awkwardness in having *pacatus* in agreement with *mihi*: it more properly refers to the stilled sea (*pax maris*, Lucan) and winds (Lucr. 5. 1230 '*uentorum paces animasque secundas*'). It is urged however that to remove the idea of tranquillizing from the second line will be 'positively harmful.' How this can be maintained I cannot see. Propertius first addresses the god of wine in all humility and desires his favour (verses 1, 2): in the next three lines he explains how Bacchus might help him, and in v. 6 he prefers his

<sup>1</sup> The same reader will doubtless be able to determine whether it is a satisfactory interpretation of the text to say it refers to the sack of Thebes by the *epigoni* and that the falling fortress is supposed to blend its ashes with those of its former defenders, as soon as he has succeeded in unravelling the relationship between the *cineres* and the other assumed actors in the scene.

special request 'tu uitium ex animo dilue, Bacche, meo.' Why should it be said that v. 2 *must* anticipate v. 6?

My conjecture *placatus*, the palaeographical facility of which is not contested, was based upon the belief that Ovid in *Fasti* 3, 789 *sq.* and its vicinity, as in countless other places, had Propertius in his mind. The subject of both passages is the same,—namely Bacchus, though the main topic is not. The particular exploits of the god which Propertius says he will sing of on some future occasion and which Ovid says he can not sing of now, are more or less the same. Bacchus' wonderful birth, his Indian conquests, his destruction of Pentheus, of Lycurgus, his transformation of the pirates into porpoises are referred to by both poets in their most characteristic styles. The couplet which I cited from Ovid is the following 'mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua uertas | et des ingenio uela secunda meo.' It contains three verbal coincidences with the couplet and poem which we are considering: *pater—uela secunda—cornua* Prop. v. 19 'per te et tua cornua uiuam.' The similarity seemed to me too great to be the work of accident, and I considered it in accordance with critical method to emend the *pacato* of Propertius' manuscripts by the aid of the *placata* of Ovid's text. But it is objected that if the passage shows that Propertius wrote *placatus*, 'it also shows that he wrote *mitis*.' And in the same way it shows that he wrote *caput* and *que* and *uertas* and *et* and *des* and in fact that he was the author of Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 715 onward.

I pass on to another couplet in the same poem:

*ib.* 17 *sq.*

dum modo purpureo . . mihi dolia musto  
et noua pressantis inquinat uua pedes.

For the missing word the MSS. have either *numen* (N, DV) or what appears to be an abbreviation of *numine* (F, correctly reported by Baehrens) or *numerē* (L partly in erasure): the editors with rare unanimity import into the text the old conjecture *spument*. Now in accordance with a canon of critical method which was laid down in the first of these papers, no emendation of a text can be accepted unless there is evidence that the confusions or corruptions which it postulates are elsewhere attested for the history of that text; and since in the case of *spument* there is no such evidence forthcoming, that emendation must

pass for what it is, a licentious alteration. The palaeographical considerations adduced in my monograph 'On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius' p. 41 were of sufficient force to convince the late Professor Palmer who had previously printed *spument* in his text. Palmer's own suggestion, never published, I believe, was *manent*, very near to the letters but failing to give the sense required. In the monograph referred to I wrote, too generously, of *spument* that it gave an 'excellent sense.' It does not. Propertius promises to honour Bacchus by cultivating his cherished trees, provided (the stipulation is humorous) a satisfactory vintage makes it worth his while. This *spument* does not express. All must 'foams' in the vat, whether a gallon or a tun. Hence when a Latin writer uses *spumare* of a vintage such as Propertius here desires, he adds words that make his meaning clear; Virg. G. 2. 6 '*spumat plenis uindemia labris*,' Columella de re rustica 10. 431 *sq.* '*ferueat ut lacus et multo completa Fulerno—exundent pingui spumantia dolia musto*,' to which we may also add Manilius 3. 662 *sq.* Hence Ovid says *Trist.* 3. 10. 71 *sq.* '*non hic pampinea dulcis latet uua sub umbra | nec cumulant altos feruida musta lacus*' and the author of the *Aetna* 271 '*horrea uti satura et tumeant ut dolea musto*.' To give this sense I conjectured *cumulem* which appeared best to satisfy the indications of the MSS.: but the first person stands in need of some apology and perhaps we should read *cumulet*, the subject being the 'grapes' of the next line. It is however possible that we should restore *tumeant* from the *Aetna* whose author seems to have been acquainted with Propertius.<sup>1</sup>

III xiii. 39 *sq.*

corniger atque dei uacuam pastoris in aulam  
dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oues.

Very likely I was hasty in assuming that Apollo tended the flocks of Admetus as well as his herds, and in objecting to the position of *corniger* and the position of *atque*. But I would claim that my correction was at the least an attempt to give some coherence to the passage, whose connexion with its context I will now proceed to indicate. Propertius is singing of a happy golden age when the relations of gods and mortals were more intimate than at present, and *more suo* he gives his subject an erotic turn. He

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was printed, I find *tumeant* in Prof. J. S. Phillimore's just published text of Propertius and the reference to the *Aetna* in his note.

speaks first of goddesses 'nec fuerat nudas poena uidere deas' thinking perhaps of the shepherds Anchises and Paris: and then he turns to gods. In those days they loved mortals and shepherded flocks and in the absorption of their passion forgot when the night drew in and it was time to drive their charges home. Compare the oblivion of his proper task which Love induces in the Cyclops Theocr. Id. 11. 12 πολλὰκι ταὶ δῖες ποτὶ τῶλλιον αὐταὶ ἀπῆνθον | χλωρὰς ἐκ βοτάνας, ὁ δὲ τὰν Γαλάτειαν ἀείδων | αὐτεῖ ἐπ' αἰὸνος κατετάκετο φυκιοέσσας. It is to some such legend as that of Apollo and Admetus that Propertius must here allude.

IV x. 43 sq.

illi uirgatis iaculantis ab agmine bracis  
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula.

For the first time an interpretation of the text has been given which is consistent with Latinity. For whether we like it or not, we must admit Mr. Housman's construction of *illi* as a sort of dat. of the agent with *decidit* to be linguistically possible. Unfortunately this is not enough; and to say that there is a difficulty in *uirgatis*—*bracis*, a not so very extraordinary instance of the Propertian ablative, while allowing none in *ab agmine* is to strain off the gnat and gulp down the camel. This phrase must mean that 'he hurls' or 'poises his javelin' or whatever else *iaculantis* may mean, *from the ranks*, just as in Virg. Aen. 9. 375 'conclamat ab agmine Volscens.' Now this Gaulish chieftain was not in the ranks: for the combat was a *μονομαχία* and took place in front of the armies. It appears necessary to print again the passage of Plutarch Marcellus 7, which describes the scene: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατιδὼν ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τεκμηράμενος ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων ἄρχοντα τοῦτον εἶναι, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξέλεσας τὸν ἵππον, ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ προκλητικὸν ἐπαλαλῶν καὶ τὸ δόρυ κραδαίνων κ.τ.λ. In order then that *ab agmine* may attain the sense desired, a verb of motion is required, such as we have in Ov. Fast. 4. 313 'haec ubi castarum processit ab agmine matrum' and this my *iaculans* it supplies. I do not deny that *ab* may mean '(being) away from,' but that it can mean it here.

Certain of my emendations were defended at the time of making in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society. The paper has never been published; and so I repeat as much of it as is relevant here,

shortening where possible and omitting references to derelict conjectures.

I ii. 9-14.

aspicequossubmittathumus[formosa]colores,  
ut ueniant hederæ sponte sua melius,  
surgat et in solis formosius arbutus antris,  
et sciat indociles currere lympha uias.  
litora natiuis [persuadent] picta lapillis  
et uolucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.

The text of these lines, addressed to Cynthia who is too fond of adorning her person, is 'Nature cannot be improved upon.' The theme is capable of two slightly different expressions. The perfection may be absolute or comparative. Nature's work is consummate; or it is better than the work of Art. 'How beautiful is the flower-strewn ground—the running stream.' Again, 'The ivy grows better wild—so does the arbutus. Wild birds sing sweeter than tame.' The sense of line 13 might then be either the sea shore of nature is very beautiful, or it is more beautiful than that of Art. We shall reckon it in favour of the first view that the arrangement of the passage suggests it. Absence of the comparative in 9, its presence in 10 and then in 11, its absence in 12 and then in 13, and its presence again in 14 gives the chiasmic order so dear to the Roman writer.<sup>1</sup> A stronger argument is the dismal failure of the attempts to introduce the second view by giving *picta* its literal meaning, 'in pictures,' the first and worst of which was Kindschner's 'restituunt.' These all separate *picta* from *litora* in order to obtain an accusative, 'natural pebble-strewn shores are superior to painted ones'—in itself enough to condemn them. But this is not all. The thought so introduced is irrelevant. Propertius is speaking not of imitations but of improvements of nature. He does not mean that Cynthia's face should not be painted in the studio, but in the dressing room. Once more *picta* appears to be fixed to the metaphorical sense by the parallels of Ovid (Amores 2. 11. 13 sq.) 'nec medius tenuis conchas pictosque lapillos pontus habet: bibuli litoris illa mora est,' and Lucretius (2. 374 sqq.) 'concharumque genus parili ratione uidemus | pingere telluris gremium qua mollibus undis | litoris incurui bibulam pauit aequor harenam.'

It is clear then that with the majority of Propertian critics we should construe *picta* with *natiuis lapillis* and seek in *persuadent*

<sup>1</sup> A noteworthy example is Lucr. 6. 601 sqq. Compare my remarks in the Journal of Philology, vol. 24, p. 146 note.



some verb meaning 'are brilliant' or the like. The two best conjectures hitherto proposed are Hertzberg's *praelucent* and Baehrens' *praeifulgent*, which would both be best understood to mean 'shine on their edge' or *marge*. It was the palaeographical improbability of these conjectures which led me to propose *resplendent*; *resplendent* was confused with *respondent*: cf. Manilius 5. 720, Dirae 40. And *persuadent* is simply 'respondent' with two constant confusions ( $e=a$ ,  $n=u$ ) and the letters transposed.

Hertzberg urges the appropriateness of *prae-*; we may with equal justice press the claims of *re-*. Compare Aen. 12. 741 'fulua resplendent fragmina harena' and the '*re-lucentis calculos*' of the Clitumnus Plin. Ep. 8. 8. 2.

I. v. 7

non est illa uagis similis conlata puellis,  
molliter irasci non sciet illa tibi.  
quod si forte tuis non est contraria uotis  
at tibi curarum milia quanta dabit!

For 'collata' O N has 'conlata' which in any case is nearer to the truth. But this participle is justly suspected. We want to be told under what circumstances Cynthia is unlike women of the town, not that she is unlike them if compared. The sense required is that of II. 34. 9 'Lynceus, tune meam potuisti perfide curam | tangere? nonne tuae tum cecidere manus?' And it is given by the slight change 'contacta,' a sense of the word for which compare Ov. Trist. 2. 252 'ecquid ab hac omnes rigide summouimus Arte, | quas stola contingi uitaeque sumpta uetat?' It is to be observed that 'collata' has occurred 26 lines before, in the same part of the verse.

I. xii. 9 sq.

inuidiae fuimus? num me deus obruit, an  
quae  
lecta Prometheis diuidit herba iugis?

The palaeographical superiority of my *diuidis* (the MS. variants are *diuidit* and *diuitis*) is admitted. In point of sense it has no less the advantage. For with the second person *herba* advances a step towards personification, and thus forms a better antithesis to the personal *deus*. Not only so; but the harshness of the use of the verb in the sense of 'causes division' is mitigated to a certain extent. The apostrophe of the inanimate is a phenomenon far from rare in Latin poetry. Sometimes it is appropriate, sometimes, at least

from our point of view, it is not. Here, I think, it is as appropriate as in III. vii. 26 'Paetum sponte tua uilis harena tegas' where the third person would have fitted the metre just as well.

In the confessedly corrupt passage II. xxxiv. 13-16.

tu mihi uel ferro *pectus* uel perde ueneno :  
a domina tantum te modo tolle modo.  
te socium uitae, te corporis esse licebit  
te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis.

I transposed the similar substantives in 13 and 15 reading *corpus*, *pectoris*. It is said that *pectus* is better in the first line. I must demur. If *ferro* had stood alone, this might be allowed, but *ueneno* follows, with which *pectus* agrees less well. The proper antithesis in this connexion to my *mistress* is *myself*, and it is well known to Latin scholars that *corpus* often does duty as a stronger *se*. I need not labour this point. The appropriateness of 'socium pectoris' is not challenged. So I will just note as more or less close parallels for the idea Ovid Tr. 4. 4. 72, Manilius 2. 630, Stat. Theb. 2. 364.

On Mr. Housman's own proposal to interchange *socium* and *dominum* in the second couplet, I need at present only say this, that I cannot accept it on the ground that it would bring *socium* too near to the *socium* that I believe must be read in 17, my note upon which I will now transcribe.

II. xxxiv. 17 sq.

lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno ;  
riualet possum non ego ferre Iouem.

The only comment on 17 that I know is Paley's 'You are the only man I would refuse, and the only thing I would refuse you is my Cynthia.' The English translator apparently takes *solum* as an adverb and wisely omits it 'from my mistress, my mistress only I beg you to keep away.' This translation reveals another phenomenon, *deprecor* constructed with the ablative. It is not wonderful that Heinsius proposed *de lecto*, though that too is unexampled. The sense is clear from 18 'I cannot bear the rivalry of Jove:' the word is coupled with *riualis* by Catullus 579 'riuales sociei puellarum' if we accept the most natural interpretation. Such rival-partners, says Propertius, in Cynthia's favours, he and Lynceus can never be. 'te socium' for 'tuam societatem' resembles in its fate 'ego nupta' for 'meae nuptiae' IV. 4. 59 which had disappeared from the text of Propertius till Baehrens restored it after Luetjohann. The same sense and use, with

no pronoun inserted, occurs in Seneca Ag. 696 'aerumnae meae | socium recusant.' The change is of the slightest; *socius* is frequently written *sotius* in our MSS. and *t*, *i* and *l* are continually being confused. *Lecto* is dative as in the passages of Ennius cited by Gellius VII. (VI.) 16. 9, 10 'quibus seruitutem mea miseria deprecor' 'ego meae cum uitae parcam, letum inimico deprecor.' In the present case the failure to observe this construction has protected a Propertian form of the dative 'uno' from the assaults of conjecture. [I append the note in Rothstein's commentary '17 Deprecari wird in dieser Bedeutung mit einem abstrakten Objekt verbunden; am Stelle von *te deprecor* kann man sich etwa *tuam societatem deprecor* denken, aber gerade durch die Vermeidung des Abstraktums gewinnt der Ausdruck an Kraft.' This is an excellent note upon *te socium*; but, alas, the text has *te solum*.]

On two places which could not be treated shortly, viz. II. xxxii. 33-40 and III. xix. 19 sq., I have already said all I need elsewhere, in the American Journal of Philology vol. 17 pp. 30-44 and *ib.* vol. 18 pp. 74 sq. 'On the alleged confusion of Nymph names with especial reference to Propertius I. 21 and II 32. 40.'

I have sometimes been asked the meaning of my correction in IV. i. 33.

quippe suburbanae parua nimis urbe  
Bouillae  
et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi.

My *nimis* is of course to be taken with *suburbanae*. Bouillae was too close to the city when the city was young. Propertius extracts a point from an adjective which seems to have been a sort of standing epithet of Bouillae. The 'dangerous proximity' here meant may be illustrated from Aristophanes *Nubes* 214 sqq. Στρ. ἀλλ' ἡ Λακεδαιμῶν ποῦ 'στιν; Μα. ὅπου 'στιν; αὐτῇ. Στρ. ὡς ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν. τοῦτο νῦν φροντίζετε, | ταύτην ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπαγαγεῖν πόρρω πάνν. Compare also the expression in Virgil's celebrated 'Mantua uae miserae *nimirum vicina Cremonae*' Ecl. 9. 28.

I consider in conclusion a place which I left only half-emended in my text, but have since corrected<sup>1</sup>

IV. ii. 35 sqq.

est mea et aurigae species cum uerbere, et  
eius

traicit alterno qui leue pondus equo,

suppetat hoc: pisces calamo praedabor et  
ibo  
mundus demissis institor in tunicis.

The MSS. have 'est etiam aurigae species uertumnus et,' and the vulgate has a full stop after *equo*.

The signs of corruption in this passage are very obvious as soon as it is closely scanned. In the first place we have the extraordinary statement that Vertumnus is 'a form of an *auriga* and also of a *desultor*.' If *Vertumnus* is regarded as the proper name, the statement is meaningless: if it be a common name, the assertion that certain kinds of *aurigae* and *desultores* were named *uertumni* stands in sad need of corroboration. In either case it is wholly irrelevant to the context as will presently appear. But there is yet another difficulty. Everyone must have felt the clumsiness of the vulgate text of 37, 'suppetat hoc pisces calamo praedabor.' The last three words express the meaning briefly but perfectly; and what purpose do 'suppetat hoc' serve? We may get rid of the difficulty in the form *hoc* by accepting Heinsius' *hic*; but then we have to explain why Propertius, meaning 'suppetat calamus, hoc pisces praedabor' or 'suppetat hic calamus, pisces pr.', should have chosen to write what he has: and the superfluity still remains.

Now the text of Vertumnus' address to the poet is given in 21 'opportuna mea est cunctis natura figuris' and it is developed beyond possibility of mistake in the following distichs. 'In the *Coa uestis*' he says 'I shall appear as a light o' love, in the *toga* as a man, as a haymaker with a sickle in my hand: I once wore armour, and was a fine military figure, with a basket on my head a manifest harvester.' And so on (25-34). Not only does the context that precedes our four lines speak so clearly, but what follows is equally plain: 'with a *staff* I shall play shepherd, and with a *flower basket* I shall be taken for a *rose-seller*,' and, to go back to the last of our couplets, 'with a *rod* I shall be a fisherman and in a loose tunic a spruce *commis voyageur*.' It is clear then that the sense of our passage must be this. 'With the outward sign of a driver I shall be an *auriga* and with the outward sign of a circus rider a *desultor*.' These outward signs are not on the surface of the traditional text at present, but they are not far below it. To take the *desultor* first, 'suppetat hoc' will supply his characteristic emblem without the change of a letter: we have only to make the not very audacious assumption that *hoc* is used

<sup>1</sup> See *Classical Review* for 1897 p. 405.

δεικτικῶς 'this object.' The object referred to I think must be the *pilleus* or felt cap which Hyginus Fab. 80 assigns to the *desultor* and with which he is invariably represented in works of art. Some may dislike the pause after the second arsis of the hexameter. But Propertius uses it elsewhere in the fourth book of his elegies, viii. 69, x. 41. I pass on to the charioteer. His sign may be extracted from the unintelligible *vertumnus*; the driver must be accompanied with his whip, *cum uerbere*; *uerberas* in Ovid Met. 14. 821 'conscendit equos Gradius et ictu | uerberis increpuit.' It is easy to see how this corruption arose: in the letters *cum uer* <ber> *e t* was written for *c* and the last

of the two similar syllables omitted. The resulting *tum uer* suggested, in this context inevitably, the metrical stop-gap *uertumnus*. To Mr. Housman belongs the credit of having first suspected the vapid 'est etiam.' His suggested remedy was *mentiar*. But my correction 'est mea et' does not change a single letter except the commonly confused *e* and *i*, and it has the advantage of not making *species* a plural. The distich means then: 'My appearance is also that of the charioteer when I have whip in hand and of a circus rider if I am supplied with this.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

### THE NEW 'CODEx OPTIMUS' OF MARTIAL

THE twelfth-century MS. (L), recently acquired by the Royal Library, Berlin (lat. fol. 612) from Lucca, is older by a considerable interval than the other MSS. which exhibit the better text of Martial, a text that can be traced to the recension or edition published by Torquatus Gennadius in 401 A.D. It is therefore worth while to examine the peculiar features of this 'codex optimus' with sufficient minuteness to discover what light it can throw on the archetype of this family, technically known as the B<sup>A</sup> family, of our MSS. of Martial (see p. 309 of this year's volume of the *Classical Review*).

Were it not that the other representatives of the B<sup>A</sup> family (P, Q, f, F) are, all of them, Renaissance copies, L would hardly be entitled to so much consideration. For it is nothing but an ordinary twelfth-century MS., neither better nor worse than the average codex of its time, by no means free from careless errors and written on a poor quality of vellum. The transcription has been divided in equal portions between three scribes:—

- (1) foll. i–xix, containing Books I to V, xxxix. 7,
- (2) foll. xx–xxxvii, containing V xxxix. 8–IX lxix title-heading,
- (3) foll. xxxviii–end,<sup>1</sup> containing IX lxix. 1–end.

These three transcribers worked simul-

taneously, as we see from the awkward gaps (of a whole column and more) between the portions allotted to them; and, as is so often the case, the first of the three shews superiority both in penmanship and intelligence.

The contrast between his work and that of his immediate successor is very marked. The second transcriber produces a bad impression at the outset by the slovenly writing of his first page and the omission (until V liii) of the title-headings of the epigrams. He has an irritating habit of misreading the word he has to copy and transcribing it wrongly, only to correct it the next moment. For example, in V lv. at v. 2 quare] plane *corr.* quare; v. 4 ore] ove *corr.* ore; and when he leaves uncorrected absurd errors like *ad lateres* for *adlatres* (V lx, 1), *ridere barba* for *redire Narbo*, we have no hesitation in writing him down with Dogberry. One of his deviations however is so curious as to make us wonder whether there was not a marginal variant in the original. At VI xliii. 7 *sqq.*:

Quondam laudatas quocumque libebat ad  
undas

Currere nec longas pertimuisse vias,  
Nunc urbis vicina iuvant facilesque recessus,  
Et satis est, pigro si licet esse mihi,

our Dogberry has written in the third line *regressus* but has immediately substituted for it *recessus*, which is the reading not only of the B<sup>A</sup> family, but also of the inferior C<sup>A</sup> family and of the Anthology MSS. (the A<sup>A</sup> family). Less interesting is his *pectore*,

<sup>1</sup> The MS., as we have it, ends at XIV clvii. 1, the last leaf (fol. lvii) having been lost.



which he corrects to *nomine*, at VII xii. 7. We are reminded of the famous variant in Juvenal VIII 239 by his *gentes*,<sup>1</sup> corr. *montes*, at VIII xxxvi. 5. But as a rule his miswritings and rewritings are tedious and provoking to the last degree. It is a thousand pities that the first scribe did not undertake the transcription of the whole volume. For the first scribe's portion is a meritorious reproduction of an original which was itself, in this earlier portion at least, very correct. One might almost print word for word and letter for letter as the first transcriber has written and be no further from the 'ipsa verba' of Martial than any standard text, say Gilbert's (in the small Teubner edition) of to-day. Take the first fifteen epigrams as a sample. Here are the divergences of L from Gilbert's text:

Ad Catonem 2 vulgi] volgi; iii. 11 lascive] lascivie; iv. 8 vita proba] vita proba est; v. 1 naumachiam] naumachias; vi. 2 inlaesum] illaesum; viii. 1 Thraseae consummatique] Thraseae consumatique; 2 salvus] salvos *ante corr.*; 3 enses] ensis *ante corr.*; ix. 1 Cotta] Cocta; x. 3 nil] nichil; 4. in illa petitur] in illa appetitur; xi. 1 quina] bina; 3 portantes] portantis; xii. 1 Herculeas gelidi] Herculei gelidas; 3 dilectaque] delectaque; 5 umbras] auras; 7 conlapsa] collapsa; 9 querellas] quaerelas; 10 par tam magnae] parta magnae; xiii. 3 feci] fecē (*i.e.* fecit); 4 quod tu] tu quod.

It will be seen that about as many are improvements as deteriorations of Gilbert's text; and the only reason why these good readings have not already been printed is the wholly inadequate knowledge of the Gennadian text that prevailed at the time of Gilbert's edition. Consider, for a moment, the last reading cited, *tu quod*. The line it comes from is the closing line of the epigram on Arria and Paetus (I xiii):

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria  
Paeto,

Quem de visceribus strinxerat ipsa suis,  
"Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet"  
inquit,  
"Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Paete,  
dolet."

Surely the B<sup>A</sup> variant *tu quod* is an excellent one, but neither in Gilbert's nor in Friedlaender's edition is there any mention of it.

<sup>1</sup> The word *gentes* appears in contracted form here and at VIII xi. 3, *gns* (second transcriber) and XII vi. 5 *gts* (third), each with suprascript stroke to indicate the contraction.

Our MS., as we shall see later, seems to have been copied from an original in Lombard script, the script prevalent in Italy from about the eighth century onwards (it persisted longer in the South than the North); and the monastery from whose library it passed some years ago (see 'Studi Italiani' VIII, 124) is the Monastery of S. Maria Curtis Orlandigorum at Lucca. It is in all probability the codex described in the 'Iter Italicum' of Zacharias (1762), vol. I, p. 26 as 'antiquissimus ac forte undecimo saeculo conscriptus Martialis codex.'

It bears corrections from more than one hand. We can distinguish:

(1) corrections by the scribe himself at the moment of transcription (L<sup>1</sup>);

(2) corrections by a contemporary, presumably the 'corrector' (L<sup>2</sup>). They seem to be taken from the original from which our MS. was transcribed;

(3) corrections by a later pre-Renaissance hand or hands (L<sup>3</sup>), taken from a text of the C<sup>A</sup> family;

(4) still later corrections, partly mere conjectures, but mainly from the 'Itala' or Renaissance text. They are by more hands than one, but may conveniently be grouped under the common symbol L<sup>4</sup>. A specimen is II xliii. 1 *Candide*, κοινὰ φίλων, haec sunt tua, *Candide*, κοινὰ, the Renaissance re-casting of the line, which L<sup>1</sup> reproduced faithfully from its Gennadian original as:

κοινὰ φίλων haec sunt, haec sunt tua, *Candide*,  
(-da MS.) κοινὰ.

The Renaissance version is an Italian scholar's attempt to fill up the gap in the defective line offered by inferior MSS., viz. κοινὰ φίλων haec sunt tua, *Candide*, κοινὰ (with haplography of the repeated *haec sunt*).

Only L<sup>1</sup> and L<sup>2</sup> are of importance for the Gennadian text. L<sup>3</sup> has supplied omissions here and there, e.g. II xx. 2, (wanting in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype) IV lxix. 2 (separated by an accident in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype from IV lxix. 1), as well as some of the epigram-headings left out by the second transcriber, (e.g. V xliii.); but has drawn from some MS. of the inferior C<sup>A</sup> family. This L<sup>3</sup> gives IV lxix. 2 (on fol. 7v.) the C<sup>A</sup> reading *bona*, whereas the line, where it actually was transcribed from the original into our MS. (on fol. 16 v) shews the B<sup>A</sup> reading *bene*. The title-heading supplied by L<sup>3</sup> for V xliii. is the C<sup>A</sup> heading 'De Thaide et Leucania,' while the B<sup>A</sup> heading (found in PQ) is 'De Leucania sine dentibus.' It seems to be L<sup>3</sup> which has

added on fol. 1. r, epigrams i-ii. of Book I. (which begins on fol. 1 v.), so that the presence of these two epigrams in L is no proof of their having belonged to the Gennadian text.

L<sup>1</sup> gives a good deal of trouble in the opening pages; for this hand has re-traced the writing where it was faded and often makes it impossible to determine the reading of L<sup>1</sup>. The third word of the prefatory Epistle of Book I appears as *secuturum*, a Renaissance reading, but luckily the traces of *secutum* (superscript, by L<sup>1</sup> or L<sup>2</sup>) are not wholly effaced. Erasure has obliterated all trace of the original reading (probably *causidici set for causidicis et*) in XI. xxx. 1, where L<sup>1</sup> has (*causidici*)s os. It is in many, I might almost say, in most cases impossible to be sure whether the tail-stroke which turns *e* into *ae* does not come from L<sup>4</sup>. The Greek words in I xxvii. 7 are added by L<sup>4</sup>, the scribe having left a blank space.

The above may serve as a rough description of the characteristic features of our MS., which is written in two columns to the page, each column of 48, (47, 49) lines, on vellum that has (and had previous to the transcription) a good many holes and rough patches. The script is the ordinary continental minuscule, abounding in contractions, each of the three transcribers shewing independence in this respect,<sup>1</sup> and is, especially towards the close of the volume, rather more crowded than is consistent with calligraphy.

Before we proceed to examine whether and to what extent we can glean any hints regarding the nature of the B<sup>A</sup> archetype, we must first enquire into the precise relationship of L and the other members of the B<sup>A</sup> family. F, being a 'mixed' text, is as much a member of the C<sup>A</sup> family; it comes from an original which had a C<sup>A</sup> text corrected from a B<sup>A</sup> text (see Friedlaender's Preface, p. 96). Q is definitely a B<sup>A</sup> codex, but its original had numerous additions and corrections from some Renaissance source. It contains the Spectacula, for example, and other epigrams (e.g. the spurious 'Rure morans,' etc.) and lines which were not included in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype; and this process of contamination has been further carried out by the work of two correctors Q<sup>2</sup> and Q<sup>3</sup>, so that a MS. copied from Q would be as remote from the Gennadian recension as, let us say,

that other British Museum codex (Harl. 12004), which contains the Gennadian 'subscription' here and there: Ego Torquatus Gennadius emendavi, but only a small proportion of the true Gennadian readings. At a still further remove than Q stands f, copied from a 'corrected' original. P is a far truer representative of the family, although Q may not by any means be despised. For example, the title headings and Gennadian 'subscriptions' in P, through the fault of the 'rubricator' either of P or of the original from which P was copied, cease with Book V.<sup>2</sup> Q continues them to the end of the volume and so has preserved the interesting entry at the beginning<sup>3</sup> of the Xenia (Book XIII iv.), which tells us that Gennadius published his edition in the consulship of Vincentius and Fravitta, 401 A.D., 'in foro divi Augusti.'<sup>4</sup> Q therefore is no copy of P. L, like Q, has these epigram-titles and 'subscriptions' (the latter, of course, only at the end and beginning of each book) throughout. The title-headings, with the exception of those in the Xenia and Apophoreta (Books XIII-XIV),<sup>5</sup> betray illiterate authorship by such freaks as DE SYPERBIA CHRESTESII (the heading of VII iv. which begins: Nulli munera, *Chreste, si remittis*), AD BISSENUM (IV lxxvi. Milia misisti mihi sex *bis sena* petenti. The C<sup>A</sup> family have the same title), but are not without interest to students of late Latin.<sup>6</sup> But Q is no copy of L, nor is P either; for L, especially in the second transcriber's portion, has many omissions and blunders from which P and Q are exempt. Thus L

<sup>2</sup> In f the 'subscriptions' cease with Book VII.

<sup>3</sup> XIII i-iii. were 'extra ordinem paginarum' (cf. IX. init.), so that the real beginning of Book XIII, the 'Xenia,' is at epigram iv.

<sup>4</sup> L has preserved for us the fuller form of this clause, viz. 'in forum (*leg. foro*) divi Augusti Martis.' The *forum Augusti* was styled the *forum Martis* from the fourth century, according to Jordan, 'Topography,' pp. 213, 472; and at the time of this publication the old and the new name were used in conjunction. In the prefatory Epistle of Book IX the opening was written as part of the 'subscription' and is wholly omitted by P, while Q has curtailed it. L has it in full: Ave, mi Torani, frater karissime.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot understand why Friedlaender should discredit Q's title-headings in these two books. They are as Gennadian as the 'subscriptions.' Now that Prof. Maleyn in his recently published work on Martial (in Russian unfortunately) has shewn that all or most of the supposed discrepancies between P and Gruter's *Palatinus* are non-existent, the 'consensus' of P and *Pal.* goes for nothing.

<sup>6</sup> A late Latin use of *circa*, which has received some attention from scholars lately (see Archiv f. lat. Lexicographie, viii, 179; ix, 559) is found in the heading of VIII xi.: De nimio amore Romae circa Caesarem.

<sup>1</sup> For example, *et* is expressed by the first transcriber by a sign like our Arabic numeral 7; while the second uses that ligature that is still preserved in our symbol &c. The third transcriber writes *prāre* for *praestare*.

omits VII xcii. 5-8 (through homoeoteleuton), XII xiv. 6-8 (through homoeoarchon), XII lv. 11 and 13 and X xxxv. 11 (both through homoeoteleuton). Its omission of IX ci. 5 seems to have been due to the transcriber's difficulty in deciphering his original, for a blank space is left for the line.

All these lines are found in P and Q. So are single words omitted by L, such as *gaudet* IX xliii. 12, *Brutus* XI v. 9. And mistakes like these of the second and third transcribers of L: *renomina* for *renovas qui nomina* VII xxxii. 1; *fuit* for *furis* VI lxxxiv. 2; *regnat* for *res negat* IX xxxvi. 8; *vegetabit* for *negabit* IX lvii. 12; *sineat* for *si videat* IX lxxv. 14; *super* (sr) for *frater* (fr) XI x. 2 (cf. *callifrate* for *Callistrate* IX xcv. 5); *stant* (stät) for *frater* (frät) IX liv. 6, are not reproduced in P and Q. L therefore cannot be the archetype of these two MSS.

This is a fortunate circumstance; for the errors of an archetype are often irretrievable. The B<sup>A</sup> archetype omitted the penultimate word of XII xxix. 1, and since this epigram is not found in MSS. of the other two families, we have no means of discovering the missing word. Editors generally supply *Pontice* as a stop-gap:

Hermogenes tantus mapparum, *Pontice*, fur est.

At X xlvii. 1 the B<sup>A</sup> archetype substituted *iucundiorem* for *beatiorem*, through the inadvertence of some scribe who was thinking of the neighbouring word<sup>1</sup> *iucundissime*:

Vitam quae faciunt *iucundiorem*,  
Iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt;

Here C<sup>A</sup> and A<sup>A</sup> come to the rescue with *beatiorem*; but so far as regards the B<sup>A</sup> text, we are left without a clue to the right word.

We may then regard P, Q, and L as independent witnesses to the text of their common B<sup>A</sup> archetype, although there is a strong probability that P and Q belong to one and the same branch of the family. To L, as the oldest of the three,<sup>2</sup> we must look

<sup>1</sup> This is a well-known error in MSS. and is usually, though not always, occasioned by the similarity of the two neighbouring words. An instance in L is *victorem* for *videret* in VIII ii. 2: *Victorem modicum victorem* Histri. Both P and Q have *videret*.

<sup>2</sup> L has preserved IX x., an epigram omitted by PQ, also (like *f*) *malavdit* for *male audit* in II lvi. 1, a strange form which PQ (very pardonably) omit. The C<sup>A</sup> archetype had the same form, which must not be too hastily discarded. It indicates that the two words had coalesced into a 'word group,' like *malifortum*.

for suggestions regarding the archetype's nature and composition, but in all our inferences we must remember that we do not know by how many stages the three MSS. were removed from their common source.

L abounds in confusions of *a* and *oc*, e.g. II xl. 7 *locuari* for *lavari*; VIII xxxiii. 2 *ha* for *hoc*; IX xlviii. 4 *doctis* for *datis*; X lxxviii. 12 *iocis* for *Lais*; and in still more of *t* and *a*, e.g. X lxxviii. 4 *tricina* for *Aricina* (so XII xxxii. 10 *tricinum* for *Aricinum*); VIII xviii. 7 *utrio* for *Vario* (so VIII lix. 6 *uaroque* for *utroque*; IX lii. 4 *naraque* for *utraque*); IX ii. 4 *aurum* for *tuum* (so VIII lxxx. 1 *tuorum* for *avorum*); X xiii. 10 *cotaa* for *Cotta* (in X xlix. 4 and lxiv. 6 *Cotta* has become *coacta*). The *Ἀπες* *Ἀπες* of IX xi. 15, written in Roman character, has become *tres ares*; in XII xxxii. 17 *aura* is disguised as *tura*; in IX ci. 17 *contudit* as *cum audit*; in X xxxv. 14 *antro* as *amaro*. Rarer is the confusion of *mi* and *tu*, e.g. XI lii. 5 *laomica* for *lactuca*; X xxx. 1 *fortunē* for *Formiae*. In XIV c. 1 *Catulli* was at first written *Camilli*. These confusions, shared by all three scribes, point unmistakeably to a Lombard minuscule original. The frequent confusion of *i* and *l*,<sup>3</sup> e.g. *balas* for *Baias* throughout XI lxxx.; *vale* for *Baias* VI xlii. 7; *lu* for *in* XI xxi. 11, although not exclusively suggesting this origin is not inconsistent with it. And since the different transcribers shew different degrees of susceptibility to confuse these letters, we may conclude that it is the immediate original of L which was written in this script.

The same confusions are found in the other MSS. derived from the B<sup>A</sup> archetype. Thus in IV lxiii. 1:

Dum petit a Baulis mater Caerellia Baias  
instead of *a Baulis* we find *ab oculis* in PFL (Q has *a baiulis*). So III lviii. 35 *f* has *sassinocle* for *Sassinat*; V xxviii. 2 *ocule* for *Aule*. At I xcii. 8 Q (like L<sup>1</sup>) has *noctes* for

<sup>3</sup> The minuscule form of *i* which is scarcely distinguishable from minuscule *l* is the 'long' or 'tall' form, used by careful scribes only (or mainly) in two circumstances, (1) for consonantal *i* (*j*), e.g. *aiō*, (2) for initial *i*, especially before *n*. From the first has come our letter *j*; from the second, if I am not mistaken, the early Irish expression of the preposition *in*, a preposition which happens to have the same form in Latin, Irish, English, German and other languages. For this preposition Irish scribes often write *hi*; and linguists have laboured at an explanation of the initial *h*. I believe the sign to be as conventional as our old-fashioned 'ye' for 'the.' This was never pronounced with *y*, but merely written with a sign that resembled the *y*-sign. No more was the Irish preposition ever pronounced with *h*.



notes. In III lviii, 29, in the description of the townslaves at the country-house:

Exercet hilares facilis hortus urbanos,

we find *hormis* for *hortus* in PQF, although L has *hortus*.<sup>1</sup> So IX xxxviii, 7 PQ have *armis* for *artus*. In I ciii, 11:

In ius, o fallax atque infitiator, eamus,

the B<sup>A</sup> MSS. begin the line with *Inluso* or *Illuso*. In XI xxi, 7 the first three letters of *phthisico* have in *f*, as in L, become *pah*; in XI lxi, 5 *f* has *mamila* for *mavult*.

All this suggests that the common archetype of LPQF<sup>f</sup> was a MS. written in Lombard minuscules, in other words that the Gennadian text has been transmitted to us through an Italian channel. The confusion of *ti* with *q* in L, e.g. *sequā eos* for *Setina meos* (-tīaeos) IX xxii, 3; *piosti* for *piosque* (q.) IX iii, 11, suggests the Lombard liga-

ture of *ti*; and the substitution of *s* (i.e. *sibi*) for *sunt* IX xxiv, 3 suggests the Lombard (but not exclusively Lombard) practice of making the contraction sign vertical instead of horizontal. The confusion of *en* and *et* by the third transcriber (e.g. XI xxi, 4 *uenus* for *vetus*; 9 *ueneres* for *veteres*; XII iii, 7 *pene* for *pete*; XII viii, 9 *genae* for *Getae*) admits of more than one explanation.

Whether it was this Lombard minuscule archetype or some earlier archetype in which the transpositions that characterize the B<sup>A</sup> manuscripts first occurred, we have no means of judging.<sup>2</sup> Nor may we venture, without further evidence, to identify it with the *codex vetustissimus Langobardis litteris* of which Politian speaks. Politian in a letter to a friend on the subject of the proper spelling of the word *culcita* directs him to the 'vetustissima exemplaria' of Suetonius (in Tiberio)

<sup>1</sup> The mysterious item in the Geneva Papyrus published by M. Nicole *ad hormos confodiendos*, a military task, suggested to me the possibility of a Latin loanword from the Greek, *hormus*, with the sense of 'trench, chain of trenches.' But now that L provides *hortus*, we are absolved from the necessity of explaining 'obscurum per obscurius.' A slight variation in the form of early minuscule *a* makes the letter look like *co*. In X xii, 9 is the *cognoscendus* of LPQF a mere scribe's error for *agnoscendus*, or is it the actual reading preferred by Gennadius? This epigram is not included in the A<sup>A</sup> Anthology, but the C<sup>A</sup> archetype had *adnoscendus*. In XIII lxxv, 2 the variants *lautoruna condere* and *lautorum mandere* may have come not from divergent ancient recensions but from the mere blunder of a mediaeval scribe.

<sup>2</sup> In the B<sup>A</sup> family we find this order: I. Epist., ad Cat., (om. i.-ii.), iii.-xiv.; xlviii. 2-ciii. 2; xv.-xli. 3 (om. xli. 4-xlviii. 1); IV xxiv. 2-lxix. 1; I ciii. 3-IV xxiv. 1; IV lxxix. 2, etc. An account of the causes of this arrangement I hope to give on another occasion.

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and Martial (in Apophoretis), telling him that the spelling which they attest is *culcita*. The 'codex optimus' of Suetonius, he says, is to be found in the Vatican (it is now lost), that of Martial in the Medicean Library. The latter MS. (described<sup>3</sup> as above) he appeals to on another occasion (Miscellan. XXIII) for the reading *mulo* (the B<sup>A</sup> reading) in VI lxxvii, 7.

That the title-headings of the epigrams in the original of L were at least occasionally in minuscules and not in capitals, we may infer partly from the occasional use of minuscules in L, when the transcriber failed to notice that it was a title-heading and not a line of Martial that he was copying,<sup>4</sup> partly from confusions like the third transcriber's *LOCVS* for *laus* in the headings of IX lxxxiii, X xxviii, xxx, or *ABIGIA* for *abigit* in the heading of XI xvi. The numerous marginal directions to the 'rubricator' in L (by the first transcriber) have, no doubt, helped to keep the division and arrangement of the epigrams more correct than it is in other MSS. of this family. And the useful habit of indicating by 'catch-words' the proper sequence of the quaternions, e.g. *Necaret (sic) officio* (IV lxxviii. 6), at the bottom of fol. 16 v., prevents any wrong

<sup>3</sup> Neither of the two MSS. of the B<sup>A</sup> family now in the Medicean Library, F and *f*, suit the description. In a copy of the Paris quarto edition of 1680, at present in the Leyden Library (760 D 5), but formerly in the possession of P. Burmann, there are marginal collations, copied by Burmann 'ex J. Goyesi codice (i.e. printed edition with written marginalia) qui eum a Beverlando acceperat.' The manuscript, known as *f*, a paper codex of the fifteenth century, is the 'Florentinus,' whose readings are recorded by Burmann (e.g. I iii. 1 'latebras, sed in marg. al. tabernas'). Like F it has *culcita* in both passages of the Apophoreta (viz. XIV cxix. 2 and clxii. 1). On the fly-leaf of Burmann's volume there is an entry regarding the Florence MS. twice mentioned by Politian: 'Codex Florentinus. Politian. VII Epist. ult. De hoc et aliis vid. Miscell. cap. 29'; but this entry does not give the shadow of a proof that Beverland identified Politian's MS. with *f*. In the margin at I xix. 2 he characterizes the latter as 'vet. cod. chartaceus Biblioth. Medicæae,' a description which exactly suits *f*.

<sup>4</sup> The third transcriber is especially prone to this error. The title-heading of XI xlvi. 'Ad meium qui non,' etc., he has so copied as to make the heading look exactly like a line of poetry and to give the two epigrams xlv. and xlvi. the appearance of one long epigram. One can see the reason of the numerous cases of 'conflation' of neighbouring epigrams in our MSS. of Martial. The first scribe has written the first half of the long heading of V xxxix. in minuscules. But in this he was faithfully copying the archetype, for PQ<sup>f</sup> have precisely the same. If we compare such mistakes with the mistake (mentioned below) made by L in IV xliii. 11, the inference is natural, that the title-headings in the archetype were regularly in minuscules, distinguished from the text by colouring.

arrangement of a loose quaternion, such as that which has produced in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype the transposition of IV xxiv, 2-lxix, 1 (see above).

Most mediaeval MSS. have their margins dotted with symbols like *chr(esimon)*, *nota*, *d(octe)*, etc., and it is possible that the excerpts in Anthologies (e.g. the A<sup>A</sup> family of MSS. of Martial) have been determined by these marginal signs in an archetype. Symbols like these are frequent in L, but there are others, which may possibly be of more importance. Thus at II xlii. the word *hic* is found in the margin and, some lines below, at xlv. 3 the letter *d*. Now in cases of omission, the 'corrector' of a mediaeval MS. would usually enter the omitted passage in the top or bottom margin, with the signs *h* or *hic* (*hoc*) and *d* or *deest*, the one sign being set at the gap in the text, the other at the beginning of the marginal entry. In Q there is a displacement here, for epigram xlv. comes between xlii. and xliii.; and it is conceivable that the scribe of L (it is the careful 'first transcriber' who is on duty) has copied these marginal signs from his original. The *hic* at the top of fol. 17 r., close to the end of the passage of Book IV that has been transposed in B<sup>A</sup> may also be significant.

A surer clue to a feature of the original is the following. Space was often saved in MSS. by writing the 'overflow' words or syllables of a line in the blank space at the end of a short neighbouring line. In early MSS. the addition is separated from the alien words beside it by means of an S-shaped bracket. The last word of IV xliii. ended in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype with the syllables *-gium* (so Q), for which we find in P *-gisum*. A glance at L seems to give us the explanation. The scribe of L writes after *gi* the three letters *svm*, in rubricated capitals exactly like the title-heading (of epigram xlv.) that occupies the next line. The inference is obvious, that in the archetype the 'overflow' syllable *-um* had found a place at the end of the title on the next line and was separated from the title by this S-shaped bracket; so that the impossible spelling *-gisum* was not the actual spelling of the B<sup>A</sup> archetype. Similarly our MS. explains the curious title *SERTVS*, instead of *TVS*, at XIII iv., the first of the *Xenia* (see above). For in L the Gennadian 'subscription' already mentioned and this title are not put in separate lines. The title and the 'scriptio,' both in rubricated capitals, look like one and the same entry. Instead of the syllable *SER-* we find

an oblique S with a cross-bar, which was really, I take it, the S-shaped bracket separating the title *tus* from the 'subscription,' but which was interpreted by scribes as the contraction for *ser-*. They would adopt this interpretation the more readily, since the first word of the epigram is *serus*.

In IX lxviii. 10 PQ offer *grave* instead of *grave est*. We do not require the help of any other MS. to explain to us what has happened here. Clearly the archetype had the ordinary contraction for *est*, viz. *e*, but the scribe had omitted or written with a dry pen, the contraction stroke above. This *grave e* would naturally be copied as *grave*. The scribe of L (the third transcriber) has copied this *grave e* exactly as he found it.<sup>1</sup> Since unusual forms of contractions, that most fruitful source of error in MSS., are often copied without alteration from the original,<sup>2</sup> it will be well to turn our attention to the contractions found in L.

One interesting form is *quire* (with the contraction stroke omitted) for *Quirine* in X lviii. 10; for it throws light on the Gennadian 'subscription' at the beginning of Book II: Ego Torquatus Gennadius emendavi feliciter Quirine floreas. The last two words (omitted in *f*) are in P *qui floreas* and in Q *qui refloorui*, but L has *quire floreas*, with contraction stroke above *quire*. Gennadius dedicated Book II of his edition to Quirinus, as he dedicated Book IV to Constantinus. At the beginning of Book IV the 'subscription' is: Emendavi ego Torquatus Gennadius Constantine feliciter floreas (so L and Harl. 12004; flores P, florens Q; ego T. G. em. feliciter constantine feliciter floreas *f*).

The mistakes in B<sup>A</sup> manuscripts at I xevi. 1 *quod* for *que*; XII lxxii. 4 *sunt* for *sed*; XIV iii. 2 *nomine* for *nobile*, are all easily explained by unusual contractions in the archetype, and in each case we find a contraction in L. That may, however, be a mere coincidence. So in IV xxxviii. 1 where *nisi* has become *ubi* in Q *f* *f* we find in L what must have stood in the archetype, the contracted form of *nisi*, viz. *n* (which some scribe mistook for *u*) with suprascript *i*. But at IV liv. 2 where *prima* has become

<sup>1</sup> Another case where L gives us the exact reproduction of what was in the archetype is, I think, VI iii. 6 where *nubit* is the true reading. P has *nibit*, Q has *nbit*, *f* has *nubit*. In L we find *nubit* with the second limb of *u* cancelled by a dot above and below. I fancy the archetype had *nubit* with an obscure correction of the word to *nubit*.

<sup>2</sup> Beside the usual contraction of *omnes*, viz. *ōs*, we find occasionally in L *ōs*. Does this come from the original of L?

*patria* in PQ, the word in L has the contracted form *p̄ma*, while in the archetype (or original of PQ) it must have had the form *p̄ria*. Contractions by 'suspension,' where a contraction stroke replaces the last syllable or syllables of a word, are common in early minuscule MSS., and have played havoc with terminations of verbs and the like. They are frequent in L but seem always to have definite functions. Thus *praestab* with contraction cross-stroke through *b* definitely means *praestabis* in L and not (as it might in an early minuscule MS.) also *praestabit*; *fec* with stroke above *c* in L means *fecit* only, not also *feci*, although *amañ* means *amavi*. It may be a mere coincidence that L has this contraction of *praestabis* in III xlv. 11, where Q has *praestabit*, and this contraction of *fecit* in I xiii. 3, where the A<sup>A</sup> and C<sup>A</sup> manuscripts shew *feci* and the B<sup>A</sup> manuscripts *fecit*. A contraction by 'suspension' that is quite of the old type and has doubtless been copied from the original (and possibly by the scribe of that original from a still earlier one) is *stom* (with stroke above *m*) in XII Epist. 18 for *stomachum*.

The ligature *ec*, which from its liability to confusion with the *et*- and *ex*- ligatures was discarded at an early period from minuscule script, has left clear traces of itself at IX xxvii. 9 where L has *sexulo* for *seculo*, and at V xxiv. 1 *sexu* for *seculi* (written, I fancy, *seclī* with 'barred' *l*).

Turning from this somewhat disappointing part of the field, let us see what can be gleaned in the matter of the spelling of the Archetype. From a mere average twelfth-century MS. like L we must not expect anything like a faithful reproduction of the Archetype's, still less of Gennadius' orthography, but since the other Gennadian MSS. are Renaissance copies, the value of L is great by comparison. For it is Renaissance MSS. that have a bad reputation for foisting antique spellings, like *quom*, *volt*, *voltus*, *salvos* (Nom.), on their transcriptions. Twelfth-century MSS. are exempt from this fault but not wholly from a worse fault of Renaissance scribes, the 'doctoring' of lines to suit metrical or grammatical requirements.<sup>1</sup> The first transcriber, though he has many late spellings like *nichil*, and does not persist in the reproduction of *-vos*, *-vom* (e.g. I viii. 2 *salvos*, corr. *salvus*), gives

us great assistance in restoring the older spelling and shews that Gilbert is wrong in ruling out forms like *volt*, *voltus*. The second transcriber effaces these *vo*- forms as much as possible. After his appearance on the scene we are treated for a time to *ci* for *ti*, *Marcius*, *Marcialis*, *lociens*, *cenciens*, and so on; and *ae* is ruthlessly written *e*. We see the danger of pinning our faith to the spelling of a single MS., or even an archetype, when the character of the spelling within the MS. itself is changed with the advent of a new scribe. The line (V xxxix. 8) with which the second transcriber opens his task on fol. 20 r. i., begins with the word *Croeso*. He writes *Creso*. But it so happens that the first transcriber had begun this line before laying down his pen, so that on fol. 19 v. we find the same word, copied from the same archetype, but spelt differently, *Croeso*. The third transcriber, who found more difficulty than the others with Lombard *t*, has on more than one occasion written *volat* for *volt*. No clearer proof is required that *volt* and not *vult* was the spelling (I do not say the invariable spelling) in his original. The Acc. Pl. *-is* is often preserved in L, where other MSS. shew *-es*.

But the chief value of L lies in its contributions to the text. It supersedes Q in supplying a check upon P. As an example we may take Martial's account of the medical specialists of the day (X lvi. 3 *sqq.*):

Eximit aut refecit dentem Cascellius aegrum,  
Infestos oculis uris, Hygine, pilos;  
Non secat et tollit stillantem Fannius uvam,  
Tristia saxorum stigmata delet Eros;  
Enterocelarum fertur Podalirius Hermes:  
Qui sanet ruptos dic mihi, Galle, quis est?

The fourth line of this quotation has for its second word *Saxorum* in the C<sup>A</sup> family, but in P *servorum*; and this reading of P has been adopted by editors in the belief that it was the actual reading of the Gennadian recension. Q has *saxorum*, but Q is a weaker authority than P. Now however that L confirms Q, the reading of P must be discarded as a mere scribe's aberration, as valueless as its *petis* at X lxxxvii. 20, where LQ (with the A<sup>A</sup> text) read *credis*.

And it vindicates again and again the Gennadian text from errors which the 'consensus' of P and Q attributed to it: e.g. XI c. 3 *radat* L: *rodāt PQF*; X v. 3 *erret* L: *esset PQ*; X v. 4 *raucos* L: *ramos PQ*; X v. 15 *inquieti* L: *in equiti PQ*; VII xvii. 5 *nido licet inseras* L: *modo licet*

<sup>1</sup> For instances, see Marx *ad Herenn.* prolegg. p. 37. An example in L is II lxvi. 6, where the archetype had *Tangat et sanum* (for *isanum* probably). L reads *Et sanum tangat*, Q *Tangat et insanum*. P does not alter.



*PQ*; X xvi. 1 Gai *L*: Galle *PQ*. We have now a fairly certain text of the Gennadian recension.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of *L* and Prof. Maleyn's recently published account of the readings of *P* make a continuation of my articles on 'A Supplement to the App. Crit. of Martial' unnecessary. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Prof. Fried-

If some good fortune would bring to light a new codex of the *A*<sup>A</sup> family, our manuscript evidence for Martial would be satisfactorily complete.

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laender, Father Ehrle, and Prof. Alfred Monaci for their kind assistance in the compilation of this Supplement.

## METHOD IN STUDY OF THE MODES.

THE early study of modal usage was sadly hampered by preconceived ideas. It was taken for granted that each set of mode forms had a separate distinct province, and the aim of the investigator was to discover some 'fundamental meaning' for each mode that would explain every concrete case of that mode. Even to-day there appear, here and there, traces of the old logical theories that the subjunctive is the mode of possibility, the indicative of reality, etc. That such distinctions will not hold is perhaps nowhere more clearly evident than in the conditional sentence; the very fact that an indicative stands in a *si*-clause precludes its affirming anything with certainty about reality, excepting, of course, in those cases where *si* is used as the synonym of *ubi* or the like in general conditions.

In giving up the idea of finding some such fundamental meaning shining through each case of a given mode, Delbrück<sup>1</sup> took a step in the right direction. He hoped, by a study of the mode-suffixes and the earliest meanings found attached to these, to find out what was the *earliest* meaning conveyed by each mode, and to *derive* from these earliest meanings such uses as are found in literature. If there were material at hand to make the study of the mode-suffixes and their original meanings more than mere guess-work, this method might yield trustworthy results.<sup>2</sup> Later thought has tended to be conservative. Starting with the known modal usages it has tried to reach back a step, by inference, into preliterate darkness. The theory that seems to best explain the known facts is that, in the period before literature began, mode (and

tense) forms were used rather indiscriminately—that they were of shifting application, rather than of fixed and determined value according to the old theories. This view is supported by two lines of argument; first, the development from vague to definite in the use of mode forms within the literary period: (e.g., the use of subjunctive forms by Homer and Plautus as contrasted with later usage); second, the different way in which the I.E. languages have applied the same or cognate forms to the expression of modal thought: e.g., *ero* and *sim* are subjunctive and optative respectively, if judged by the standard of cognate languages. Further, *e*-forms of the future indicative in Latin (as *reges, reget*) are thought to be of the same formation as subjunctives such as *ames, amet*. These facts are very hard to explain if it be assumed that the early use of mode and tense forms was clear-cut, but very easy if it be assumed that such usage was indiscriminate and shifting.<sup>3</sup>

The acceptance of this latter view brings with it a certain emancipation of thought. The idea of a fundamental meaning for each mode is given up, and, in its place, we assume that the meanings actually found in literature have become attached to the mode forms by a process of gradual differentiation or specialization. The old theories, however, still live on, to a certain extent, in the persistent feeling that difference of mode is the sign of difference of meaning, i.e. that each mode has a province of its own not to be encroached on by any other. This feeling is doubtless fostered by a wholly natural liking for clear-cut distinctions, and also by the recognition of the great value of a formal classification as the point of departure for a syntactical investigation. A division according to mode and tense, and even person

<sup>1</sup> *Der Gebrauch des Conjunctivs und Optativs im Sanskrit und Griechischen.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Bergaigne, *De conjunctivi et optativi in Indocuropæcis linguis conformatione et vi antiquissima.* Paris. 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paul, *Principien*, §§ 410 and 433. Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. iv. p. 459.

and number,<sup>1</sup> is very helpful, but it does not tell the whole story. For there are certain other elements of the speech-form, which, though often given scant attention, are so important that they sometimes make the choice of mode a secondary matter—the speaker's thought is readily conveyed whether one mode or another is used. Hence it is necessary to clear thinking that we give up any feeling that a division according to mode, tense, etc., is the key to every situation, and that functional differences *must* underlie every such variation of form. If this be not done, there is constant danger of trying to force distinctions where there are none.

A practical beginning looking toward a recognition of these added formal elements has been made in the observation that certain verbs,<sup>2</sup> by virtue of their root meaning, stand in the indicative in situations that call for the subjunctive of other verbs. *Verb-meaning* then is one of the factors that renders a division according to mode an inadequate index of function. Other factors, recognised generally as abstractions merely, may be reduced to concrete form by an examination of such a phrase as *quid ago?*

Ter. Phor. 447 : *Quid ago?* dic, Hegio.

Ter. Hec. 715 : *Quid ergo agam*, Phidippe? *quid das consili?*

In the second case here cited both *agam* and a defining clause (*quid das consili*) instruct the hearer that he is being appealed to for advice, but the context shows that *quid ago?* without the defining clause is just as readily understood. How does the hearer know that the literal meaning 'What am I doing?' is not intended? That this sense is not an impossible one is shown by the frigid joke in Plaut. Most. 368 : cf. Ter. Heaut. 343 : CLIT. *Quid ago nunc?* CLIN. *Tunc?* quod boni. At the same time, the very fact that taking *quid ago?* in these passages in its literal sense makes a pun, is conclusive proof that the speaker intended, and the hearer understood it, in the deliberative sense.

Most important for the definition of the meaning was, doubtless, the *tone* and *manner* of the speaker : these elements made clear to the hearer that the words were an appeal for advice. Second may be mentioned the *general situation* — the speaker's obvious difficulty and need of advice. Third, *specialization of phrases to certain uses* ; *quid ago?* was probably little used in other than

a deliberative sense.<sup>3</sup> Ter. Phor. 736–7 : *Quid ago?* | . . . *Adeo, maneo, dum haec quae loquitur magis cognosco?* Ter. And. 639 : *Sed quid agam?* *adeamne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expostulem?*

The first pair of sentences treated were taken from dialogue, and illustrate one phase of the deliberative question — the asking of advice. This pair are spoken in soliloquy, and illustrate the other phase of such questions — the expression of the speaker's perplexity. It must be quite obvious that the mode of the verb in neither pair is the prime element in making the speaker's thought clear—the indicative is quite as 'deliberative' as the subjunctive when spoken in a certain tone and manner. Formal elements such as these must then be added to verb-meaning as factors which tend to make a division based strictly on mode an inadequate index of function.

These considerations may be expressed thus in a general principle : *other aspects of the speech-form than the mode of the verb may be the essential features that convey to the hearer those ideas which it is generally felt to be the province of mode to express, e.g., deliberation.* Two corollaries depend upon this principle. (1) It is not always possible to find a functional difference to correspond to a division according to mode. (2) It does not necessarily mean that a rule is a poor one if it be not clear-cut. In certain cases the facts may not warrant a statement stronger than that one mode is used *largely* or *prevalingly* in the expression of a certain class of ideas.

The conditional sentence is another field in which the elements of tone and manner play a larger part than seems generally supposed. If the two future conditions 'If I go' and 'If I should go' be compared in the abstract, one would naturally say that the latter is the form of less probability. But, as a matter of fact, 'If I go' can be rendered in such a fashion as to inspire ten times the doubt about fulfilment that a mere formal 'If I should go' would do. The provinces of these two forms overlap, and we are justified in saying no more than that the form 'If I go' *tends* to be used in cases of greater probability of fulfilment. If this be true of English, why try to force

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Morris, 'Subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus,' *A.J.P.* Vol. xviii.

*E.g., posse, licet.*

<sup>3</sup> The question *quid agis?* is another that illustrates the working of these same elements. No one mistakes the literal *quid agis?* (as seen in Cic. in Cat. I. 11. 27) for the *quid agis?* of greeting, though Plautus continually puns on the double meaning. It is interesting to note further, that in Cicero's Orations *quid ago?* is allowed once (p. Quinct. 16. 53); *quid agam?* occurs three or four times.

unyielding distinctions on Greek and Latin, insisting that each concrete case of the use of a mode exemplify the rule laid down? Such a procedure seems quite misleading when applied to the use of the indicative, subjunctive and optative in future conditions. Again, on this same principle, *if*-clauses and *si*-clauses encroach upon the province of the concessive clause; the concessive *tone* in which the words are spoken may render unnecessary the more explicit 'even if' or '*etsi*.' Pronouncing the following sentences will make clear the difference in tone that exists between the pure and the concessive *if*-clauses. 'If I had ten thousand books, I would give some away'; 'If I had ten thousand books, I would not give one away.' On the written page we may have to wait until the apodosis is reached before we can interpret the *if*-clause with certainty, but in the spoken language the tone of the speaker settles the question at once, and also prepares the hearer for the kind of apodosis that is to follow.

A still further instance of tone and manner as defining elements is furnished by the language of Plautus. He is still using the present subjunctive largely for the present unreal conditional sentence, thus making this mode and tense a common speech-form for it and the ideal. Despite the ambiguity of the verbal form used, one person has no difficulty in making his thoughts clear to another.<sup>1</sup> Just as in English the tone of apology of 'If I had any, I would gladly give it' would clearly distinguish it from 'If I should get any, I should be glad to give it,' even though we expressed the two by the use of the same

speech-form, as Plautus did for the most part.<sup>2</sup>

The factors of tone and manner are largely lost on the written page. Sometimes a hint is given by the order of words, and, again, the reply of a hearer may make clear just the cast of thought conveyed to him. In a careful literary style influenced by the need of communicating in writing, naturally those elements<sup>3</sup> which may appear on the written page are utilized to a greater degree than is necessary in the spoken language of every-day life; in this latter style the 'irregularities' are doubtless to be explained largely by the presence of the (to us) more intangible, but not less real elements of the speech-form. However, I believe that these elements affect profoundly even the most careful written style; for we write largely as we *think* and *speak*. Cicero's orations seem to afford a striking illustration of this. It will be found that about one-seventh of the *si*-clauses there found in unreal conditional sentences are concessive.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this large proportion is due to the fact that, in the preparation of his speeches, Cicero wrote unconsciously in the style he would use in speaking. In the delivery, as shown above, the tone used in speaking, rendered a specific introductory particle unnecessary.

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<sup>2</sup> Greenough makes still another application of this principle in an article on 'The Contrary to Fact Construction,' *Harv. Studies*, Vol. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, careful discrimination in the use of the modes.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.P.* xxi, p. 270.

<sup>1</sup> See *Class. Rev.* xv. p. 52.

## REVIEWS.

### DIELS'S *HERAKLEITOS*.

*Herakleitos von Ephesos, griechisch und deutsch.* Von HERMANN DIELS. Pp. xii, 56. Berlin, 1901. 2 M. 40.

ALL students of Greek philosophy will welcome an edition of *Herakleitos* from the hands of Professor Diels, even though they are warned that it is not in any way meant to supersede Professor Bywater's exemplary

edition (Einl. p. x.). It is certainly true that the few additions that have been made to the fragments are of no great intrinsic value, nor has much been done since Bywater for the settlement of the text. A master like Diels can hardly, however, handle any document without clearing up some of its difficulties, and there are many brilliant things hidden away in the modest



footnotes. Noteworthy is the reading of fr. 10 (=59 Bywater) *Συνάψεις ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα κ.τ.λ.* 'Couplets are: whole and not whole etc.' This is based on a recension of the manuscript testimony (see Berl. Sitz. 1901, 188), and will very likely be adopted; but one misses the Homeric optative *συνάψεως*. Diels gives up the attempt to arrange the fragments, and places them in the alphabetical order of the authors who quote them. This plan has some advantages from the critical point of view; but it hardly does justice to the statement quoted by Diogenes Laertius (ix. 5) that there were three *λόγοι*, one *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, one political and one theological. This is Stoic formalism, of course, but there must have been something in the book to justify it. Further, it seems to have been quite the regular thing to start with cosmology, to go on to man, and to end up with man's relation to God or the world. Empedokles certainly did so.

The most valuable parts of Diels's work are, beyond question, the introduction and the translation. He rightly refuses to believe that the system of Herakleitos was obscure. On the contrary, Herakleitos is 'dark' only in form, while Parmenides never made his system thoroughly clear even to himself. For that very reason Herakleitos had no successors, but only imitators, while the philosophy of Elea developed in every direction. As to the form of Herakleitos, his hierophantic tone is common to him with all the great men that grew up during that period of storm and stress, a period which can be compared only to the Reformation and the French Revolution. With all their differences of origin and temper of mind, Pindar, Aeschylus, and Herakleitos are attuned to the same hieratic note. On the other hand, the subjectivity of Herakleitos enlivens this hieratic stiffness. 'Never did prophet swing the lash in so refreshingly individual a manner as the black-galled Basileus of Ephesos.' 'He opens the series of lonely men that have set down their proud thoughts of contempt for the world in the only suitable form, the Aphorism.' "Thus spake Herakleitos" was probably the beginning of his work, and "also sprach Zarathustra" is the latest shoot put forth by the *genre*.' So Diels has translated the Ephesian into the style of Nietzsche, and that with great skill. Take, for instance, the following:—

'Denn alles, was da kreucht, wird mit Gottes Geißel zur Weide getrieben.' (fr. 11=55 Byw.).

'Die Zeit ist ein Knabe, der spielt, hin und her die Bretsteine setzt: Knaben-regiment!' (fr. 52=79 Byw.).

'Die Sibylle, die mit rasendem Munde Ungelachtes und Ungeschminktes und Ungesalbtes redet, reicht mit ihrer Stimme durch tausend Jahre. Denn der Gott treibt sie.' (fr. 92=12 Byw.).

Diels says 'Uebersetzen ist Spiel oder, wenn man will, Spielerei.' This is true, no doubt, but such translation as he gives us is the highest kind of interpretation. There are, however, two points of interpretation on which I feel bound to maintain my own view until the arguments put forward in my *Early Greek Philosophy* have been shown to be inconclusive. I do not say that I am right, and that Zeller, Diels and Gomperz are wrong; but I cannot see my way to give in at present. Hitherto the reasons I adduced have been ignored; they have not been met.

The first point is the interpretation of the word *λόγος*. In 1892 I ventured to say that *λόγος* never meant 'Reason' (*Vernunft*) in Greek philosophy strictly so-called, and I am still waiting for an unambiguous example of such a use. Diels certainly does not translate the Herakleitean *λόγος* by *Vernunft*, but he says things which imply the common interpretation. He speaks, for instance, of 'the omnipresence of the guiding "Word" (*Logos*),' which is 'at once the law of Nature and of Man' (p. vi.). This can only be justified from fr. 92, 93 Byw. With regard to fr. 92, it is clear that, even if Herakleitos did say *τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἑόντος ξυνοῦ*, he must, on Diels's own showing, have meant exactly the same by *λόγος* as he did in fr. 2 *τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἑόντος ἀεί*, for Sextus quotes fr. 92 after fr. 2 with the words *ὁλίγα προσδιελθὼν ἐπιφέρει*, and for that reason Diels makes these two fragments his first and second. But I suppose that no one now doubts Zeller's interpretation of *λόγος* in fr. 2 (cf. E.G. Ph. § 52, n. 13). Fr. 93, on which Diels's statement seems to be more expressly based, comes from Marcus Aurelius iv. 46 *μεμνήσθαι δὲ...ὅτι ᾧ μάλιστα διηλεκτῶς ὁμιλοῦσι λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικούντι τούτῳ διαφέρονται*. But, when we turn to his text, we find that Diels himself does not ascribe *τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικούντι* to Herakleitos, and surely Bywater is right in giving *λόγῳ* to Marcus as well. In any case, there is not a scrap of evidence to justify us in ascribing to the Ephesian any 'Logos-doctrine,' in the Jewish or Christian sense, or even anything that can be historically connected with it. Diels says (p. x.) 'Den Proteus *λόγος* in irgend einer andern Sprache zu fassen ist ja ganz vergebliches Mühen.' This seems a little too strong. So far as I can see, Herakleitos uses the word *λόγος* in

two senses only, neither of which is at all remote from its meaning in everyday Greek. In the first place it is his own theory. It is not merely his 'discourse,' however, or 'what he has to say'; for 'everything comes to pass according to it' and it is 'common to all.' It is 'the word that came to Herakleitos of Ephesos,' and may fairly be written with a capital letter, 'the Word.' This is an idiom of the prophetic style, and Diels's translation 'das Wort' is quite adequate. On the other hand, I cannot accept his rendering of fr. 30 (= 23 Byw.) *θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρίεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, κ.τ.λ.* 'Es zerfließt das Meer und erhält sein Mass nach demselben Wort u.s.w.' Surely no Greek would understand *μετρίσθαι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον* in any other than the quantitative sense, which I have tried to bring out in my translation 'is measured by the same tale' (E.G. Ph. p. 135). There are no other uses of *λόγος* in Herakleitos, and the English renderings 'Word' and 'tale' seem quite adequate to these.

The other point is the old question of the *ἐκπύρωσις*. On this Diels says: 'Die Weltverbrennung als Ende dieser Weltperiode, die ein grosses Weltjahr von 10,800 Jahren abschliesst, steht für H. jetzt fest.' This is said in a note on fr. 66 (26 Byw.), to which Gomperz also alludes as 'decisive' ('Greek Thinkers,' p. 536, Eng. trans.). The words (quoted by Hippolytos) are *πάντα γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὼν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται*, and I admit that my scepticism as to the words *κρινεῖ καὶ* was unjustified. The aorist participle expresses time coincident with that of the leading futures; the *ἐφοδος* is the *κρίσις* and *κατάληψις*, and these in turn are judicial metaphors. The translation, then, should run: 'Fire coming on all things will judge and convict them.' But this no more proves a world-conflagration than 'All trespassers will be prosecuted' implies that trespassers will all be committed to prison on the same day. The best commentary is the solitary fragment of Anaximander (E. Gr. Ph. §§ 12, 13).

It cannot be said too often that there never was anything about an *ἐκπύρωσις* in the book of Herakleitos. I still hold that Plato, Soph. 242 d, 6 sqq. is quite inconsistent with any such idea, as even Zeller has to admit (cf. E. Gr. Ph. §§ 55, 62). Marcus Aurelius was a diligent student of Herakleitos, and his Stoic teachers would tell him that Herakleitos believed in the *ἐκπύρωσις*. But he did not find it there; for he says (x. 7) *εἶτε κατὰ περίοδον ἐκπυρούμενον εἶτε αἰδίους ἀμοιβαῖς ἀνανεούμενον*.

Kleombrotos in Plutarch (de def. or. 415 f.) says *ὁρῶ τὴν Στωϊκὴν ἐκπύρωσιν...τὰ Ἑρακλείτου...ἐπινεμομένην* (E. Gr. Ph. p. 166). These passages could not have been written if Herakleitos had ever definitely countenanced the theory of a periodical conflagration. Diels, like Zeller, admits that the doctrine in question is a 'scheinbare Inconsequenz,' and certainly the greatest thinkers have been inconsistent at times. But, before we charge one of them with an inconsistency, we ought to have proof that he actually maintained the view we allow to be inconsistent. The negative evidence of men who could not find the *ἐκπύρωσις* in Herakleitos far outweighs that of all the Stoic handbooks which ascribe it to him.

In my chapter on Herakleitos, I referred to certain fragments which seemed to me to contradict the conflagration theory. In fr. 20 (Bywater) the *κόσμος*, we are told, *ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ ἀεζῶν, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα*. I do not quite understand Diels's translation of this, 'sein Erglimmen und sein Verlöschen sind ihre Masse.' He seems to take *μέτρα* as nominative, but I still think it is internal accusative, and that the translation should be 'with measures of it kindling and with measures of it going out,' and that the 'measures' are to be interpreted in the light of *μετρίεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον* (fr. 23). When one 'measure' of fire is kindled an equivalent 'measure' goes out. This is the *ἀνταμοιβή* (fr. 22), the *αἰδίοι ἀμοιβαί* that Marcus Aurelius found when he looked for the *ἐκπύρωσις* and could not discover it, and the *μέτρα* mean just what they meant to Diogenes of Apollonia (fr. 4. E. Gr. Ph. § 156). Nor will the equivalence of these *μέτρα* ever be violated; for *ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα: εἰ δὲ μή, Ἑρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν* (fr. 29). I can only read these words as a denial of the possibility of any *ἐκπύρωσις*, and this view is confirmed by the mention of *δίκη*. For, in early Greek philosophy, the meaning of *δίκη* is just the observance of an equal balance between different forms of being, 'opposites,' 'elements,' or whatever they are (cf. E. Gr. Ph. pp. 51, 73, 147).

I may, perhaps, have dwelt too much on these two points; but I think they are really important, and they have never been properly discussed. I cannot agree with Diels's views upon them; but I believe that the literary criticism of his Introduction will profoundly modify our whole attitude towards the fragments we still possess.

JOHN BURNET.

GRENFELL AND HUNT'S *AMHERST PAPYRI*, II.

*Amherst Papyri* (Greek). Part II. 1901.

By B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT.  
£2 10s. net.

THE second volume of this sumptuous publication contains several interesting classical fragments. I offer some suggestions on No. XIII. 'fragment of a lost comedy, with marginal scholia.' The editors are doubtless right on the strength of col. I. v. 2 *ἐξ ὑπτίας* in making Aristophanes the author (Pollux vii. 138 *νεῖν δ' ἐξ ὑπτίας μάθημα κολυμβητῶν Ἀριστοφάνης εἶπε καὶ Πλάτων*), and the probability is increased by the marginal note *εἰς Μάγνητα*. We all know Aristophanes' fondness for repeating himself at short distance, and as there is nothing about Magnes in the *Acharnians*, *Clouds* or *Wasps*, the *Daitaleis* or *Babylonii* seem likely plays to have contained the allusion. *Νεῖν ἐξ ὑπτίας* may be another of the tricks ascribed to Magnes (*πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἰεῖς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ πτερυγίζων | καὶ λυδίζων καὶ ψηνίζων καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείους Knights* 522, 3, epithets interpreted by the ancients of the titles of as many plays, and no less hazardingly by the moderns of an early quasi-Aesopic genre of comedy) to hold his audience. The line before this is explained by the scholiast as a parody on a 'vulgar expression' *ἐκπράσων ἢ μὴ ὑπράσους*, the meaning of which is not clear, seeing that *ἐμπυπράσκειν* rarely occurs. The text may presumably be restored *ἐκβαλῶν σ' ἢ μὴ ὑμβαλῶ*, and if the reference to Magnes extend to this line we are reminded of *ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ὢν Knights* 425. In the scholion for <sup>τ</sup> read <sup>τ</sup> *ο sc. ὅτι*, and for *αἰρῶ* perhaps *ἀπὸ καιροῦ*.

The allusion to Magnes can hardly be carried farther than the second line, for the remainder appears to be a dialogue between two persons who are engaging in a suit or struggle: we have the forensic expressions *ἐκκαλῶντα σε* 16, *μάρτυρας* 17, *γραφῆν* col. II. 1, *ἐκκαλῶ* 2. The *Daitaleis* contained one (or more) contests, and frag. 211 *Κοκκ τὸν Ἐρεχθέα μοι καὶ τὸν Αἰγέα κάλει* is similarly worded. If the repartee of vv. 3-20 is between father and son, one may conjecture that Byzantium in 12 is used as in the *Wasps* 236 to denote the father's age, the *τοσοῦτου* χρόνου of 10 replied to in 11 *χρόνος*; 14 may be *πρότερος ἢ ῥξ' ἐγώ* of the father: or if we take account of the scholion *μαδ[ (? μαδᾶς, μαδῶν, cf. schol. Plut. 266) ὁ*

*φαλακ[ρὸς ἢ ῥξ' ἐγώ*. V. 15 the editors suggest *ἐλλ[ην]ίου*; with this the scholion *παῖς (? ζ)ει παρὰ* may refer to the unknown source of the exclamation *ἐλλάνιε Ζεῦ Knights* 1253. Col. II. if the practice of papyrus is the same as that of later MSS., the editors are certainly right in saying that the line *ἐπιστομει τοσ[* which is added on the upper margin and preceded by an antisigma, is intended to be read after v. 4. The sense also shows this: the father calls out his first witness, whom in view of frag. 211 one would wish to make a heroic personage, but *γο[* does not seem to yield such a name. A few supplements may be conjectured: col. I. 1 *ἐκβαλῶν σ'*, 2 *νεῖν*], *ἐξ*, 6 *εὖ οἶσθ'*] *ὅτι*, 12 if the scholion *τὸ τέλος τὴν δα[πάνην* is a gloss, *τὸ τέλος* must have stood in v. 12, 16 *ἐκκαλῶντα σε*, 17 *ἐκκαλείσθαι*] *μάρτυρας*, 18 *ἀγω]νιεύ*, 20 *πε]πίεσθαι*, col. II. 3 *μ[άλιστα τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων*, 4 *σε* or *σ'* must be worked into this line, to be governed by *ἐπιστομει* (for the word, cf. *Knights* 845).

No. XVI. contains different documents on its recto (s. II. A.D.) and verso (s. II. or III. A.D.). That on the verso turns out to be Apoll. Rhod. i. 775-795, and this author's documentary tradition is taken back nine centuries. There are a few variants, none of which have left traces elsewhere. I may mention two which are glossematic, 777 *αἰθερος* for *ἡέρος*, 786 *θυρα[ς* for *πύλας* (a common substitution in Homeric MSS.), and one of more importance, 791 *προ]πολοιο* for *πρὸ πόλης*.

The writing on the recto is plainly epic, and I venture to identify it with Antimachus. V. 18 *επιστεψασ[* appears to correspond to fr. 21 (Kinkel) *πλήσεν δ' ἄρ' ἐπιστράψας δέπαστρον*, where *ἐπιστράψας* was corrected into *ἐπιστέψασα* by Blomfield. The active aorist of *ἐπιστέφειν* is not quoted from elsewhere by the Lexica. With this clue we easily connect v. 15 *οἱς τοκεεσσι τ[* with fr. 56 *πωρητὴν ἀλόχοισι καὶ οἷς τεκέεσσιν ἔθεντο*; *τοκεεσσι* in the papyrus must be *τεκέεσσι*, but on the other hand *ἔθεντο* (or rather *τίθεντο*) is confirmed as against *ἕκαστοι*, of another quotation. Triptolemus in v. 19 suggests Demeter and therefore one may restore *ἐλευσι]νι* v. 12, since Antimachus uses the epithet fr. 63 *Δήμητρός τοι Ἐλευσινίης ἱερῇ ὄψ*. Other possibilities are v. 19 *δεῖξ[αι, Τριπτολεμ]ω* cf. h. Dem. 474, v. 20 *ζωοῖς ἀμε]νηνοῖς*; in v. 3 *ἡλιον π[* must be read so that a vowel follows *ἡλιον*.

The small fragment XI. is enigmatical,



but apparently poetical, although the verses as the editors say are divided between the lines. Some of the wording seems intelligible: v. 4 *sq.* παρθε]νικαι κ[εφαλαισιν υ]δωρ καλπ[ισιν εσ]βεσαν ακ[μην? v. 7 φιλι- νης βε[μαπειης!

A characteristic of this volume is the

abundance of commentaries it contains: we are given Aristarchus' ὑπόμνημα on Herodotus I., and short scholia on the Iliad, the Odyssey and Callimachus. There are also pieces of orators and tragedians and a bilingual Babrius.

T. W. ALLEN.

### HEMPHILL'S TRANSLATION OF PERSIUS.

*The Satires of Persius.* Translated with an Introduction and some Notes by the Rev. SAMUEL HEMPHILL, D.D., Litt.D., formerly Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin; Rector of Birr, and Canon of Killaloe. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., Ltd.; London: George Bell & Sons. 1901. Pp. xxiii, 47. 2s. 6d.

DR. HEMPHILL is a warm admirer of Persius, and his Introduction breathes a generous enthusiasm for an author whom he thinks less obscure than is generally supposed. He thinks he has been made doubly difficult by being published as an appendix to Juvenal. But the butterfly student whom he describes as having no time for Persius after he has worked at Juvenal would surely have given up Roman satire in despair, had he begun with the more difficult author. At all events this particular drawback to his study is not likely to exist in modern editions. I do not think we can say, with Casaubon (whose words Dr. Hemphill endorses), that Persius never forgets his theme, in the face of such passages as vi. 37-40 and v. 132 *sqq.* (where the theme is that the ease loving man is nevertheless a slave to Avarice, but at 137 P. flies off at a tangent, to shew the difficulty of being at once a business man and god-fearing).

The translation is smooth, and generally clear and accurate. The author is perhaps too sanguine as regards having printed Sat. I 'in a manner which ought to cause no difficulty': the paragraphing on p. 8 (i. 83-91) clearly implies dialogue, where (except perhaps

*bellum hoc* 87) all belongs to Persius. A list of departures from Buecheler's (1893) text is given (p. 43), but this is not complete, as at iii. 13 Dr. Hemphill translates *quod*, not *sed*, which that ed. has. A few passages in the translation might be slightly improved: thus in v. 15 *ore modico* corresponds to *stloppo*, &c., and 'chaste style' misses this. In vi. 51 *non adeo* cannot mean 'not so fast,'—even to those who imagine *adeo* an adverb here. At i. 5 *sqq.*, the old rendering is given, which makes P. first say 'you mustn't come forward and correct Rome's taste,' and immediately after do this very thing! The meaning is either, 'wouldn't you go up and correct her?' or 'you wouldn't join her, but would correct her.'<sup>1</sup>

The Notes shew that Dr. Hemphill has studied the recent literature on his author. I would refer particularly to i. 133, ii. 10, iv. 28, vi. 51 as examples. But surely Palmer's reading of i. 8 (*nam Romae*—"st!"—*quis non*, &c.) does not deserve the approval here given it. The *est* of the MSS. is certainly explained by it, but who can suppose that P. made his interlocutor interrupt when as yet only the words 'for at Rome' had fallen from his lips—and this after quietly putting up with P.'s contemptuous allusion to the 'old women of Troy' and 'muddle-headed Rome.'

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

<sup>1</sup> I prefer the first rendering: Dr. Postgate some time since suggested the other, in which of course *que* has the force it so often has in Lucan.

## BLASS'S GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

*Evangelium secundum Matthaeum cum variae lectionis delectu edidit* FRIDERICUS BLASS. Teubner, 1901. 3 M. 50.

It is difficult to say what kind of welcome ought to be given to Dr. Blass's text of St. Matthew. That it should have appeared at all is evidence of the interest now taken in Germany in the textual study of the New Testament, an interest which has been largely stimulated by Dr. Blass's own writings. It would be moreover impossible for Dr. Blass to produce a book that was not full of interest and instruction for those who have themselves worked at the subject. But the text he has constructed seems to the present writer eminently wilful. It is quite exciting to read; one can never predict what readings will be put in the place of honour.

Dr. Blass brings forward no new theory of the history of the text. 'Maximum id est,' he says in his Preface (p. iv.), 'quod in singulis quaestionibus non tam testes quam res ipsae spectandae sunt. Incorruptum testem nullum habemus, et vehementer vereor ne citra auctoris *αὐτόγραφον* nullus inveniri possit, neque genere corruptelae inter se singuli testes differunt, sed numero tantum peccatorum.' This, if true, is a cry of despair. I remember once seeing a letter in which Dr. Hort wrote concerning one of Tischendorf's many editions *He still thinks he may read exactly as he pleases*, and this judgement fits only too well upon Dr. Blass's St. Matthew.

Of the authorities more particularly to be followed in editing the text Dr. Blass lays special stress on the Sinai Palimpsest and, curiously enough, on St. Chrysostom. He is not afraid to follow either of these singly against all other testimony. Thus for instance, to cite a reading which he himself brings forward in the very first page of his Preface, he reads in Matt. xix 15 *ἐπορεύθη* with the Sinai Palimpsest against *ἐπορεύθη ἐκείθεν* of all other authorities. Dr. Blass thinks *ἐκείθεν* superfluous 'quasi possit aliquis aliunde proficisci quam illinc ubi sit' (p. iv.). That is true, but may not the same consideration have appealed to the translator of the Old Syriac version? The use of a superfluous *ἐκείθεν* after verbs of 'going' is characteristic both of Matthew and Mark, and subsequent editors and translators may very well have felt inclined here and there

to leave it out; St. Luke in particular seems to have shared the views of Dr. Blass, as a reference to the Concordance will shew.

Even less defensible is Dr. Blass's emendation of *ἀνάστασις* in Matt. xxii 23 ff. He observes very truly that the word *ἀνίστασθαι* and its kindred are generally avoided in Matthew, *ἐγερθῆναι* being used instead. When therefore Dr. Blass saw that the Sinai Palimpsest had *חַיַּת מֵתָא* in Matt. xxii 23 ff.<sup>1</sup> he concluded that this represented another Greek reading, and his text accordingly has *λέγοντες μὴ εἶναι ζωὴν τῶν νεκρῶν*, instead of *λέγοντες μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν*. But *חַיַּת מֵתָא* does not mean *ζωὴ νεκρῶν*. It is one of the regular Syriac equivalents for *ἀνάστασις* [*νεκρῶν*], and is so used in the Peshitta text of 1 Cor. xv 12 ff., to name one instance out of many. *Ζωὴ νεκρῶν* would be in Syriac *חַיַּי מֵתָא* (*hayyay mīthē*), not *חַיַּת מֵתָא* (*hayyath mīthē*), which always means 'the coming to life of the dead.'

But Dr. Blass is not always rash: indeed he often surprises one by his adherence to the ordinary Greek text in places where it might have been thought that he would be tempted to leave the beaten track. Thus he makes no change in Matt. i 16, he keeps *ὁ πρῶτος* in Matt. xxi 31, and he refuses to add *καὶ τῆς νύμφης* at the end of Matt. xxv 1.<sup>2</sup> On other occasions he adopts good readings chiefly supported by 'Western' authorities, e.g. *τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ* Matt. i 18 (= lat. vt syr. vt); *οἱ ἡγγικεν* instead of *μετανοεῖτε: ἡγγικεν γὰρ* Matt. iv 17 (= k syr. vt Justin); he omits Matt. xxi 44 (= d 33 lat. vt syr. sin Orig.), and *νομικῶς* Matt. xxii 36 (= l e syr. sin).

One of the most characteristic specimens of Dr. Blass's editing is to be found in Matt. x 23. Students of the text are aware that there is a various reading in this passage. The so-called 'Western' texts read, with minor variations, *ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην*

<sup>1</sup> *חַיַּת מֵתָא* is also found in the Peshitta text of Matt. xxii 23, though Dr. Blass does not quote it. The reading of *S* in *ccr.* 28 is *בַּחַיַּת מֵתָא* (with no equivalent for *oñ*, sic): here Dr. Blass, misled by the reading *בַּחַתָּא* given in the printed edition, emends the Gospel text into *ἐν τῷ τέλει οὖν*.

<sup>2</sup> In the earlier part of this verse Dr. Blass conjectures *ἐλαβον... ἐξελθεῖν* instead of *λαβοῦσαι... ἐξήλθον*, starting from the singular reading of the minuscule 700, which has *ἐλαβον... καὶ ἐξήλθον*.

[ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην], but the bracketed words are omitted by most Greek MSS. and do not appear in the 'Textus Receptus.' On turning to see which reading Dr. Blass had adopted we find ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν. These words are not found in any MS. of the Gospels; they are Dr. Blass's retranslation of Tertullian's *Cum coeperint persequi uos fugite de ciuitate in ciuitatem* (*De Fuga* 6). If Tertullian really meant this for an exact quotation, which is after all doubtful, I suspect that it was taken not direct from Scripture, but from the mouth of those who in times of persecution found that this was the only sentence of the Gospel that they could keep in their minds (*De Corona* 1). Dr. Blass's emended text gives the required sense of Matt. x 23 in a much neater literary form than what we have been accustomed to read, but few people will consider it to be a successful restoration of the original text of S. Matthew. It might indeed have satisfied the Emperor Anastasius, who according to a well-known passage of Victor's *Chronicon* thought the Holy Gospels ought to be emended as being the work of illiterate evangelists.

In Matt. xvii 27 St. Peter is commanded to go to the sea and cast his net and take the first fish that came up; 'and,' it says, 'when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel (εὐρήσεις στατήρα).' Dr. Blass will have none of this, but because St. Chrysostom in telling the story omits ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, he omits these words from his text and changes εὐρήσεις στατήρα into εὐρήσει στατήρα, i.e. the fish will fetch a shekel *when sold*. Dr. Blass claims St. Chrysostom as a supporter here also, though St. Chrysostom reads εὐρήσεις ἐν αὐτῷ στατήρα and then goes on to discourse upon the wonder of the miracle, which (he says) shews Christ's power over the sea as much as when He made Peter walk on the waves.

Moreover he uses such phrases as ὁ τὸν φόρον τελῶν ἰχθὺς and ἀγαγεῖν τὸν κομίζοντα τὸν στατήρα, and remarks how miraculous it was that this particular fish should be caught first. I fear St. Chrysostom gives but a weak support to Dr. Blass's rationalising emendation. It is quite conceivable that the original tradition, now lost, may have represented the Temple tribute to have been defrayed by the sale of St. Peter's fish, but to import this version of the story into the canonical Gospel according to St. Matthew is to play with the evidence.<sup>1</sup>

It is a pity to have to pass so unfavourable a verdict upon a work on which Dr. Blass has evidently spent much labour and ingenuity. But it is a work which illustrates only too well the danger of literary eclecticism in the textual criticism of the New Testament. In Dr. Hort's words, 'investigation of the history and character of documentary ancestries would indeed be out of place for the text of the New Testament if the documentary evidence were so hopelessly chaotic that no difference of authority could carry much weight as between readings all having some clearly ancient attestation.... The summary decisions inspired by an unhesitating instinct as to what an author must needs have written, or dictated by the supposed authority of "canons of criticism" as to what transcribers must needs have introduced, are in reality in a large proportion of cases attempts to dispense with the solution of problems that depend on genealogical data' (Hort, *Introd.* § 373). If Dr. Blass has failed to satisfy, smaller men cannot hope to succeed.

F. C. BURKITT.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar instance is Matt. iv 24, where Dr. Blass changes ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν into ὅλην τὴν συνορίαν on the authority of Γ, a third-rate uncial of the ninth century. Surely the source of our first Gospel here spoke of *Tyre and Sidon* as well as of Galilee and Judaea (Mk. iii 7, 8; Lk. vi 17). In connexion with this reading it may be noted that Dr. Blass brackets *Xananaia* in Matt. xv 21).



## CORRESPONDENCE.

EURIPIDES, *HECUBA*, LL. 1214-5.

ἄλλ' ἤνυχ' ἡμεῖς οὐκέτ' ἐσμὲν ἐν φάει  
(καπνῶ δ' ἐσήμεν' ἄστυ) πολέμιων ὕπο  
ξένον κατέκτας.

MR. A. W. MAIR has missed the point of my (or rather Paley's) statement that line 1215, when printed between commas as a separate sentence, involves 'a singular ellipse.' I suppose that no reader of this *Review* needs to be told that καπνῶ δ' ἐσήμεν' ἄστυ 'is complete in itself,' or, in other words, that σημαίνω is used absolutely. I did not think it necessary to point out anything so obvious; nor need Mr. Mair

even go to δηλῶ to find a parallel passage, for this very use of -σημαίνω occurs in Thucydides' account of the Plague, as is notorious. The 'singular ellipse' is the ellipse of a participle to give πολέμιων ὑπό a proper construction (*vide* Paley's note), and to that point, which is the gist of the whole matter, Mr. A. W. Mair should address himself before he can defend the old reading by citing *Agamemnon* 815. Of course Euripides' lines are a reminiscence of Aeschylus (*vide* Paley again), but that has nothing to do with my point.

E. C. MARCHANT.

## REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—EASTER AND TRINITY TERMS 1901.

ON May 10th Mr. WARDE FOWLER read a paper on 'The fourth Eclogue of Virgil,' in which it was maintained: (1) (in criticism of recent views, *e.g.* of Prof. W. M. Ramsay and M. Salomon Reinach) that if the last four lines of the poem be duly taken into account, the *parvus puer* of the poem was a real child actually born, and not an abstraction or poetical conception of a new age: (2) that the last four lines have been unduly neglected in the general interpretation of the poem, which is a prophetic *carmen* sung during the actual process of birth; the birth and prophecy are both completed at the end of line 59, and in the remaining four lines the prophetess addresses the new-born infant in the language of an Italian nurse: (3) that the *deus* and *dea* of the last line are the *di coniugales*, Hercules and Juno. This conclusion was suggested by a passage in the Danielian Servius (Thilo and Hagen, vol. III. p. 53, note), in which it is said that there was a custom in noble families at Rome of placing a mensa to Hercules and a lectus to Juno in the atrium on the birth of a child. For the concurrence of Hercules and Juno, see Roscher's *Lexicon* s. v. Juno 581 foll., or Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, p. 142 foll. The reader also expressed an opinion (though considering the question of no importance) that the puer was the expected child of Octavianus and Scribonia.

At the same meeting Mr. GRUNDY read a paper on 'The Attitude of the Delphic Oracle to the War of 480 B.C.': the contents will appear in his forthcoming work on the *Great Persian War*.

On May 24th Mr. PRICKARD read a paper on 'The month and day of the taking of Troy, with special reference to Aesch. *Agam.* 826.' There is a general agreement among authorities, differing as to the year, that Troy was taken in the early summer

(a day in Thargelion, probably the 23rd or 24th). See *Arundel Marble Epoch* 25, historians quoted by Plutarch (*Life of Camillus*) and by Eusebius *Præp. Evan.* X, 12, Dionysius Halicarn. See also *Aeneid* III. 8. The only authority for an autumn date is Tzetzes, who appears to contradict himself (*Post-homerica* 700-766).

But nearly all commentators on Aeschylus explain ἀμφι Πλειάδων δύσιν of the autumn (morning) setting of the Pleiads, a date about November 2. They refer back to Stanley, who, in his edition of 1664, has no note on *Agam.* 826, and on line 40 shows that Troy was taken in the spring, but in a MS. note on 826 printed by Butler, shows reasons for an autumnal date, mainly drawn from Joseph Scaliger 'De emendatione temporum.' Some, as Klausen, add that Aeschylus chose an autumnal date as better suiting the details of the storm, others that he followed an old epic.

Is it impossible that he referred to the spring (evening) setting of the Pleiads, which in Greece, 3,000 years ago, occurred about April 9?

(1) Conventionally, the 'setting of the Pleiads' meant the autumn date (see passages in Hippocrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Polybius, Arrian). But this was purely conventional. Hesiod (*W.* D. 384) makes it clear by the sequence of phenomena, which setting he means; Virgil *G.* 1, 221 expressly adds 'eoae'; if the setting have any value in the narrative of Aeschylus, and is not a dead note of time, the setting which is most suitable may be understood.

(2) A scholiast on Aratus 261 (p. 392 Maass) after referring to the autumn setting, adds: τῆς δὲ ἐσπερίου δύσεως οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, διὰ τὸ συμβαίνειν αὐτὴν περὶ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἡσημέριαν καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρετὸν περιέχειν σημεῖον. But the spring setting was noted, for forty

days were reckoned from it to the spring rising (Hesiod *W. D.* 385): see too Columella XI. 2, 34.

(3) Such a date as April 9 would be too early to agree with the historians. But the taking of Troy, *i.e.* all the events recorded in *Aen.* II., must have been matter of time: the mere sack would have taken a week or a fortnight (see remarks by Napoleon I). The horse may have been ordered to be in readiness for his leap by 'the setting of the Pleiads': yet the assault and sack not completed for several weeks. Something must be allowed for the stilted antithetical style of Agamemnon's speech. 'The horse leapt (crouched for his leap?) *up*, as the Pleiads sank *down*' (cf. line 819).

The alternative is to suppose that Aeschylus, without any other indication of doing so, followed a tradition which made the Greeks leave Troy at a time of year when storms were naturally to be expected, and the sea was closed. (Hesiod *W. D.*, 618, Theoc. 13, 25, Dem. p. 1214.)

Wecklein (ed. Leipzig, 1888) understands Aeschylus to have referred to the day in early March on which the play was acted, when the Pleiads would have risen at 10 or 11 p.m. As to this see Dr. Verrall's *Appendix P.*

*Chocph*: 276-290.

Leprosy is here threatened as one of the consequences of disobedience to the order of Apollo. Commentators refer to Exodus 13, 8 for the disease and the seclusion from society. Compare also Herodotus I, 138 *ὅς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχη, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖς ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι*: φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι, ταῦτα ἔχειν.—This foreign notion may have suggested to Aeschylus leprosy as a penalty appointed by the bright god for an offence against the light, the neglect of a duty enjoined by him.—In line 279 Weil's *δειλῶν* for *δεῖλῶν* suits this well. The god who expounded modes of expiation also declared the penalties to fall on cowards, sinners against the light.—*δειλῶν* in capitals has nearly the same strokes as *δεῖλῶν* and preserves the circumflex accent.

*Chocph*: 712-4.

Most editors change *δε* to *τε* unwarrantably. 'δὲ distinguishes between Orestes and his companions' Conington.—But this will be clearer if we assume that a line has fallen out after 713, so that the passage ran (with a doggerel line inserted, for illustration):—

ἀγ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνδρῶνας εὐθέους δόμων,  
ὀπισθόπους δὲ τοῦσδε καὶ ξυνεμπόρους  
< εἰς πανδοκίον πέμπε μέτριον πρόσω >  
κάκει κυρούτων δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα.

The assumption is reasonable, as all three lines are omitted in M, (and in G), and crowded into the margin of M.

That Orestes had attendants, besides Pylades, is probable from Soph. *El.* 1123, Eur. *El.* 821, see also Ar. *Birds* 650-7. In this play he appears to be admitted alone into the palace (866-7), though he is joined by Pylades at the supreme moment (899).

At the same meeting Mr. A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE read some botanical notes on Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and a note upon the agricultural operations of the 1st *Georgic*. He discussed the meanings of *ligustrum*, *vaccinium* and *hibiscus*, and suggested some slight changes of punctuation and interpretation in *Georgic* I, with a view to making clear the sequence of operations which were in the poet's mind when he wrote.

On June 7th, Prof. COOK WILSON read a paper on 'ἐπαγωγή in Aristotle,' of which the following are the main points:

(i) *ἐπάγειν* meant to lead a person to see or admit something, and had for its grammatical object the person persuaded and not a logical conclusion. The logical idiom in the case of *ἐπάγειν* and cognate words arose from the phrases proper to the debate between two persons one of whom is *ἐπάγων* and the other is *ἐπαγόμενος*,—a distinctive parallel to that between *ἐρωτῶν* and *ἐρωτώμενος*. This accounts for the passive (*ἐπαχθῆναι*, etc.) and even the expression *ἐπάγειν τὸ καθόλου* corresponds to *ἐρωτᾶν τὸ καθόλου*, the direct object of the verb in both cases being the person debated with, and the full phrase with the personal object supplied is actually found in Alexander Comm. in Top. 518. 8 *δὲ ὦν ὁ ἐρωτῶν ἐπάγοιτο τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον τῇ καθόλου πρότασιν αὐτὸν τιθέναι*.

(ii) The idea of leading a person up to something, included beside inductive argumentation, other meanings rare in Aristotle, of which there are traces in other writers, and these seem to explain some difficult passages in Aristotle, viz. (1) the alluring of a person to a fallacy, Topics 111b 32. (Passages from Aulus Gellius, quoting from Cicero's time, and from Diogenes Laertius were cited): (2) the introducing of a person to a new experience (or a new subject), a sense of *ἐπάγειν* (and seemingly the only sense) found in Aristoxenus, which occurs also in Plato; and probably explains Arist. Post. An. 71a 21 and Prior. An. 67a 23.

The paper, which was too long to be read in full, contained a discussion of all the passages in Aristotle, which the writer could find, in which *ἐπάγειν* or any cognate word occurs.

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*Hon. Sec.*

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### THE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PROPYLAEA.

M. COLLIGNON in discussing a *Relation* which he publishes in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, IV. Série, 25, 1897, says, on page 69: 'On a vu que la date de la relation se place entre les années 1674 et 1685. Elle serait fixée à coup sûr si nous connaissions avec certitude l'année où

les Propylées sautèrent. Cet événement, dit l'auteur anonyme, eut lieu "faict 35 ans." Spon et Wheler qui écrivent en 1676, le place "vingt ans plus tôt" c'est-à-dire en 1656. \* \* \* \* \* Spon commet-il une erreur de date? Est-ce l'Anonyme [the author of the *Relation*] qui est mal renseigné? Il est difficile de se prononcer.' M. Collignon does not mention the other evidence bearing upon this point and it may

perhaps be of some interest to call attention to it.

Spon's account (*Voyage*, II. pp. 140 f., Lyons edition of 1678) is to the effect that twenty years before the time he was writing, that is in 1656, there was powder in the Propylaea, and that the Aga, Isouf, was planning to knock down with cannon a little church, St. Demetrius, situated at the foot of the Museum hill, there being a Turkish feast at the time. A flash of lightning, however, on the previous night spoiled this plan by exploding the powder in the Propylaea and destroying the building together with the Aga and all of his family, one daughter alone excepted.

In the *Relazione* of de la Rue (published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1878) the date 1645 is given for the explosion, and the story told is essentially the same that Spon gives. There are, however, a few variations of detail. The Greeks, de la Rue says, were celebrating the feast of St. Demetrius, and the Aga proposed to explode some bombs on them in the Church. The first one did little harm, so it was planned to arrange a battery of three pieces and to destroy the church entirely. But the thunder-bolt interfered. The name of the church is given as: Ἅγιος Δεμήτριος Λουμπάρδιαρης = *Santo Demetrio il Bombardiere*. (See A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 52.)

The earlier date for the destruction of the building is supported also by the diary of a Hanoverian officer (published in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1887, pp. 368 ff.). This officer writes during the Venetian siege (1687) and says that the explosion took place *about* forty years before.

We have therefore three sources, the *Relation* published by Collignon, de la Rue's *Relazione* and the Hanoverian officer's diary, which give an earlier date than Spon does for this catastrophe. It is quite likely therefore that the latter has made a slight error.

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#### SOULS IN THE AETHER AND SOPHOCLES, *AJAX* 1192 f.

*Aj.* 1192 ὄφελε πρότερον αἰθέρα δῖναι μέγαν ἢ  
τὸν πολέκοινον Ἄϊδαν  
κεῖνος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς στυγερῶν ἔδειξεν  
ὀπλοῖν  
Ἐλλασι κοινὸν Ἄρη.

This passage is usually explained by a reference to *Trach.* 953:

εἴθ' ἀνεμόεσσά τις  
γένοιτ' ἔπουρος ἐστιῶτις αἶθρα,  
ἦτις μ' ἀποικίσκειν ἐκ τόπων κ.τ.λ.

and to a passage in the *Philoctetes* (1092 f.), in which, however, the text is probably corrupt. The latter passages reproduce a familiar thought in Homer, as, for instance, when Penelope wishes to be snatched up by a storm wind—like the daughters of Pandaros—and dropped by the outlet of the river Okeanos.<sup>1</sup> Here the thought is that the person himself is snatched away as by a whirlwind and left to die.

In the passage from the *Ajax* there is no reference to any storm wind, and the second member of the expression rather suggests that the aether is thought of as an abode of souls, corresponding to Hades. In a series of passages in Euripides the aether is regarded as an abode of souls, or of both gods and souls.<sup>2</sup> The same thought comes out in the inscription over the dead who fell at Potidaea B.C. 429.<sup>3</sup> To us the thought that souls go to heaven to be with the gods, while the body is buried, is familiar enough; and in the Platonic theology it finds an appropriate place. But for earlier Greek belief death and the souls of the dead belong to a world which is the very antithesis of the world of the gods. The theological idea of Euripides (souls akin to the gods) and the corresponding philosophical idea (the soul of the same nature as the gods) are entirely out of line, first, with the theology which we learn from Homer, and, secondly, with the religious practice of Greek shrines.

Some light may be thrown on the passage in Sophocles by considering the two methods of burial prevalent in Greece. Burial in the earth, evidently the older method, gave rise to the Greek belief in an abode of souls beneath the earth, a realm of Hades. But in Homer the bodies of the dead are cremated, and although the soul still 'goes to Hades' it no longer has any local association with one spot in the earth. A people which regularly burned its dead would never think of placing the abode of souls beneath the earth. As the body of the dead man was consumed in the flames, the dead man himself would be thought of as

<sup>1</sup> v 63 f. Cf. Z 345 f., a 241 f., § 371.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Hcl.* 1219; *Frag.* 971; εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσῶν *Hcl.* 1016; αἰθήρ ἔχει νιν ἤδη κ.τ.λ. *Suppl.* 1140

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. A. I.* 442 αἰθήρ μεμ ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σῶ[ματα δὲ χθονί] | τῶνδε . . .



going up in the smoke, and the abode of the dead would be in the heavens—perhaps among the stars as some tribes of North American Indians believe.

It is a suggestion of this thought which I find in this passage in Sophokles. The chorus are not saying literally 'Would that the man who began war had been buried or burned,' but they pray 'Would that he had died, and that his soul had gone to the abode of souls, be that above or below.' The conception of Hades was so firmly rooted in Greek myth and poetry, that the idea of an abode of souls in the heavens finds little or no expression before the passage we are considering. The importance of this passage, then, is that it does suggest a popular belief in an abode of souls such as would naturally arise in connection with cremation. When once the dead were thought to 'plunge into the high heavens,' we only need a little logic of rather a primitive character to say that they go to the abode of the gods. Other considerations combine with this to suggest that there is a likeness of nature between the human spirit and the divine spirit, and we reach the doctrine which finds expression in Epicharmos, Euripides, and Plato. That there were other more important factors at work in this process beside the popular belief suggested by Sophokles, no one could deny. My only contention is that the popular belief in an abode of souls in the heavens helped to pave the way for the final form of Greek belief as to the future life.

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#### ENGELMANN'S *ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES ON THE TRAGEDIANS*.

*Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern*, von RICHARD ENGELMANN, mit 28 Abbildungen. Berlin, 1900. 6 Mark.

THE main part of these studies consists of an investigation of the relation of extant representations of certain Greek myths upon vases or other works of art to the plays of

Sophocles and Euripides that dealt with the same subjects—the 'Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις, Laocoon, Σκύριοι, and Tyro of the former, and the Alcmena, Andromeda, Meleager, and Sthenoboea of the latter. Some of the scenes on the vases are evidently derived from dramatic representations; in other cases they only illustrate the form of the myth current at Athens in the fifth century. The author's interpretations are probable, and the inferences he derives from them reasonable; so that his work will rank as a serious contribution to the recovery of the plot of the lost tragedies.

In another matter, on which he touches incidentally, his suggestions are more open to dispute. He thinks that the columns which form the background of some scenes, and which are sometimes made use of, *e.g.* to bind Andromeda to, are reminiscences of the columns of the proscenium, and that when posts or trees occur in a similar position, they may have been, at the performance of the play, fixed in the sockets provided for the temporary wooden proscenium. It would follow that the place of the actors was before the proscenium, as Professor Dörpfeld maintains, not above it; and those who accept Professor Dörpfeld's theory will doubtless welcome Dr. Engelmann's suggestions on this matter. They do not, however, really supply any cogent arguments. Columns, as a background, are common on vases of all periods, to indicate the presence of a house or temple; and, even if a stage setting is in the mind of the painter, columns occur as part of the scena as well as in the proscenium. It will hardly occur to anyone accustomed to the conventions of vase-painting to suggest that the size of the columns represented, in relation to the figures, implies that the painter intended to indicate dwarf columns, such as those of the proscenium. And, as to the binding of Andromeda to columns, we find Prometheus and Odysseus bound to columns instead of to a rock or to the mast of a ship on black figured vases, where no influence of dramatic representations is possible.

E. A. GARDNER.

# The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1901.

To the twelfth volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* a special interest attaches. Its contents consist of contributions, twenty-five in all, from 'former pupils or present colleagues of William Watson Goodwin, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature Emeritus, in commemoration of the happy completion of fifty years since he received his first degree in Arts from Harvard College, and of forty-one years since he became Eliot Professor.' The volume, which runs to 352 pages and has several illustrations, is fitly introduced by a congratulatory epistle in Greek and the following graceful epigram :

χαῖρε, πάτερ μέγ' ἄριστε καὶ εὐμένεως τάδε δέξαι·  
καρπὸν σοὶ φέρομεν σῶν ἀπὸ φυταλίων.  
ἡμεῖς γὰρ σέ φίλην νεαροὶ χερὶ χεῖρα λαβόντες  
Ἑλλάδος εὐανθῇ γαίαν ἀφικόμεθα.

Among the contributors are a number of the best known classical scholars of America, including two of the associate editors of this Journal, Prof. J. H. Wright and Prof. W. G. Hale. The majority of the papers deal, as is natural, with Greek subjects, but some seven with Latin ones. Their contents appeal to very various interests—critical, grammatical, literary and archaeological. Professor Goodwin's many admirers upon both sides of the Atlantic will be glad that a personal tribute to their friend is a gathering of so much learning and scholarship.

We are glad to welcome the beginning of the *St. Andrew's University Publications*.  
NO. CXXXVII. VOL. XV.

The first number is by Professor Lindsay and on *Nonius Marcellus*, a subject which he has made his own. In it the contents of the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* are dissected, and the method of its composition, a purely mechanical one, revealed. Prof. Lindsay thinks that the order which the compiler followed in quoting from the texts of republican authors should be followed for the future in citing their fragments—a procedure which would at once give us a fixed order in place of the present haphazard arrangements.

Most of our readers will have noticed with curiosity and concern the strife which has been raging in Athens on the question of the translation of the Greek Scriptures into the modern vernacular. With the political and religious factors of the dispute we have here of course nothing to do: but on the linguistic and literary side, it may be observed, the outbreak is significant. Modern Greece is being rudely awakened to the fact that for her too, as for the rest of the world, Ancient Greek is a dead language. We may well sympathise with her in her distraction and in her gallant efforts to keep up the connexion with a glorious past. But none the less does history warn us that the only wholesome influence which the past can exercise upon the present is through thought and not through speech: and the sooner Romaic, which is a language with great potentialities, comes to its rights, the better will it be for literature and scholarship in modern Greece.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.

(Continued from p. 38.)

To secure greater completeness, I have included notes from two old collections of papyri, the Turin Papyri (abbrev. TP), ed. Peyron (1826), and the Leyden Papyri (LP), ed. Leemans (vol. i. 1843, vol. ii. 1885). The Berlin Papyri (BU) are brought in as far as no. 901 (vol. iii. part 7, July 1901); and the non-literary texts from the new Amherst Papyri, part ii (AP) have been used in the proof stage of this article. Further illustrations are secured from vol. iii. of the *Inscriptiones Maris Aegaei* (IMA, as before); and from Letronne *Recueil des inscr. grecques et latines de l'Égypte* (1842) (Letr.) Deissmann is now quoted by the pages of the English edition, *Bible Studies* (Clark, 1901). Other abbreviations are as in the first part of this paper.

## ADDENDA TO THE ACCIDENCE (Pp. of the February C.R.)

P. 31b. Further exx. of elided vowels written as in Latin may be found in IMA iii. 10, 47, 48, 202, 211, 212.

32a. In LP *b* (2/ B.C.) *συνεράγηι* supplies a yet earlier ex. of the irrational *ι* adscript. There is a fine consecutive specimen in BU 883: *ὀκτώι, οὐλίηι δακτύλω πρώτωι*.

*ib.* Late exx. of *ὁ ἐάν* in LP *x* (3/4), AP 83 (*do.*), 146 (4/5). In LP *v* (also 3/4) *ὁ ἄν*, etc. frequent. Note AP 85 (1/) *ἐάν δέ τι ἄλλα ἐάν ἀπαιτηθῶμεν*.

32b. *ἄν* = *ἐάν* in AP 43 (2/ B.C.) *ἄν..μὴ ἀποδοῖ*.

*ib.* On aspiration in *ἔτος*, *ἴδιος*, etc., see now Thumb, *Die gr. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (1901) p. 64 (henceforth cited as 'Thumb'); also Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 87.

33a. *καθ' ἔτος* add TP 13 (2/ B.C.). *ἐφ' ἔτη* IMA iii. 331 (2/ B.C.). Add to this list *μεθοπορίνης* Eud. (2/ B.C.) *τερ*, *ἀφέσταλκα* IMA iii. 91 (2/ B.C.), *ἐνεακαίδεχέτης* *ib.* 1064, *ἐφ' ἴσης* *ib.* 1232, *ἐφιορκούντι* AP 68 (1/) OP 240 (1/), (and *ἐφ' αἰὼν αἰῶνος* LP *w* (2/3), *ἐφ' ἔξονσία* AP 83 (3/4); the last two are presumably mere freaks. So is *ἐφ' ὄνφ ἐνί* BU 882, where *ἐνί* doubtless casts its shadow before.

*ib.* *εἰ μὴν* also AP 68 (1/).

*ib.* Many more exx. of *οὐθείς*, etc. from documents dated B.C. might be given, but it is hardly worth while.

*ib.* To the exx. of *ᾶ* for *αυ* add *ἀτογεννητόν*

LP *w* (2/3), *Ἀγούστων* AP 140 (4/). Cf. also *ἐχαριστί* for *εὐχ*. BU 843 (1/2). See Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 154.

33b. Thumb p. 71 quotes *βάθρακος*, *κιθών* and *κύθρα* as Ionic forms in the *Κοινή*. To my exx. add *κιθῶ[να]* OP 298 (1/), *κιθώνιον* BU 843 (1/2), *κύθρα* AP 125 (1/).

*ib.* Two additional exx. of the spelling *λεγειών* in Letr. 340 (2/) and 379. BU 899 (4/? ) has *λεγιόνως* (gen. sg.).

*ib.* Parallel with *ταμείον* (the coalescing of two *i*-sounds) are *υγεία* AP 133 (2/—also *υγείας*) IMA iii. 324 (2/), 1084 (2/1 B.C.), 1085, 1086, LP *w* (2/3); also *πῆιν* (p. 36a), for which add LP *w* (2/3). Cf. *διασεῖν* for *-σεῖν* in LP *g* (1/ B.C.). *Ταμείον* still in AP 53 (2/ B.C.).

P. 34a. Other exx. of *ληψ*. from 2/ B.C. in TP 1 and 4; but in 3 we already have *λήμφομαι*. In AP 35 (*do.*) *παράλημψεν*, but *ἀντιλήψεως*.

*ib.* *-αρχος* and *ἀρχης*. Add for *-ος νόμαρχος* Letr. 300 (but TP 1 (2/ B.C.) and AP 92 (2/) added for *νομάρχης*), *φρούραρχος* LP *g* (1/ B.C.), *γυμνασιάρχος* AP 130 (1), etc., *εἰρήναρχος* IMA iii. 526. For *-ης*, *Ἀσιάρχης* IMA iii. 525, 526 (2/?), *ἐπαρχης* TP 2 (2/ B.C.), *Θηβάρχης* Letr. 26 (2/ B.C.), *Ἀραβάρχης* Letr. 380, *σφαιράρχης* Letr. 311, *μεταλλάρχη* (*sic*—a gen. wanted) Letr. 415 (1/), *εἰρινάρχης* (*sic*) BU 899 (4/?). In AP 139 (4/) *κώμαρχοι* and *-ας*.

*ib.* *Ἀγρίππα* gen. AP 75 (2/).

*ib.* The gen. *-νίης* comes also in AP 104 (2/), 141 (4/), BU 888 (2/) and IMA iii. 326 (2/). *σπείρης* appears in Letr. 16 and 340 (2/), 415 (1/), and 479; *ἀρούρης* AP 68 (1/), 88 (2/). On the other hand we have an ex. of *-νίας* in IMA iii. 325 (2/). The Egyptian name *Τάμυσθα* makes gen. in *-ας*, BU 883 (2/): cf. *Λυδδας* and *Μάρθας* in NT. In AP 97 (2/) we find *ιερείης*.

34b. Other late exx. of *Θεέ* in LP *v* (3/4) *bis* and *w* (2/3).

*ib.* From *χοῦς* the dative *χοί* occurs in IMA iii. 248 (2/ B.C.). The analogy of *βοῦς* worked early on this word: see Meyer<sup>3</sup> 419.

*ib.* In stating that I had not met with vocatives such as *κύρι*, I ought to have added that Hatzidakis *l.c.* does give an ex. of *κύρι*, together with several proper names. The fact remains that there are scores of papyrus exx. for *κύριε*. I can now quote *Ἀλύπει*,



which Letr. gives (under no. 221): he prints it ἱλεως σοὶ ἀλυπί, but the parallels demand a proper name.<sup>1</sup> I cannot feel satisfied with this 'simple' explanation of H.: the rarity of the voc. in -ι is a real difficulty, and the Latin analogy would only hinder the deduction of a nom. -ις, except in the case of nouns in -άρις. Brugmann harks back to Greek proper names like Ἀλεξίς, Ζεῦξις. Neither scholar gives any help for the neuter -ιν. We have in any case to assume a very wide extension from a small beginning. Among sundry additional exx. of this form note the name Στρουθίν (-ίν for -ίον) Letr. 90, from 1/ B.C.; also κύρις AP 102 (2/).

ib. For acc. pl. in -ες add τέσσαρες LP v (1/ B.C.) and πάντες LP u (2/ B.C.) besides many later exx. See Thumb 230, who agrees with Kretschmer in making this start from the N.W. Greek, presumably through the medium of the 'Achaean-Dorian Κοινή.'

ib. Add for acc. sing. in -αν γυμνασιαρχήσανταν IMA iii. 104 (Roman), μητέραν ib. 897—also BU 843 (1/2) and 874 (Byz.).—ἀνδραν ib. 900, Σωτήραν ib. 905 (very late), γυναικάν ib. 909. Cf. Ἑρμοκλήν OP 300 (1/).

35a. Gen. pl. in -έων were perhaps helped to extend by the analogy of βασιλέων and πόλεων. Thus βλαβέων TP 13 (2/ B.C.), ἀνθέων LP w (2/3) quater. From πήχυς we have in 2/ B.C. πήχων LP m and πηχῶν (as Jo 21<sup>8</sup>) TP 1 bis, LP u: see W. Schmidt *Josephi eloc.* 498. We must put with these other open forms ὁστέων IMA iii. 221 (iambics, Doric), and the exceedingly common χρυσέω, etc., which sometimes alternate with the contracted forms in the same context, as IMA iii. 1073 (1/ B.C.) and LP x (3/4). ('Οστέων appears thrice in N.T. without variant, ὁστέα once, but ὁστοῖν.) We may fairly assume that the appearance of these open forms is due to Ionic influence on the Κοινή: since here Ionic agreed with many other non-Attic dialects, Thumb's third rule (p. 242) would make the prevalence of uncontracted forms natural.

ib. From φρέαρ comes φρητός Letr. 12 (2/): see Brugmann *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 61.

ib. In LP w (2/3) χρυσήν ἢ ἀργυρήν.

ib. Add for ἡμῖνος the dat. ἡμίσιου IMA iii. 168 (1/ B.C.). In ἡμισίας BU 860 (3/) ι is presumably for ει. In AP 59 (2/ B.C.) ἡμισιν does duty for a feminine, or perhaps for the neuter quasi-noun that is always found when  $n + \frac{1}{2}$  αουραι appear.

<sup>1</sup> See the whole inscr. in Reinesius *Synt.* p. 243, or Osann *Syll.* p. 425. They are followed by the *Thesaurus s.v.* The parallels for the constr. of ἱλεως are discussed below.

ib. The indeclinable πλήρης seems to appear as early as 2/ B.C. in LP c μαροσίπειον (sic!) πλήρης. Jannaris adds BU 8 (3/) and 270 (2/). I cannot find πλήρης in 8, and in 270 it is not conclusive, as it stands by itself at the end of the papyrus, added by another hand. It occurs in AP 150 (6/) εἰς τὴν συναρέουσαν ἡμῖν τινὴν πλήρης.

35b. To comparatives add μελάνωτερον LP x (3/4).

ib. δέκα δύο in AP 47 (2/ B.C.), LP o (1/ B.C.) quater. In BU 881 (2/) one hand has δώδεκα and another δεκαδύο bis. On this type see Thumb 81 f.: he denies its Doric origin. In BU 887 (2/) note ἐξ καὶ δεκάτης, AP 43 (2/ B.C.) τρεῖςκαδεκάτη-bis.

ib. An ex. of δνεῖν as late as BU 256 (2/). See Schmidt *Josephi eloc.* § 40.

ib. To Dieterich's citations (p. 190) add BU 899 (4/?) παρ' ἐσοῦ.

ib. *Augment and Reduplication.* ἡβουλόμην IMA iii. 91 (2/ B.C.); ἀπυρόκησας LP p (1/ B.C.); ἀπεκατεστάθη Letr. 525 (2/). Incorrect treatment of verbs derived from compounded nouns: προσεστάτησε IMA iii. 331 (2/ B.C.), ἐνκεκληματογραφηκέναι LP a (B.C.). Dropped augment (redupl.): ὁμολόγησαν AP 66 (2/), ὄφειλαν AP 110 (1/), αἶς, ἀνκοδόμησε Letr. 49 (2/) and διοικονομήθη LP w (2/3), μεθερμήνευσται ib. and μεθερμηνευμένα LP v. (3/4—cf. Le 24<sup>27</sup> διερμήνευσεν), ὀνόμασα ib. διεγέρθη LP u (2/ B.C.—cf. Jo 6<sup>18</sup> διεγείρετο), ἐπαυήσθαι IMA iii. 247. Cf παρωρακέναι LP w (2/3). In OP 237 (2/) ἐμμενηκέναι is probably a slip.

36a. AP 93 (2/) has καταίγατος from κατέυγμα.

ib. To the irreg. aorists add εὔράμενον IMA iii. 119 (Roman), etc., and ἐκομίσουν OP 300 (1/). Irreg. σ in the perf. pass. in πέπρασται BU 887 (2/), ἐμπέπρησται (as Hdt.) BU 890 (2/), and μεθερμήνευσται (supr.). Additional exx. of γενάμειος need not be recorded.

ib. Two more exx. of 3 pl. pf. -αν from 2/ B.C.—κεκυρένκαν TP 1 and εἰληφάν LP b.

ib. Miscellanea. ἐπιτελέσοντα LP b (2/ B.C.) as in NT etc., and sometimes even in Attic. In LP x (3/4) ἀπόχες, ἐπίχες, παράχες, with ἔχων and ἔχεον, imper. Ib. the late verb ζένννται (formed on analogy ἔσβεσα: σβέννυμι = ἔξεσα: ζέννυμι).

36b. Note BU 892 (3/) ἐδύνω.

ib. AP 86 (1/) and 92 (2/) have μεταμωτοῖν.

ib. BU 890 (2/) has fut. ὑπεξόμεθα to match ὑπέχω.

37a. For βασταξ. add AP 77 (2/).

ib. For the perf. ἀγείωχα add LP b (2/ B.C.). The curious form διαγέωχα occurs in

Letr. 84 (1/B.C.). The former is identical with the Boeotian: the latter can hardly be a genuine old ex. of Attic quantity-metathesis—if only because ἀγόχα is apparently not old,—and is perhaps due to the analogy of ἀνέωγα.

*ib.* For ἐναλείφω we have in OP 294 (1/) the curious perf. ἐνήλεπα (intrans.). In BU 890 (2/) ὁμώμεχα, with the correct form by another hand.

*ib.* For πείν add LP *w* (2/3).

*ib.* For τίννω add BU 896 (2/).

*ib.* TP 13 (2/B.C.) shows ἐσήμενεν but ἐπισημήναι. Un-Attic forms with *ā* are found in μιάναντες TP 3 (2/B.C.), προσκαθάρης LP *x* (3/4).

*ib.* For ἔστακα add καθεστακέμαι TP 1 and συνεστακότος LP *b* (both 2/B.C.).

37*b.* Additional -ω forms are καθιστανόμενοι IMA iii. 168 (1/B.C.)—the inser. has Doric traces—δίδεις LP *v* (3/4). For διδοῖ note Brugmann's citation from Herodas (Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 62). In LP *v* (3/4) ἴν' ἀποδοῖς occurs. διδοῖ indic. in AP 132 (2/).

*ib.* ἀποδόμαι may be paralleled by παραστάμαι in LP *u* (2/B.C.), both by analogy of present. For -δῶμαι add BU 884 (2/3) *bis*, AP 77 (2/).

38*a.* For εἰμί add LP *w* (2/3) ἦτῳσαν, *x* (3/4) ἦτω. Additional exx. for ἔστω and cpp. need not be given. The passages I have cited for ἦν=ἦι have some bearing on Deissmann's assertion (p. 201 n. 4) that καὶ δέον ἦν BU 300 and εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἐνῆν BU 48 are cases of εἰάν c. indic.: of course the context must decide in each case, but it is at least not a matter of 'changing ἦν into ἦι,' for the two are proved equivalents in carelessly-written documents. The context in 48 seems to me in favour of ἐνῆ: in 300 the writer has thrown a number of aorists among the futures, which might possibly be held to justify our correcting the futures and keeping ἦν. But Wilcken's corrections seem more satisfactory. A probable addition to my exx. may be seen in AP 65 (2/) ἵνα μὴ . . ἔχωι . . ἀλλ' ἐξῆν μοι. A lacuna after ἔχωι makes the constr. open to doubt.

## II.—SYNTAX.

It should be remarked in advance that these notes aim at completeness even less than those upon the Accidence. In reading the papyri, and those Common Greek inscriptions with which I have had time to supplement them, what has caught my eye has been mainly that which in some way illustrates NT Greek, whether it deviates from classical usage or not.

## A.—Nouns.

NUMBER. The history of the Dual in Common Greek is of course like that of snakes in Iceland. The growth of the use of a plural verb with a neuter plural subject may be illustrated from the papyri. Thus κατήχθησαν τὰ γεγραμμένα BU 592 (2/); ὅπως τὰ παῖδια . . ἀναστραφῶσιν AP 131 (2/); τὰ παῖδια μὴ ἀποδημοῦσι BU 801 (2/); ἐξ ὧν παρέκειντο δικαιωμάτων TP 1 (2/B.C.)—the same phrase is repeated shortly after with παρέκειτο. On the other hand in the second vol. of OP the editors note οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλήν ἃ ἦν 274 (1/), (ζῶα) ζυγομαχοῦντα ἐνδίδωσιν (1/—a scholiast), πρόβατα ἃ νεμῆσεται (1/).

CASES.—NOMINATIVE:—Under this heading one or two rather miscellaneous matters may be set down. The omission of the subject in a standing formula perhaps justifies inserting here a phrase which illustrates Mt 16<sup>22</sup> (Gen 43<sup>23</sup>, 2 Sam 20<sup>20</sup>—cf. 1 Chr 11<sup>19</sup>). Letr. 221 (4/) Ἰλεως ἡμῶν Πλάτων καὶ ἐνταῦθα shows the subject, which obviously could not have been omitted; but L. (ii. p. 286) quotes another inser. Ἰλεως σοὶ 'Αλύπι<sup>1</sup> ('Sarapis) help thee, Alypius,' and in 557 (on the façade of a temple) Ἰλεως σοί, Ἑρμείας υἱὸς Ἑρμογένους, καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἀδελφός. The step from this to the deprecatory use in the Biblical passages is like that in our vernacular 'Lord 'a' mercy!'

In BU 843 (1/2) γινώσκειν (!) σε θέλω ὅτι χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς ἰκάμην εἰς 'Αλεξανδρείαν ἐξ ἡμέρας (= -αις) 'thanks to the gods I arrived.' In Rom 6<sup>17</sup> χάρις τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε, but the parenthetic phrase of the papyrus resembles the parataxis in 1 Co 14<sup>18</sup>. But I must not anticipate the Verb section.

ACCUSATIVE:—Cognate, not very common. BU 146 (2/3) οὐχ ὀλίγην ζημίαν μοι ἐξημωσάμην. Letr. 70, 79, 92 (1/B.C.) προσκυνεῖν τὴν θεὰν . . τὸ προσκύνημά τινος. Double acc., of different kinds, IMA iii. 1238 (Xtian) ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν ὧδε ἐφεστῶτα ἄγγελον μὴ τίς ποτε τολμῇ . . BU 242 (2/) με εἰτέισατο ὕβριν τὴν ἀνωτάτην. Note that προσκυνεῖν takes acc. constantly in Ptolemaic inser.—cf. also LP *v* (3/4) ὃν πᾶς θεὸς προσκυνεῖ καὶ πᾶς δαίμων φρίσσει—never dative, as often in NT. *Extension of Time.* TP 1 (2/B.C.) οὐθενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐμποιησάμενον τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη. AP 50 (dō.) τόκους διδράχμους τῆς μᾶς τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον. BU 180 (2/) (ὑπηρετεῖν) τοσοῦτον τῆς στρατείας χρόνον. BM 286 (1/) βουλόμεθα μισθώσασθαι παρ' ὑμῶν μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς ὄγδοον

<sup>1</sup> Sic leg.—See above, in the Addenda to p. 34*b*.

ἔτος: *contr.* BM 438 (2/) β.μ. πρὸς μόνον τὸ κ.τ.λ., also 314 (2/), 350 (3/); β.μ. εἰς ἔτη τρία BM 168 (2/), 335 (2/). Τὸ παρόν 'at present' occurs in BU 22 (2/). The acc. of direct object is found with κωμαρχῶ AP 33 (2/ B.C.), ἐνδύομαι OP 285 (1/), ὄμνυμι BU 543 (1/ B.C.), 244 (3/), etc., προσκυνῶ and φρίσσω (above), and νηστεύω OP 1 (2/3—the 'Logia'). In this last (ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσῃται (= -ε) τὸν κόσμον) the high authority of Drs. Lock and Sanday (*Two Lectures*, pp. 19, 25) supports the emendation τοῦ κόσμου, the phrase in this form occurring in Clem. Alex. That the ablative gen. is natural here cannot be denied; but the grammatical nearness to Mt 5<sup>6</sup>, οἱ πεινώτερες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, is so strong that I hesitate to accept the change.

GENITIVE:—(a) *Genitive Proper.*

*With Verbs*:—BU 113 (2/) ἐπιτυχόντες.. τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ ἐπιγαμίας: note the curious change of case. ἀντιλαμβάνομαι takes gen. in BU 168 (2/) *bis*, LP e (2/ B.C.); ἐπιμέλομαι *saepius*; ἀμελῶ AP 135 (2/); στοχάζομαι AP 68 (1/); ἐξετάζω AP 79 (2/); χρήζω in BU 37 (1/). ἐνθυνοῦμαι, which takes acc. in Mt 1<sup>20</sup>94, has gen. BM 42 (2/ B.C.) σέ δὲ μὴδ' ἐντεθυμῆσθαι (*sic leg.*, τοῦ παραγενέσθαι. φροντίζω has gen. Letr. 12 (2/), but in 25 (2/ B.C., the Rosetta) φρ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηκόντων. Parallel is the phrase μνειάν ποιέσθαι, BM 42 (2/ B.C.): so Rom 1<sup>9</sup>. It seems probable (so G. and H.) that πειθαρχῶ takes gen. (like words of *hearing*, unless it is abl. on analogy of ἡττάσθαι τινος, Brugm. Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 396) in OP 265 (1/) ὅσα δεῖ πειθαρχεῖν γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἀνδρός. In Ac 5<sup>20,32</sup> 27<sup>21</sup> π. takes dat., as in classical Greek. κινδυνεύω has gen. (τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν) Letr. 26 (2/ B.C.). Like the gen. of possession with εἰμί (Ac 27<sup>23</sup> οὐ εἰμί) is Letr. 25 (2/ B.C.) τῶν θεῶν ὧν ἱερατεύουσι, unless this is merely attraction. So OP 246 (1/) κοσμητέουσιν τῆς πόλεως. *Price*, as BU 248 (2/) πόσον πιπράσκειται, etc. *Place*, νότον, λιβός, etc., *passim*; but BU 393 (2/) τῇ ἀπὸ νότον λαύρα. *Time*, also very common: ἔτους 'within such-and-such a year,' *passim*. BU 37 (1/) οἶδας πῶς αὐτοῦ ἐκάστης ὥρας χρήζωι. BU 246 (2/3) νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνω τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. *Thing on account of which* (essentially like that after words of *accusing*) IMA iii. 910 Θ. τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα... στοργῆς καὶ καλοκάγαθίας ἧς ἔσχευ ἐμὲ ἀφηρόισεν: cf. ἐπαίνειν τινά τινος, WM 254.

*With Nouns*:—This hardly needs illustration. There is a marked *objective* gen. in

LP b (2/ B.C.) ὃς διδοίη σοι... νίκην κράτος τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης.

(b) *Ablative Genitive.* OP 237 (2/) ἀφέλῃσθαι τὰς θυγατέρας ὧν ἔδωκαν. Also τούτων ἀφέλε LP s (2/ B.C.). In LP b (2/ B.C.) εἰς τὸ μὴθὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡμᾶς ὑστερεῖν, and again εἰς τὸ μὴθὲν ἡμᾶς τῶν δεόντων ἐγλιπεῖν. Here μὴθὲν is best taken as an internal accusative (like ὅσα with πειθαρχεῖν in OP 265 above), and the gen. depends on the verb. An interesting ex. of the abl. of *comparison* is σοῦ πρῶτός εἰμι LP w (2/3), like Jo 1<sup>15</sup> (cf. what is said on πρότερος below.)

(c) *Genitive Absolute* (classed apart with Brugmann Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 523.) The wide extension of this construction is a feature of the Koinῇ. It is often used (as in NT) where another case of the participle would fit into the construction of the sentence: e.g. OP 237 (2/) μὴ ἐνέγκαντος τὴν ὕβριν τῇ... ἔξουσίᾳ κεχρησῆσθαι, where ἐνέγκαντα would be correct. BU 884 (2/3) Σαββῖον ἐγὼ κατέσχον ὡς ἐμοῦ καταβαίνοντος. AP 30 (2/ B.C.) ὁμοίως καὶ Κονδύλου (*sc.* προσκληθέντος) προσεμαρτύρει (for Κόνδυλος). Long narratives are sometimes carried on with a succession of genitives absolute. The gen. abs. without subject expressed is very common: e.g. AP 65 (2/) εἰπόντων μὴ ἔχειν.

DATIVE:—(a) *Dative Proper.* With ἐν-τυγχάνω BU 168 (2/) etc.—προσκαρτερῶ OP 82 (3/) etc.—κομίζω BU 248 (2/)—ἐπιτρέπω OP 237 (2/) (followed by an apparently superfluous ἐπὶ before the object πρόνοιαν)—προσφέρομαι BU 747 (2/)—ἐγκαλεῖν τινὲ φόνου AP 66 (2/); ἐνκ. τινὲ οὐδὲν AP 103 (1/), etc.—ἐνχειρεῖν AP 136 (3/). With adjectives OP 82 (3/) ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ (recurrent formula). OP 234 (2/3) ἡλίκον ὀρόβῳ 'of the size of a pea.' For the *person for whom* Letr. 19 (2/) εὐξάμενος ῥώσιν τέκνοις; LP b (2/ B.C.) δυνησόμεθα τὴν λειτουργίαν τῷ Σαράπει ἐπιτελεῖν; Letr. 25 (2/ B.C.—Rosetta) αἱ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγοὶ πᾶσιν εἰσιν. The use of σοί in BU 865 (2/) ἀκολουθώ[ς τῇ ἰδ]ίᾳ σοι ἐπιστολῇ makes one think of the proethnic μοι, σοι and Foi as genitives (Brugmann Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 248, 393): cf. κλῆθί μοι, OP 223 (Homer), κλῆτέ μοι OP 214 (Epic). But we should need a number of exx. to be justified in accepting a genuine survival in the Koinῇ: the present ex. may well be a mere *lapsus calami*. (That the analogy of these old forms did to some extent stretch the functions of the dative seems probable: see the exx. in Kühner-Gerth § 424 anm. 1 c.)



(b) *Locative Dative*. The old pure locative of *place* still survives in Letr. 220 (4/) τῶν ἀγιοτάτων Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων. To the Greek of that time it was no doubt as much an 'adverb' as παιδιόθεν. In λογιστηρίῳ κατακλισθεὶς AP 80 (3/) the dative needs ἐν. The dat. with ἐμμένω really belongs here, as Ac 14<sup>22</sup> Gal 3<sup>10</sup>, and OP 237 (2/) ἐμμ. τοῖς ἐνγεγραμμένοις: the use ἐν τινι (Ac 28<sup>30</sup> lit. and Heb 8<sup>9</sup> metaph.) shows its locative character. In BU 98 (3/) οὐκ ἔμεινεν τῇ γενομένη μεσιτίᾳ we must choose between treating μένω like ἐμμένω and recognising a pure dative, 'stand fast to': cf. WM 263 and note<sup>1</sup>. The locative of *time* (that is *date*, or point of time) appears in BU 1 (3/) γενεσίους, γάμοις, BU 149 (2/3) γενεθλίοις. (Cf. Mc 6<sup>21</sup> τοῖς, γενεσίους: note how in the parallel Mt 14<sup>6</sup> the slight variation γενεσίους γενομένοις, *natalibus factis*, takes us into the realm of the Instrumental.) OP 262 (1/) ἐτελεύτησεν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει. BU 388 (2/3) ταβέλλαι δύο ἐλευθερώσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος διαφόροις χρόνοις.

(c) *Instrumental Dative*. The line separating this from the locative is often very hard to draw. Only the context can tell between *point* of time and *extension* of time in some phrases. Thus the standing formula BU 892 (3/), OP 122, 123 (3/4) ἐρρῶσθαι σε εἶχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις is given as 'I pray for your *lasting* health': in another context πολλοῖς χρόνοις might be '*at* many times.' In Lc 8<sup>29</sup> RV text has 'oftentimes' (loc.) for this phrase, the margin 'of a long time' (instr.). This latter meaning for the formula is encouraged also by Letr. 220 (4/) ἱστορήσας τὰς σύριγγας πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις μετὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα 'a long time after.' It is instrumental undeniably in the sing., Lc 8<sup>27</sup> χρόνῳ ἱκανῶ. So AP 77 (2/) ὑπὸ Π. τετραετείᾳ ἤδη... χρόνῳ... ἐπιτηροῦντος. Cf. τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ. See Delbrück *Grundriss* § 109. Brugmann remarks on the nearness of instr. and acc. in some of these uses. In BU 843 (1/2) ἰκάμην εἰς Ἀλεξανδρεάν ἐξ ἡμέρας (=acc.) it is probably best to recognise the instr.—for which the acc. might have been substituted had the sentence begun with an imperfect, 'I was sailing to A. throughout six days.' On the other hand the comparison of ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις '*within* three days' makes the loc. quite possible. The instr. of *reference* is another doubtful category. BU 388 (2/) ἀριθμῶ πέντε οὔσας. BU 887 (2/) γένει Φρυγίαν: cf. γένει Ac 4<sup>36</sup> etc., and note the parallel acc. ὄνομα, γένος, ἀριθμόν. In later Greek the

dative greatly predominates here: see WM 288 f. Add TP 1 (2/ B.C.) προβεβηκότας ἤδη τοῖς ἔτεσιν.

The idea of *accompaniment*, variously applied, lies beneath the following exx. BU 69 (2/) ἄς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ ἐνγιστα δοθησομένῳ ὀψωνίῳ '*with* your next wages': we may probably compare Rev 8<sup>4</sup> ταῖς προσευχαῖς '*with* the prayers' (RV text, Milligan and Holtzmann)—RV marg. would make it dative proper (WM 270 and note; Bousset 'zu Gunsten der Gebete').

The two last quoted papyrus passages, for the first of which we have a parallel phrase with ἐν (Lc 17<sup>286</sup>), while for the other we have practically supplied σύν, illustrate the extent to which the three elements of the syncretic dative run into one another when the preposition is not there to define the relation intended. May we not suggest that the extended use of ἐν, hitherto claimed as a Hebraism, was essentially the result of this defining process, in the very few passages of original Greek where an 'instrumental ἐν' is suspected? Cf. Deissmann 118 ff. Speakers of Greek were certainly beginning to feel that they could not trust the dative out alone, and we can understand the occasional employment of nursemaid ἐν in places where she would have been better left at home, or replaced by σύν.

The other side of 'with,' the *instrumental* idea, underlies the following various exx. BM 44 (2/ B.C.) τῷ ζῆν πλειονάκις κекινδυνεύκως. BU 45 (3/) τῇ βίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ. BU 300 (2/) ἀποκαταστήσι μοι τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πίστι. OP 112 (3/4) δῆλωσον ἢ πλοῖον ἐξέρχει ἢ ὄνυ: cf. Jo 21<sup>8</sup>. BU 249 (2/) πόλιν μέτρῳ ἔπεμψας. AP 43 (2/ B.C.) ἀποδότω... μέτρῳ δικαίῳ. So 46 *al.* LP 6 (2/ B.C.) ἄλλως δὲ τῷ μηθέν' ἔχειν πλὴν τοῦ Πτ. OP 271 (1/) ἐξευλυτῆσθαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Π. ταῖς τοῦ ἀργ. διακοσίαις (sc. δραχμαῖς) καὶ τοῖς τόκοις. The instrumental is of course still used with χρώμαι.

#### B.—Adjectives and Pronouns.

COMPARISON.—The use of the Comparative as a mere parenthesis not affecting the construction, found in Mt 26<sup>53</sup> etc., may be illustrated from OP 274 (1/) κεκλήρωται πλείω πήχεις ἐννέα τέταρτον ὄγδοον. See Schwab *Die gr. Comparison* ii. 84 ff. The comparative translated by 'too' is seen in the common formula διὰ τὸ βραδύτερα αὐτὸν γράφειν (as in BU 69, 2/), and in BU 140 (2/) τὸ αὐστηρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων σταθεῖν. The use of ἀκριβέστερον, 'more accurately than before,' will serve as a type of

the comparative without expressed objects BU 388 (2/) ἤξει Ἀ. καὶ ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ τούτου ἀκρειβέστερον. So Ac 18<sup>26</sup> 23<sup>15,20</sup> 24<sup>22</sup>.

The decline of the Superlative is seen in the papyri just as in the Common Greek literature, for which see Blass NT Gr. 33, 141 f. (I quote this with some reservations.) The immense majority of superlative forms are *elative*: in this use the formation survives without diminution in Byzantine days. Putting these aside, I may cite a selection of *exx.* from which we may judge how far the superlative has gone towards complete fusion with the comparative. From 2/ B.C.: Letr. 25 (Rosetta) ὁ κυριώτατος θεὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ. FP 12 οὐ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου, 'of the less reputable class' (G. and H.). AP 40 τὰς κρατίστας (ἀρούρας) . . . τῆς χειρίστης. IMA i. 155 τῶι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μεγίστῳ. *ib.* iii. 322 τόπον τὸν ἐπιταδεύτατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον. From 2/ BU 136 πρεσβύτερον υἱόν. *ib.* 326 ὃν ἔχω ἔγγιστα τῆς διώρυγος. *ib.* 747 τῶν γὰρ πραγμάτων τὸ μέγιστόν ἐστιν καὶ γνησιώτερον.<sup>1</sup> BU 889 (2/) ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου καταπεπτωκός. From 2/3 or 3/ BU 168 ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε. FP 90 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ἔσο(μένην) πλίστην τεί(μην) 'the highest price current.' As late as 8/ a real superlative appears BM 77 ἀπὸ μικροῦ εἶδους ἕως ἐλαχίστου. In LP α (3/4) Dioscorides (1/) is quoted ἀρίστη ἡ Αἰγυπτία. Finally in LP υ (2/3) ἐνδοξο (= -ε) ἐνδοξοτάτων, δαίμων δαιμόνων, ἄλκιμε ἄλκιμωτάτων, ἄγχι ἁγίων positive and superlative are mixed up. One or two comparatives must be added. BU 332 (2/3) ὁ μοι πάντων ἐστὶν ἀναγκαϊότερον can hardly prove anything either way, but Blass (NT Gr. 141 n. 3) seems to regard ὑψηλότερος πάντων as material. In Eud., however, (2/ B.C.) there are two notable passages. καθ' ὃν ὁ ἥλιος φερόμενος τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν βραχυτέραν ποιεῖ τὴν δὲ νύκτα μακροτέραν: if, as Blass thinks, the astronomer himself, two centuries earlier, wrote the superlative, which the sense requires, the corruption in the papyrus is the more striking. So again ἐν τῇ μείζονι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐγλείψει. But in another place ἐν μείζονι is contrasted with ἐν τῇ μεγίστη, which the scribe could hardly alter. The number of these *exx.* is not great, and no satisfactory discussion could be attempted

without bringing in the literature written in the Koinḗ. It seems fair to conclude that (1) the superlative, apart from its elative use, was dying, though not dead, in the popular speech; (2) the comparative had only sporadically begun to be used in its place.<sup>2</sup> In discussing *exx.* alleged in the NT or other Common Greek books, we must therefore allow the survival of the literary use to have quite as much weight as a vulgar use which can hardly have spread very far as yet, to judge from the paucity of evidence in the papyri.

'DUALITY.'—Closely allied to this subject is what Blass calls the weakening of the idea of *duality* in later Greek (*Acta Apost.* pp. 15 f.). Some *correct* uses of dual words may be first noted, though of course not by any means all of them do much to establish a survival of the old rules: the use of ἐκάτερος for 'each of three' did not prevent its being used for 'each of two.' BU 184 (1/) ἐκάτερας, τῆς μὲν . . . τῆς δέ. TP 1 (2/ B.C.) ὃν ἐκάτερος ἤρειτο. CPR 22 (2/) ἐκάτερα οἱ δύο; but also τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ. CPR 5 (2/) αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν each of 'die beide Verkäufer' (Wessely). BU 168 (2/3) τὰ ὑφ' ἐκατέρου μέρους [λεχθέν]τα. AP 151 (7/) ἐκατέρας Θηβαίδος. GH 27 (end of 2/ B.C.) ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν (two): note here τοῖς δυσὶν apparently for ἀμφότεροις. (In GH 29 the same two individuals, together with two other brothers, are referred to under the same formula with ὁποτέρου.) AP 50 (2/ B.C.) ὁποτέρου. BU 98 (3/) οὐδὲ ὁπότερον αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν (= οὐδότερον)—*si vera lectio*.—TP 11 (2/ B.C.) ἐξ ἄλλης γαμετῆς . . . ποιήσαντες ἕτερα τέκνα 'a second family.' *ib.* δύο μιᾶς μὲν . . . ἐτέρας δέ . . . AP 88 (2/) ἐν δυσὶ κοίταις . . . ὃν μιᾶς μὲν . . . ἐτέρας δέ . . . BU 194 (2/) δύο, μειᾶς μὲν . . . τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν. BU 5 (2/) ἕτερον εἶναι ὁμώνυμον 'another Arius of the same name.' AP 65 (2/) δίκαιον τὸν ἕτερον (one of two brothers) ἀπολυθῆναι ἔαν ἄλλος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθῇ. CPR 223 (2/) μέχρι ἐτέρας ἀπογραφῆς 'until the next census (lit. another).—BU 168 (2/3) ἐδέξην με τῇ προτέρᾳ σου ἐπιδημίᾳ ἐντυχεῖν σοι 'at your former visit' (prior to that at which the petition is presented). As to πρότερος see (against Blass) Ramsay *Paul the Traveller* 27 f.: the argument there has a rather slender basis. The word was not at all common in the vernacular (though the adverb is freely used in some Ptolemaic papyri—e.g. TP 1 (2/ B.C.) δέον εἶναι πρότερον . . . , R<sup>L</sup> 32 and 43 (3/ B.C.) πρότερον ἢ

<sup>1</sup> Since this *ex.* is important and also decidedly obscure, I complete the sentence: πολλῆς τε προεδρίας δεομένων ('1. προσεδρείας δεόμενον' ed.) [αἱ ἀ]παιτή[σε]ις τῶν ὀφιλομένων τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ. 'For the most important and serious of these affairs, and needing much attention, is the calling in of sums due to the imperial treasury.' The first six letters of γνησιώτ. are marked as doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> See Schwab, *Comparison*, ii. 172-177, for some classical anticipations of these confusions.

c. inf.). AP 66 (2/) *πρότερον* in the context may be 'at the former hearing,' but the correctness of *πρότερον* may be quite accidental (= 'once before'). AP 67 (3/) has τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς προτέροις μινύναι. AP 133 (2/) ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ 'at the former rent.' In the indexes to G, GH, OP and FP it only occurs once—FP 34 (2/) κατὰ τὴν τῶν προτέρων ἐτῶν συνήθειαν 'former years': *πρότερον* occurs seven times in FP, but not in the other volumes. G. and H. quote BM 300 ἀπογρ. τοῖς προτέροις καθαρὰς, 'returned on previous occasions as unencumbered.'

*Incorrect* uses follow. CPR 223 (early 2/) *ἐκάτερα* of three (the first hand in this document uses *ἐκάστη*). OP 256 (1/) and BM 333 (2/) the same. GH 23a (end of 2/ B.C.) *ἐκάτερος* of four. OP 276 (1/) *ἐκάτερος* *ἕνας* of three—note the curious pluralising. In Eud. (2/ B.C.) Blass notes 'confusionem vocabulorum *ἕκαστος* et *ἐκάτερος*,' putting it beside that of compar. and superl. (see above): the sun spends so long ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ζωιδίων.—For ἄλλος and ἕτερος note GH 23a τῆς μὲν μῖας . . . τῆς δ' ἄλλης . . BU 456 (4/) δύο, τὸν μὲν ἕνα . . καὶ τὸν ἄλλον . . TP 8 (2/ B.C.) υἱὼν δύο, ἐνὸς μὲν . . ἄλλον . . TP 1 (2/ B.C.) μεθ' ἐτέρων στρατιωτῶν. LPb (2/ B.C.) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν προσδεώμεθα ἐτέρων. BU 86 (2/) ἐτέροις παρασυγχωρούντων (a formula allowing liberty to alienate). (Whosoever is disposed is welcome to justify *ἕτερος* by subtlety in these last three exx.)—On BM 336 (2/) Kenyon observes (ii. p. 221), 'ἀμφότεροι = πάντες in late Byzantine Greek—see Bury *C.R.* xi. 393—and it is possible that colloquially the use existed earlier.' The text here has the names of five men, followed by ἀμφότεροι ἱερεῖς. Of course only the last two may have been priests, but Kenyon suspects, for what seem good reasons, that they all were. If this were proved, it would be a tempting solution for Ac 19<sup>16</sup>; but Bury's paper above referred to makes this use of ἀμφότεροι dubious even for much later Greek.

'*Idios*. Deissmann (p. 123 f) seems rather too sweeping in his decision in favour of an 'exhausted *idios*' as presumable, even where the context does not absolutely require it, in post-classical Greek. There are at any rate plenty of passages in the papyri where *idios* seems to have its old force. So late as 5/ and 6/ we have CPR 30 *ιδίαν καὶ νομίμην γυναῖκα*, G 59 *εἰς ἰδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν*. Note also the technical *ιδίος λόγος* (Letr. 264, AP 69 (1/) see G. and H. note) = the Emperor's 'Privy

Purse.' Deissmann's exx. are from the LXX and other literary sources, with a reference to Meisterhans ('235); nor does Dieterich give any from the papyri, except a single (6/) example which proves nothing. I have not been able to find a single clear case of the 'exhausted *idios*' in the papyri. Perhaps the best way of proving that the word was still very widely used in its old sense will be to present its occurrences in a large selection of papyri, such as the first two volumes of the BU give us.

(1) In formulae. τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασι or ἀναλώμασι (or τοῖς ἰδίοις alone) BU 282 (2/), 316 (4/), 542 (2/), (CPR 5—2/—etc.). ἡ ἰδία (γῆ—generally in opposition to ἀλλοτρία or ξένη) BU 15 (2/), 159 (3/), 164 (2/3), 255 (6/), 419 (3/—εἰς τ. ἰδίων κώμην).—In correspondence BU 37 (1/) M. Στοτόητι τῷ ἰδίῳ πλείστα χαίρειν (cf. FP 110 etc.).—μέρος ἰδίων or μ. πατρικὸν ἰ. BU 185 (2/), 241 (2/ τοῦ ἰ. μ.), 493 (2/), 498 (2/), 499 (2/, πατρικὸν ἰδίων alone), 504 (2/), 509 (2/).—ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρὶ BU 304 (Arab.), 371 (ib.): cf. 538 (2/) τοῦ δὲ ἄλλον ἰδία γράμματα (as opposed to signatures made for illiterates).—οἱ ἰδιοὶ (relations etc.—cf. John 1<sup>11</sup>) BU 341 (2/) διασωθήσονται πρὸς τοὺς ἰ., and probably 665 (1/—there is a gap).—τὰ ἰδία BU 86 (2/), 183 (1/—same formula), 168 (2/3, bis), 180 (2/3), 372 (2/—τὸ ἰδίων BU 94 (3/), 101 (2/), 282 (2/), 538 (2/—there may be a noun to follow), 542 (2/), 586, 614 (3/), 616 (2/3), 661 (2/), 666 (2/).—ἰδῖος λόγος BU 16 (2/), 250 (2/), 599 (2/).—εἰς ἰδίαν μου (ἡμῶν) χρεῖαν BU 363 (Byz.), 365 (7/): so AP 148 (5/) ἐς ἰ. μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν. This is the use quoted by Dieterich 196 (τὴν ἰ. μου χρ.): it is late, and after all it means 'for my own use.'—ἐξ ἰδίων μου πόρον BU 403 (Byz.), 366 (Arab.).

(2) Miscellaneous. BU 248 (2/) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀμέλων ἰδίων γνησίως γενέσθω ἀναλογούντως Ἀπολλωνίου (note position of ἰδίων). ib. ὥσπερ ἰδίων τέκνων (a gap in the context). 361 (2/) ἐπειθεῖναι ἰδίαν σφραγίδα. BU 34 (an account) Ἰσιάδι ἰδία: so 493 (2/) τῆς Ἀμμωνίου ἰδίων and 499 (2/) αἰθρίου καὶ αὐλῆς ἰδίων. BU 371 (Arab.) ἐχοίσης τὴν ἰδίαν πίστειν: 388 (2/3) ἐάν τι πράττη, τῇ ἰδίᾳ πίστει πράττει. BU 424 (2/3) ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὰ τῶν γονέων καλυγνίτερα ἐστίν, ἐμὴ μὲν ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐμοῦ ἄξια καὶ καλά. BU 604 (2/) . . . μὲν ἰδίοις ὄνοις καὶ πρ[ . . BU 669 (Byz.) ἰδία αἰθεντία ὄργανον ἐστήσεν. It may be added that we have the adverb *ιδίως* once, BU 614 (3/) παριὼν μοι *ιδίως*.

The cogency of these examples lies in the fact that if the index is to be trusted these



are *all* the occurrences of ἴδιος (apart from scraps and conjectural supplements) in two volumes containing nearly 700 papyri. Is there one example here in which the natural rendering is not 'own'? Even the Byzantine use ἴδιος μου etc. does not show a marked weakening. I do not mean to suggest that this negative evidence disposes of the positive mentioned by Deissmann *l.c.*<sup>1</sup>; but it prevents our asserting that the exhausted ἴδιος was normal. The only examples of the latter which I can add come from IMA iii, inscriptions from Thera, Pholegandros and Melos. In a large number of sepulchral inscriptions we find the formula ὁ δέσιν τὸν (ἴδιον or ἑαυτοῦ or neither) πατέρα (etc.) ἀφηρώξεν (-ισεν etc.). For ἴδιος in this formula I count 21 examples, for ἑαυτοῦ etc. 10, and for τὸν πατέρα (etc.) alone 16. Typical exx. are 894 Αἴρ. Τυχάσιος τὸν πατέρα καὶ Ἑλπίζονσα τὸν ἴδιον σύμβιον Τυχάσιον ἀφηρώξεν—926 τὸν ἴδιον θρεπτόν, but 927 τὰν ἑαυτοῦ θρεπτάν—1062 τὰν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα . . . τὰν ἀδελφάν—1084 Ἐ. τὰν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ Ὁ. (son of E.) τὰν ματέρα Θ. The earliest dated inscr. (1084) of this type is given by von Gärtringen as 2/1 B.C.: we have ἴδιος in 1059, which is 1/ B.C. These exx. are of a kind to illustrate Mt 25<sup>14</sup> Ac 24<sup>24</sup> and the οἱ ἴδιοι ἄνδρες which is so common in the NT—not that all these are undeniably 'exhausted ἴδιος'! This perhaps unnecessary emphasis on a man's property in his near relations is after all very natural, and it was only when ὁ ἴδιος had been used as a mere formula for some time that its force began to suffer. To judge from the papyri, the first stage in the weakening was the extensive use of ἑαυτοῦ (e.g. the standing formula μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρός) where classical Greek would have been content with the article alone. In ordinary conversation (which the papyri fairly represent) the usage apparently stopped there, but the more laboured style of inscriptions and of literary composition may well have occasionally favoured more emphatic phraseology in places where emphasis was not really required.

In Eudoxus there is a passage where τῇ ἰδαί is followed by τῇ αὐτῇ in the same sense, 'ut cogitare possis de neograeco usu ὁ ἴδιος = ὁ αὐτός' (Blass).

Ἑαυτοῦ.—Exx. are found of ἑαυτοῦ used for first and second persons. (1) *Sing.* (1st)

<sup>1</sup> See also Meisterhans<sup>235</sup>; Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 195 f.; Schmidt, *De Fl. Jos. elocut.* 369; WM 191 f.; Jannaris, *H.G.* §§ 1416 f. Krumbacher in *Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1898, ii. 229, promises a full discussion by his pupil G. Schnupp.

BU 86 (2/) συνχωρῶ μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευταίην τοῖς γεγονόσιν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς συνούσης αὐτοῦ γυναικός. (2nd) OP 295 (1/) μὴ σκλύλλε (!) ἐατήν. (2) *Plur.* (1st) TP 6, (7), (2/ B.C.) ἵνα γεινώμεθα πρὸς τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτούς. AP 65 (1/) ἵνα δινηθῶμεν καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν γεωργία προσκαρτερεῖν. (2nd) G 30 (2/ B.C.) ἐπιμελόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἵν' ὑγιαίνητε. GH 36 (1/ B.C.) τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαρίζοισθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι ἵν' ὑγιαίνητε. OP 115 (2/) παρηγορεῖτε οὖν ἑαυτούς. See Kühner-Gerth p. 572, Hatzidakis 189. In the plural Moulton-Geden's Concordance gives nearly 70 exx. from the NT; but there is not one genuine ex. of the singular, for in 1 Co 10<sup>29</sup> ἑαυτοῦ = 'one's own,' and in Jo 18<sup>34</sup> it is a manifestly inferior reading. The papyrus specimens above are sufficient to show how much earlier and better is the warrant for the plural. For ἑαυτῶν = ἀλλήλων may be quoted GH 25 and TP 8 *ter* (both 2/ B.C.), OP 260 (1/), CPR 11 *bis* (2/). There are a dozen exx. in NT—The simple ἑμᾶς is substituted for ἑμᾶς αὐτούς (or perhaps rather σκαντήν) in OP 293 (1/) ἐπισκοποῦ δὲ ἑμᾶς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ: so AP 131 (2/) ὡς ἐχόντων (*sc.* ἡμῶν) ἐκ τούτου εἰς ἡμᾶς δαπανῆσαι.

Αὐτός *redundant*.—OP 299 (1/) Λάμπωνι μυοθηρεντῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ . . (δραχμᾶς) η': this will illustrate NT exx. in WM 184.

RELATIVES.—*Attraction* is a very manifest vernacular idiom in the κοινή as in Attic: witness such uneducated documents as G 38 (2/1 B.C.) ἔτυπεν ἡμὶ εἶχεν ῥάβδωι BU 38 (2/3) δῶναι οἷς ἐγραφές μοι. Exceptions may be seen in BU 77 (2/) τῶν κεφαλαίων ἃ ὤφιλεν, *ib.* 156 ἀρουρ[ῶν] ἃς ἐμίσθωσεν. A very common attraction is that of the recurring formula BU 177 (1/) ἀρουρῶν δέκα δύο ἣ ὅσων ἐὰν ὦσιν οὐσῶν.

Two exx. may be given from 3/ B.C. for ὅς interrogative in indirect question. PP 30 ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ἐν οἷς εἶ. RL 29 φράζοντες [τό τε] αὐτῶν ὄνομα καὶ ἐν ἡμὶ κόμηι οἰκοῦσιν καὶ π[όσου τιμῶν]ται. If the supplement is right, the collocation of ἡμὶ and πόσου makes the last ex. very clear. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 542, *Oed. T.* 1068. The converse, τίς for ὅστις,<sup>2</sup> appears in BU 822 (3/) εἶρον γεοργόν, τίς αὐτὰ ἐλκύσῃ, ἀλλὰ τὰ σπέρματα τίς διδοῖ (*subj.*); so BM 239 (4/) τίνος ἐὰν χρίαν ἔχῃς. AP 41 (2/ B.C.) ἣ τίς ἂν τι τοιοῦτο γίνηται—*si vera lect.* None of Blass's NT exx. (p. 175 f.) can be regarded as even probable. The rarity of both these irregularities shows

<sup>2</sup> See WM 211, n. 1.

that practically both  $\delta\varsigma$  and  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  retain their classical sense undisturbed.

$\Pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  = *any* (in negative clauses).—One of the most admitted Hebraisms of the NT is that of which Mt 24<sup>22</sup> οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθῃ πᾶσα σάρξ is a specimen (WM 214). It may be questioned, however, whether the 'Hebraism' here does not consist in a very slight extension of a vernacular usage under the encouragement of a similar idiom in Hebrew.

In the papyri we have a recurrent formula  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$  or  $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$  πάσης ὑπερθέσεως : BU 190 (1/) and OP 278 (1/) with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ , OP 267 (1/) and 269 (1/), with  $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ , are early exx. In BU 267 (2/) *al.* there is the variant  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$  τινὸς ἀμφισβητήσεως. (Cf. also TP 1 (2/B.C) μηδεμίας κρατήσεως μηδὲ κυριείας τινὸς ἐγγαίου περιγινόμενης αὐτῶι.) In LP *w* (2/3) οὐκ ἀντιτάξεται μοι πᾶν πνεῦμα : but these ἀπό-κρυφα borrow from every tongue.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

## ON A GREEK ADVERB OF PLACE.

THERE is a general agreement among scholars that εἰθύ, used as a preposition with the genitive, means *straight to* or *straight towards* some place, thing, or person. In this paper my object is to maintain that, though no doubt that was its original sense, it had lost it in the Attic Greek with which we are familiar. I think I can show that there are various passages in which it is very difficult to interpret it so, and that there is not a single one in which that sense is at all necessary.

After satisfying myself that it did not mean *straight to*, I was inclined for some time to think that it meant *right to*, *all the way to*, *as far as*, differing from μέχρι in that μέχρι is *not further than*, emphasising the limit, while εἰθύ would be *not short of*, emphasising the distance. But after further examination it seems to me probable that it means no more than εἰς and ἐπὶ, *to* and *towards*, that is, that the original meaning of *straight to* was weakened by use into a mere *to*.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the corresponding word is ἰθύς : for  $\iota$  there fills the place of  $\epsilon\upsilon$  and the Attic rule is unknown, by which the form in  $\upsilon$  applies to space and the form in  $\varsigma$  to time. It is used frequently as an adverb, with no case following it, ἰθύς βαίνειν, ἰθύς φέρειν, ἰθύς μαχέσασθαι, ἰθύς μεμαῶς, ἰθύς φρονεῖν, and in all such uses the sense of *straight, straightforward* is clear. Once, and once only, we have perhaps ἰθὺ for ἰθύς : Y 99 τοῦ γ' ἰθὺ βέλος πέτετ', where τοῦ depends on βέλος and ἰθὺ may be either really adverbial or an adjective used semi-adverbially as adjectives often are (ἦκω ταχύς). We also find ἰθύς used freely with a genitive ; a 119 βῆ δ' ἰθύς προθύροιο, ρ 325 βῆ δ' ἰθύς μεγάροιο, E 849 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ρ' ἰθύς Διομήδεος, etc. In

such passages it is natural to suppose that ἰθύς retains the notion of straightness, nor am I at all concerned now to deny it, though it would probably be difficult to show that that sense is ever really needed.

In the *Hymn* to *Hermes* 342 εἰθὺ Πύλονδ' ἐλάων and 355 εἰς Πύλον εἰθύς ἐλὼντα probably bear the same sense, and in the one Hesiodean passage where the word occurs (*Shield* 97 ἰθύς ἔχειν θοὸν ἄρμα) it clearly means *keep right on, straightforward*. There is however no genitive in these passages.

I see then no reason against supposing that in epic Greek ἰθύς (εἰθύ) with a genitive retained, at any rate sometimes, what no one would deny to have been its original meaning. In *Herodotus* the case is different. The following are all the passages known to me, but we have no complete concordance to *Herodotus* and there may be others.

1. 207. 7 τὸντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλάς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. 4. 120. 2 (ἐβουλεύοντο) τοὺτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ...ὑποφεύγοντας. ἰθ. 4 ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην. 4. 136. 2 ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. 5. 64. 2 οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον ἰθύς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας (Wesseling ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Θ., Herwerden ἰθὺ Θ.).

So in 2. 119. 3, where the MSS. of *Herodotus* give ἐπὶ Λιβύης, those of [Plutarch] *De Malign. Herod.* 857 b give ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Λιβύης and Herwerden suggests ἰθὺ Λιβύης.

6. 95. 2 The Persians, starting from *Ionian* for *Greece*, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηκίης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεύντο.

7. 1179 δ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξῃ στρατός...παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἀριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου. 8. 38. 2 οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. Cf. II. 21. 540-542. 9. 69. 2 οἱ μὲν... ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρονσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος.

Of these passages 6. 95. 2 deserves particular notice. Greece was the goal of the voyage. Herodotus might therefore very well have said that the Persians sailed straight for Greece (ἰθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, according to the ordinary view of ἰθὺ) instead of going all the way round the coast by Thrace. Could he say that they did not go *straight* to the Hellespont and Thrace—which were really out of their direct route—but sailed through the islands? Must not ἰθὺ here be simply to or *all the way* to?

On the other hand in 4. 136. 2. the point is made that, as the natives knew the way and the Persians did not, the former got to the bridge first. There *might* therefore be some point here in *straight*.

The other passages as far as I can see are consistent with either meaning. There seems no necessity to give ἰθὺ the distincter meaning in any of them, and in 4. 120. 2 it is not much in place, but in one or two, e.g. 1 207. 7, it may be thought to lend rather more colour and force. Perhaps therefore we may say that, though it need not surprise us if Herodotus' Ionic retained the old epic signification in ἰθὺ more than Attic did in εἰθύ, yet the fact is by no means certain and in 6. 95. 2 such a sense does not seem possible.

I will now put together the Attic passages, keeping to the end the two from tragedy, about both of which there may be a little doubt.—

#### A.—ARISTOPHANES.

##### 1. *Eg.* 254

ὥσπερ Εὐκράτης ἔφευγεν εἰθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων.

##### 2. *Nub.* 161

τὴν πνοὴν  
βία βαδίζειν εἰθὺ τοῖροπνυγίου.

##### 3. *Pax* 68

πῶς ἂν ποτ' ἀφικοίμην ἂν εἰθὺ τοῦ Διός;

##### 4. *ib.* 77

ὅπως πετήσει μ' εἰθὺ τοῦ Διὸς λαβών.

##### 5. *ib.* 819

ὥς χαλεπὸν ἔλθειν ἦν ἄρ' εἰθὺ τῶν θεῶν.

##### 6. *ib.* 301

δεῖρο πᾶς χώρει προθύμως εἰθὺ τῆς σωτηρίας.

##### 7. *An.* 1421

μὴν εἰθὺ Πελλήνης πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ;

##### 8. *Ecc.* 835

ἐπιείγεσθ' εἰθὺ τῆς στρατηγίδος.

##### 9. *Fragm.* 161 (Kock: Meineke 2. 1012)

ῆσαν εἰθὺ τοῦ Διονυσίου.

##### 10. *Fragm.* 656 (M. 2. 1193)

A. ποῖ κήχος; B. εἰθὺ Σικελίας.

Even if we knew what 1 referred to, it would probably not help us much as to εἰθύ. But 3, 4, and particularly 5 are very significant. There is no reason whatever why Trygaeus should lay stress on going straight to Zeus and the gods. The difficulty (5) was not in going there straight, as if it was much easier to manage by a roundabout flight, but in getting there at all. In these places, therefore, εἰθύ has no such meaning. Nor has it in 7, where the question is, do you want to go there? not, do you want to go there straight? which would be immaterial. The other passages do not need the notion of straightness, though it would fit one or two of them (6, 8) well enough.

#### B.—COMIC FRAGMENTS.

##### 1. Pherecr. 110 (M. 2. 306)

εἰθύς Λυκείου.

(So both M. and K. for εἰθύ.)

##### 2. Eupolis 47 (M. 2. 441)

σκέλη δὲ καὶ κωλῆνες εἰθὺ τοῖρόφου.

(Conjectural and uncertain.)

##### 3. Eupolis 183 (M. 2. 502)

ἀλλ' εἰθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ κ.τ.λ.

##### 4. Eupolis 304 (M. 2. 550)

περιῆλθον εἰς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμνα  
καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν κεύθῃ τῶν ἀρωμάτων.

##### 5. Epicrates 10 (M. 3. 372)

εἰθὺ τοῦ καρχησίου  
ἄνελκε τὴν γραῦν.

The perambulation in 4 of the market-stalls shows conclusively that εἰθύ here is only a synonym for εἰς. 'Went about to A B C and straight to D' would be nonsense. Whatever the exact meaning of 5, there seems no nautical point in the γραῖς going *straight* to the masthead. 1 is in Photius *Lex.* where the MSS. give εἰθύ; but, as he mentions that the word was made by Eratosthenes a ground of suspicion against the play (*Μεταλλῆς*) and couples it with the εἰθύς of Eur. *Μήνρ.* 1197 (see



below), it would appear that he must really have found and given εὐθύς Λυκείου. It is noticeable that he explains it simply as meaning εἰς Λύκειον.

### C.—THUCYDIDES.

8. 88. Alcibiades εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος καὶ Καίνου ἄνω τὸν πλοῦν ἐποίειτο. 8. 96. 3 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἑθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι νενικηκότες εὐθύς σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐρῆμον ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν (Classen after Lobeck εὐθύ; and Stahl is certainly wrong in thinking εὐθύ could not be followed by a genitive of the person; cf. the above-quoted *Il.* 5. 849: Herod. 8. 38. 2; Ar. *Pax* 68 &c.: and Plato *Lysis* 203 B below).

Sailing straight for Phaselis and Caunus would be like sailing from London straight for Leith and Newcastle; i.e. the order is strange in any case, but particularly strange if stress be laid on the directness of the voyage. Cf. the order in Eur. *Hipp.* 1197 below.

In 96 it hardly seems satisfactory to govern σφῶν by τὸν Πειραιᾶ as Stahl would do. If εὐθὺ σφῶν be read, 'straight for them' would certainly make excellent sense, but there is no need for εὐθύ to be so emphatic: it need not be more than ἐπὶ σφῶν or ὡς σφᾶς. Εὐθύς however goes perfectly well with νενικηκότες, and there may be some other fault in the words, e.g. σφῶν for σφίσιν. (The genitive may be due to a mistake about the meaning of εὐθύς(s).) In Ar. *Eq.* 311, ὅστις ἡμῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκκεκώφηκας βοῶν, which Stahl might have cited as parallel, the dative ἡμῖν naturally suggests itself, especially as we have ἡμῶν in the line before.

### D.—XENOPHON<sup>1</sup>

1. *Hell.* 1. 2. 11 ἔπλεον εὐθὺ ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. (The new papyrus fragment has εὐθύ: all the codices ἐπὶ.) 2. *ib.* 1. 4. 11. ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου. 3. *Cyr.* 5. 2. 37. ἄγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος (Cobet εὐθὺ Βαβυλῶνος).

3 is different from any phrase found elsewhere and perhaps not right. In any case

<sup>1</sup> In *Hell.* 1. 4. 8 ἀνήχθη εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάμου: *Cyr.* 2. 4. 24 πορεύσομαι . . εὐθύς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια: *ib.* 7. 2. 1 εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἔφευγε and 2 εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάρδεϊς ἦγε; *Agcs.* 1. 29 εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε: there is no reason for taking εὐθύς of place and not of time. I do not believe it is ever so used in Attic. In Thuc. 6. 96. 1: 7. 22. 3: 8. 90. 4 εὐθύς is no more really local than the English 'immediately above,' 'immediately in front.' In Thuc. 4. 118. 4 the sense is less clear.

it is not εὐθύ with a genitive. τὴν εὐθύ with or without ἐπὶ may be thought of as possible.

### E.—PLATO.

1. *Lysis* 203 A ἐπορεύομην ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺ Λυκείου τὴν ἕξω τείχους ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος and again a few lines below ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πορεύομαι εὐθὺ Λυκείου. Δεῦρο δὲ, ἣ δ' ὅς, εὐθὺ ἡμῶν. 2. *Gorg.* 525 A Rhadamanthus dismisses a soul εὐθὺ τῆς φρουρᾶς, οἱ μέλλει ἐλθούσα ἀνατλήναι τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη. 3. *Theag.* 129 A ἡνίκα ἀποθανούμενος ἦεν εὐθὺ τοῦ δαιμονίου (δημοσίου Baier, Schanz). 4. *Theag. ib.* D οἴχεται . . στρατην-σόμενος εὐθὺ Ἐφέσου καὶ Ἰωνίας.

In 2 and 4 there is no reason why εὐθύ should be more than ἐπὶ. The three examples that come together in 1 are decidedly against its meaning any more. It is unlikely that any stress should be laid on Socrates making straight for the Lyceum, and εὐθὺ ἡμῶν points to the same sense, though it might be a jesting repetition of straight. The corruption of the text in 3 deprives it of any evidentiary value, but, if εὐθὺ τοῦ δημοσίου (or δημίου) is right ('to the executioner'), the notion of straightness would certainly be out of place. It is strange that Ruhnken (*Timaeus* Εὐθὺ Λυκείου) could accept the old fancy that εὐθὺ τοῦ δαιμονίου meant 'in spite of the divine voice,' a sense impossible for εὐθύ and consistent only with a misunderstanding of ἀποθανούμενος ἦεν. Yet Liddell and Scott follow him.

### F.—ARISTOTLE.

No example of εὐθύ is given in Bonitz' *Index*, but see *Fragm.* 253: 2, where the exact words may not be Aristotle's. Aelian quotes him as saying that πετόμενος ἐρωδιὸς τῆς θαλάττης εὐθὺ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ραγήσεισθαι αἰνίττεται. I do not know any other example of εὐθύ following its case, and it ought to be regarded with suspicion.

As far as I know, εὐθύ is not found once in any orator, and the only other Attic passages which I have to adduce are

### G.—SOPHOCLES.

*O.T.* 1242

ἵετ' εὐθὺ πρὸς τὰ νυμφικὰ  
λέχη.

### H.—EUR. *Hipp.* 1197

εἰπόμεσθα δεσπότη  
τὴν εὐθύς Ἀργούς ἀπιδανρίας ὁδόν.

In the *Hippolytus* εὐθύς is certified by Photius, who says expressly καὶ Εὐριπίδης οὐκ

ὁρθῶς τὴν εὐθύς κ.τ.λ., but, whatever his MSS. gave, no doubt Euripides really wrote what Hartung restored to him, τὴν εὐθύ τ' Ἄργους κἀπιδανυρίας ὁδόν, where τε occupies the position most usual for it when a preposition governs two words. Observe that, as in Thuc. 8. 88, the more distant point, Argos, is mentioned first, and that, whether we read εὐθύ or εὐθύς, there is no reason why the road's running *straight* for these places should be mentioned.

In the *Oedipus* εὐθύ, if right, as it probably is, (Nauck εὐθύς εἰς), can only mean *straight*. We may notice (1) that this is not a case of εὐθύ with a genitive: (2) that in poetry it is more natural for the old use to survive: (3) that possibly, as the passages in Xenophon also faintly suggest, there may have been a use of εὐθύ with a preposition (εὐθὺ πρὸς, εὐθὺ ἐπὶ) different in meaning from εὐθύ when itself serving as a preposition.

The upshot of this examination seems to be that, if we take the instances in Attic Greek, (25 in all), of εὐθύ with a genitive, there is not one in which the meaning of *straight* to or *straight towards* is in any way required, whereas there are a considerable number in which that meaning is in various degrees unsuitable. It does not seem to me impossible that it was occasionally used with something of its old sense, and I would not deny that some of the passages above collected may be cases in point. All I am concerned to maintain is that in Attic prose as a rule εὐθύ with a genitive had no such strong meaning, but was only another synonym along with εἰς, ὧς, ἐπὶ, and πρὸς.

In the lyric, elegiac, and iambic poets I have not been able to find it any more than in the Attic orators, but I should not like to say that it does not occur. The only example of εὐθύ in Theocritus is 26. 15 μαίνετο μὲν θ' αὐτα, μαίνοντο δ' ἄρ' εὐθὺ καὶ ἄλλα. The poetical diction of Theocritus is notoriously not very correct, and he obviously uses it in the sense of εὐθύς, *forthwith*, as do Callimachus *Hymn. Apoll.* 103 and the writers of the *Anacreontea*. My observation of the word in later prose writers,<sup>1</sup> though as far as it goes it bears out my contention, has not been extensive and careful enough for use here, except in the case of Lucian, the most Attic of them all. In him I have noticed εὐθύ with a genitive in the following passages: *Nigrinus* 2: *Dial. D.* 20. 3 and 15: *Dial. Mort.* 27. 1: *Menipp.* 6: *Herm.* 23 and 46: *Herod.* 1: *Icarom.* 11: *Bis Acc.* 8 and 12: *Rhet. Praec.* 10: *Peregr.* 35: *Fugit.* 24: and I should say that none of them in any degree requires the notion of straightness, though naturally it would in several of them e.g. *Herm.* 46, not be unsuitable. It stands to reason that motion to a place very often is, and very often might be expressly called, motion *straight* to a place, but in such cases we do not therefore always call it so.

H. RICHARDS.

<sup>1</sup> *Axiochus* (date uncertain) 364 B ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτόν. εὐθύ here must be *straight*, but it is not a preposition. Perhaps <κατ'> εὐθύ.

#### ON SOME DERIVATIVES OF τέλος.

THE object of the present paper is to exhibit a number of passages where τέλε(ι)ος, τελέεις (τελήεις), τελέως, τελε(ι)όω, τελεσφόρος, παντελής, ἡμιτελής, should (I think) be connected with τέλος = 'authority,' and not, as is commonly done, with τέλος = 'accomplishment' or 'rite.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How τέλος, which appears primarily to have meant 'completion' or 'accomplishment,' came to acquire the signification 'authority,' it is not easy to say. Perhaps I may be permitted to hazard the suggestion that the meaning 'authority' arose from the referring of disputes among the people to the king or head-man, in whose hands would be said to lie the 'conclusion' or decision of the matter. From this the extension to the wider sense 'authority' would be natural, if not inevitable; and to describe the king himself or his representatives as τὸ τέλος,

τέλε(ι)ος. The transitive sense 'accomplishing,' which is frequently assigned to this word, is highly improbable and always

'the authorities,' would be a further easy step to which there are many parallels. The transference would be similar to that by which we use the title 'Great Seal' to denote the seal's custodian. Τέλος would thus describe the king from the point of view of his judicial functions, as ἀρχή describes him from the side of those in which he takes the initiative, as in administration and military command. The use of the word to mean 'tax' may have arisen from its employment to denote the court-fee demanded for the delivery of a judicial decision; but in fact any dues demanded by those ἐν τέλει might naturally be so-called, without a primary reference to court-fees. The history of the Engl. word 'fine' (=penalty) affords a curiously close parallel.

unnecessary. The same is to be said of the meaning 'fixed' (of decrees).

Ζεὺς τέλειος (Aisch. *Eum.* 28 τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία: Pind. *O.* 13. 115 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰδῶ διδοὶ καὶ τύχην περπνῶν γλυκεῖαν: *P.* 1. 67 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν Ἀμένα παρ' ὄδωρ | αἶσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεύσιν διακρίνειν ἔτνμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων) is not 'Zeus the Accomplisher,' an absurd title, but 'Zeus the King'; cp. Aisch. *Supp.* 524 ἀναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε, καὶ τελέων τελειότατον κράτος ('of all Powers Power Supreme'), ὀλβιε Ζεῦ. *Ag.* 973 ὦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει is a trap for the unwary; the poet is merely playing on the syllable *τελ-*, *more suo*. So in Aisch. *fr.* 329 Ἥρα τελέια, Ζητὸς εὐναία δάμαρ the meaning is 'Hera the Queen.' This title of Hera has been connected with her patronage of marriage, as though derived from it; though how that office could give rise to the title has not been explained. The presidency over marriage of 'Hera, Queen of Heaven and Wife of Zeus,' needs no explanation; the office could not have been assigned to any other goddess. The passage *Ar. Thesm.* 973 ff. Ἦραν τε τὴν τελείαν | μέλψωμεν ὥσπερ εἰκός, | ἣ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαί- | ζει τε καὶ κληῖ- | δας γάμον φυλάττει, though commonly quoted in this connexion, proves nothing as to the meaning of *τελεία*, nor does the scholium *ad loc.* give any assistance. It is,—Ἥρα τελέια καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὸ καὶ πρότελεια ἡ θυσία ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων γιγνομένη. This seems to mean that, because marriage was a τέλος, therefore its patrons were called *τελειοι*, 'gods of the rite' (*par excellence*!). But the notion is absurd: Zeus and Hera were patrons of many other τέλη. The schol. seems to have been explaining what he did not understand. The title Ζεὺς τέλειος has certainly no connexion with marriage, so far as we may judge from the passages in which it occurs. On the other hand *τελεία*, as applied to Hera, probably meant what *τέλειος* meant when used of Zeus.

That Hera's title *τελεία* was in the popular mind associated with τέλος, 'rite,' I would not deny. It would have been remarkable had it been otherwise; marriage *was* a τέλος, and the goddess was its patron. No doubt there were also many who, whether they knew or not that Ἥρα *τελεία* meant 'Hera the Queen,' would by a similar association of ideas give to *τελεία* in this connexion the meaning 'full-grown,' since every bride was *τελεία* in that sense. But that all this is compatible with the title's having originally

meant something altogether different, few scholars would deny.

It has been pointed out to me that, according to Pausanias, 8. 22. 2, Hera was worshipped at Stymphalos as παῖς, *τελεία*, and *χήρα*. The passage is to the effect that Temenos, son of Pelasgos, dwelt in old Stymphalos, that he reared Hera, built three sanctuaries in her honour, and bestowed on her three surnames: while she was still a virgin he called her Girl (παρθένω μὲν ἔτι οὔσῃ Παιδί); when she married Zeus he called her *τελεία*, and when for some reason she had quarrelled with Zeus and returned to Stymphalos, he gave her the name of Widow. This passage does not, I think, affect my contention. *τελεία* here clearly means 'Wife' (for which meaning of the word see below), and the title was no doubt given, as were παῖς and *χήρα*, in order to bring the goddess into special sympathetic connexion with one class of her female worshippers. It was an accident, though a happy one, which enabled the inventor of the titles to select one denoting 'wife' which was already consecrated in another sense. Under the circumstances its adoption was practically inevitable.

Pind. *N.* 10. 17 Ἡρακλῆος οὐ κατ' Ὀλυμπον | ἄλοχος Ἥβα παρὰ ματέρι τελεῖ- | α βαί- νοισ' ἔστι. Here any reference to Hera's patronage of marriage is irrelevant; the meaning required is 'her mother, the Queen of Heaven.' The poet's purpose is to exalt Hebe's position in Olympos.

Any god, as being possessed of office and authority, could be called *τέλειος*. *Ag.* 1432 μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην, | Ἀτὴν Ἐρινύθ', 'that hath power to punish.' *Eum.* 382 εὐμήχανοι δὲ καὶ τέλειοι, of the Furies. *Theokr.* 25. 22 Ἀπόλλωνος...τελειότατοιο θεοῖο. Aisch. *Theb.* 166 ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί, | ἰὼ τέλειοι τέλειαί τε γὰς | τῇσδὲ γε πυργοφύλακες, 'whose office it is to guard.'

*Ag.* 972 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον, 'the master of the house,' the husband bearing authority.' (See under *παντελής* below.) The idea that this expression refers to marriage regarded as a 'perfect condition of life' (L. and S.) would have caused a Greek both surprise and amusement. The Prayer Book does not call marriage more than 'an honourable estate.'

*Il.* 24. 315 αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε τελειότατον πετεηνῶν, 'most authoritative' as a giver of omens.

Aisch. *Supp.* 739 ἐπεὶ τελεία ψῆφος Ἀργείων, τέκνα, | θάρσει, μαχοῦνται περὶ σέθεν, σάφ' οἷδ' ἐγώ, 'is authoritative.' So Soph. *Ant.* 632 τελείαν ψῆφον, 'my (Kreon's)



sovereign decree.' Cp. Ar. *Thesm.* 329 *τελέως δ' | ἐκκλησιάσαιμεν* Ἀθηνῶν | *εὐγενεῖς γυναῖκες*, 'with authority.'

A curse or a vision may be 'possessed of authority.' Aisch. *Theb.* 832 *ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τέλεια | γένεος Οἰδῖπου τ' ἀρά.* *Ib.* 766 *τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀραί | βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί.* In these two passages the meaning is 'possessed of power to do their work.' *Ib.* 695 *πατὴρὸς τέλει' ἀρά | ξηροῖς ἄκλανστος ὄμμασιν προσίζάνει | λέγονσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρου*, 'uttering words of authority,—(to wit) that there is a gain better than death deferred.' Her. 1. 121 *ὄψις οὐ τελέη*, 'a vision without authority.' Anyone who examines this passage will see that *τελέη* cannot here mean 'accomplished.' Astyages believes the vision to have been already accomplished, so far as it ever will be, in the boys' game of 'kings.' His point is that the vision had no serious meaning. In *Rep.* 443 B *τέλεον ἄρα ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποτετέλεσται* the meaning 'accomplished' would produce an impossible tautology; Plato puns on the syllable *τελ-*.

*τελέεις, τελέεις*.—Hom. *Hymn. Merc.* 544 *φωνῇ καὶ πτερύγεσσι τεληέντων οἰωνῶν*, 'authoritative' for augury. Tyr. 2. 2 *μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπα.* Hes. *Theog.* 242 *Ὠκεανοῖο, τεληέντος ποταμοῖο.* Is not the meaning of the puzzling epithet here 'King of Rivers'?

*τελεσφόρος* (always *parox.*). Hom. *Hymn.* 22. 1 *Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον αἰεῖσθαι ἡδὲ μέγιστον, | εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα τελεσφόρον.* Aisch. *P.* V. 511 *Μοῖρα...τελεσφόρος.* *Cho.* 663 *ἐξελθέτω τις δωμάτων τελεσφόρος | γυνὴ τόπαρχος.* Soph. *Al.* 1390 *μνήμων τ' Ἐρινὺς καὶ τελεσφόρος Δίκη* (cp. *Ag.* 1432 *μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην*, *supra cit.*). *Ag.* 996 *τελεσφόροις δίναις κυκλοῦμενον κέαρ*: the meaning seems to be 'speaking with authority.' *Ib.* 1000 *εὐχομαι δ' ἐξ ἐμᾶς | ἐλπίδος ψύθῃ πεσεῖν | ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον*, 'prove void of authority.'

*τελε(ι)όω*.—Her. 3. 86 (of the neighing of Dareios' horse) *ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσε μιν* (gave him τέλος, 'made him king') *ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γιγνόμενα.* *Id.* 1. 120 (of Cyrus playing at 'kings') *ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεί λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας*, 'exercised authority.'

*παντελής*.—Aisch. *Theb.* 118 *ὦ Ζεῦ, πατὴρ παντελής*, 'supreme.' *Supp.* 601 *δήμου δέδοκται παντελῇ ψηφίσματα*, 'authoritative'

(cp. *ib.* 739 *τελεία ψῆφος*, *supra cit.*). Soph. *Ant.* 1163 *παντελῇ μοναρχίαν*, 'sovereignty supreme.' *O.T.* 930 *παντελὴς δάμαρ*, 'wedded wife,' possessing all τέλος in her sphere, no mere *παλλακή* (cp. *ἀνδρὸς τελείου*). The schol. refers the epithet here to the birth of children, *τοῦτο γὰρ τέλειον ἐν γάμῳ* (cp. 928 *γυνὴ δὲ μήτηρ ἦδε τῶν κείνου τέκνων*). But what reason is there for supposing that the Greeks regarded a wife as 'incomplete' until children were born? Others refer *παντελής* to the τέλη of marriage. What is then the actual meaning of the word here? It might, perhaps, mean 'upon and for whom all (marriage) rites have been performed'; but while such a sense is unsupported and in itself improbable, an epithet emphasising the *ceremonial* of marriage is out of place. This view has been supposed to be supported by Hera's title *τελεία*: but, as I have said, it has still to be shown that that title had any reference to marriage. The passages quoted above point to the interpretation which I have already suggested.

*Ant.* 1016 *βωμοὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐσχάται τε παντελής | πλήρεις ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ κυνῶν βορᾶς κ.τ.λ.* Here the meaning 'one and all,' even if possible, involves a remarkable and really weak exaggeration; an epithet emphasising the sanctity of the altars would be far more suitable. Musgrave felt this when, almost hitting the truth, he interpreted the word by *sanctissimae*. I suggest that here again the meaning is 'with full authority' to give omens,—'heaven's intermediaries.'

*ἐντελής* is established in the sense 'holding authority': see *Lex*.

*ἡμιτελής*.—*Il.* 2. 700 *τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο | καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής*, 'and his house without its master,' lit. 'with half its (normal) government.' Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 19, writes *τί ἄγχεις, ὦ Πρωτεσίλαε, τὴν Ἑλένην προσπεσών*;—*Ὅτι διὰ ταύτην, ὦ Αἴακε, ἀπέθανον ἡμιτελῇ μὲν τὸν δόμον καταλιπόν, χήραν δὲ τὴν νεόγαμον γυναῖκα.* He simply transcribes Homer's words, but the reversal of the order of the clauses seems to suggest that he took *ἡμιτελῇ* to mean 'half-finished,'—a view which we may safely reject as absurd. The notion that the meaning is 'without an heir' is equally baseless and improbable.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

ON TWO PLACES IN SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE*.

XO. οὐκοῦν κλεινὴ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔχουσι  
 ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχει κεύθος νεκύνων,  
 οὔτε φθινάσιν πληγείσα νόσοις  
 οὔτε ξιφέων ἐπὶ χεῖρα λαχοῦσι, 820  
 ἀλλ' αὐτόνομος ζῶσα μόνῃ δι  
 θηγῆτων Ἀἶδην καταβήσει.

*αὐτόνομος* in 821 is taken by all edd. as equivalent to 'of your own free will,' surely a very doubtful meaning. The word means 'independent,' and its proper reference is to a present discretion, not to one exercised in the past. Now, the punishment threatened by the edict, it will be remembered, was death by stoning; but at 760 Kreon, in a fit of reckless fury, was within an ace of causing Antigone to be put to death by the sword. At 772 the Chorus might naturally have assumed that it was now Kreon's intention to inflict the latter death,—the more merciful one; and if so, it would have been better for them to hold their tongue. Instead of this, they ask anxiously what the King's actual purpose is, *μόρφ δὲ ποίῳ καὶ σφε βουλευέει κτανεῖν*; Why do they ask this? Do they fear Kreon may still carry out the terms of his edict, or do they view the prospect of Antigone's death by the sword with no less alarm? Again, Kreon, who is now calmer, states his change of purpose (he will immure her alive) without explanation, and the Chorus hear it without remark; immuring alive is apparently the proper punishment to select. We shall hardly be wrong if we connect Kreon's final decision with the well-known law prevailing among primitive peoples by which the shedding of tribal, and especially of royal blood was strictly forbidden. The offence entailed the gravest pollution, as appears (to take one instance from Greek tragedy) from the plague sent upon Thebes in consequence of the murder of Laios by Oedipus, who himself, it is to be noted, was not put to death. It was no doubt for this reason that unfaithful Vestals were buried alive. As Dr. J. G. Frazer has shown in a most interesting and able article (*Journ. Phil.*, vol. xiv. 1885), the original keepers of the perpetual fire were the king's daughters, and the Vestals, their successors, enjoyed royal privileges and were treated as royal persons. If the suggestion made above is correct (and Dr. Frazer tells me he thinks it highly probable both with regard to Antigone and the Vestals), the object of placing food in

the vault (*φορβῆς τοσοῦτον ὡς ἄγος μόνον προθείς*, 775) and the meaning of *αὐτόνομος* become clear; actual killing is avoided, and the victim is *at liberty* (*αὐτόνομος*: cp. 887 *εἴτε χρή θανεῖν, | εἴτ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ζῶσα τυμβεύειν στέγη*) to commit suicide, as Antigone in fact does. Indeed, we may well suppose that this was the common catastrophe of these ghastly tragedies; it was no doubt the one hoped for by those who inflicted the punishment. In any case, what had actually happened to the victim, no one could afterwards say. *αὐτόνομος* means, then, 'mistress of thyself.' The word is so strange in its present setting (it occurs nowhere else in a non-political sense), and yet so apt, that one is almost constrained to believe it found a similar place in older versions of the story when its special fitness was well understood.

921 ff.

ποῖαν παρεξελθοῦσα δαιμόνων δίκην;  
 τί χροῖ με τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι  
 βλέπειν; τί ν' αὐδῶν ξυμμάχων; ἐπεὶ γε δὴ  
 τὴν εὐσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ' ἐκτρεψάμην.

Those who condemn (and rightly, in my humble judgment) the fantastic passage 904–920 do not appear to have perceived that several lines must almost certainly have perished with the insertion of the interpolation. They stood, I should suggest, between 921 and 922. *Prima facie* it is unlikely that the interpolation could have been made without excision, but stronger reasons emerge when the text is examined. (1) When the interpolation is removed Antigone's speech comes to a peculiarly hurried termination. (2) V. 921, which has the ring of a genuine line and may well have followed 903, looks like the introduction of a fresh topic,—the one whose *conclusion* appears at 922. (3) The question *τί χροῖ κ.τ.λ.*, introduced by no connecting *ἀλλά* reads like the natural rhetorical repetition of some thought previously expressed in other words; but if it is supposed to follow immediately on 921, it comes in with intolerable abruptness. (4) *τί ν' αὐδῶν ξυμμάχων*; (923) can only mean 'which of my allies ought I to speak to?' Yet it must be made to mean 'whom of all conceivable allies ought I to invoke?' Such a use of the gen. is, however, unexampled and unlikely, and *αὐδῶν* does not mean to

'summon' or 'invoke.' With the simple acc. of the person it means 'speak to'; with an inf. added, 'to bid.' Two reff. are indeed given by L. and S. for the meaning 'invoke,' but in each case an inf. is added and the meaning is 'bid.' Moreover, there is no question here of other helpers than the gods. It seems to me probable that the original words were  $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \delta'\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\nu\ \xi\upsilon\mu\mu$

$\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ; 'why bid them help me?' These words, plainly implying that she *had* asked the gods to help her, would naturally be altered when that appeal was excised. The connexion with what follows now becomes clear: 'What use to appeal to the gods when they have allowed me to be called impious for a deed done in their service?'

M. A. BAYFIELD.

## APHRODITE PANDEMOS AND THE *HIPPOLYTUS* OF EURIPIDES.

EURIPIDES, in the prologue to the *Hippolytus*, connects the story of his hero and of Phaedra with the erection of a certain statue of Aphrodite at Athens, and with the title or titles which this statue commonly bore. The statue was evidently the Aphrodite  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$ , a title known to us from other evidence. It has generally been supposed, and in my opinion rightly, to be identical with the Aphrodite Pandemos, so that Πάνδημος and  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$  would be alternative names, or parts of a single name. Such, for example, is the view adopted by Miss Harrison in the *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*. Recently however a distinction has been attempted, and it has been maintained that the sanctuary and cult of the Aphrodite Pandemos, properly and officially so called, were different from the sanctuary and cult of the Aphrodite  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$ . Materials for considering this question are given by Dr. Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias (1. 22. 1-3). I do not propose to discuss it here, and will assume, for the present purpose, no more than this, that between the Aphrodite  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$  and the title *Pandemos* there was for some reason a close association. This much at least the passage of Pausanias (which, in my opinion, presumes the identity) must be held to presume and prove; nor indeed am I aware that it has been disputed. What I propose to show is, that the story told by Euripides is based upon this association; that he assumes his Aphrodite  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$  to be at least an Aphrodite Pandemos, representing the goddess in that aspect, and commonly connected with that appellation; and that in this connexion of thought is to be found the solution of a certain difficulty which the story presents.

Hippolytus, says Aphrodite, is destined

to expiate his defiance of her, and the way is prepared:

ἐλθόντα γάρ νιν Πιτθέως ποτ' ἐκ δόμων  
σερνῶν ἐς ὄψιν καὶ τέλη μυστηρίων  
Πανδίονος γῆν πατρός εὐγενὴς δάμαρ  
ἰδοῦσα Φαῖδρα καρδίαν κατείχετο  
ἔρωτι δεινῷ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλευέμασι.  
καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν τήνδε γῆν Τροζηνίαν,  
πέτρην παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόψιον  
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθίστατο,  
ἔρῳσ' ἔρωτ' ἐκδημον Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ  
τὸ λοιπὸν ὀνόμαζεν ἰδρῦσθαι θεάν.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ Θησεὺς Κεκροπίαν λείπει χθόνα,  
μίασμα φεύγων αἵματος Παλλαντιδῶν,  
καὶ τήνδε σὺν δάμαρτι ναυστολεῖ χθόνα,  
ἐνιασίαν ἐκδημον αἰνέσας φυγῆν,  
ἐνταῦθα δὴ στένονσα κάκτεπληγμένη  
κέντροις ἔρωτος ἡ τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυται  
σιγῇ. (Iv. 24 foll.)

Phaedra gave her Aphrodite a name, ὀνόμαζε θεάν. But what name? Not  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$ . It cannot be meant that she published, by her own act and declaration, the very passion which she desired to conquer, suppress, and conceal. Not *Pandemos*; for that title, however it be interpreted, has in this application no meaning and cannot be found in the words. Such is the difficulty.

It has been proposed to get rid of it by so changing the text that the title meant (which is assumed to be  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$ ) shall not be bestowed by Phaedra, but by some one else. Such is the principle of Jortin's emendation,

$\text{Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ}\ \tauὸ\ \text{λοιπὸν}\ \text{ὀνομάσουσιν}\ \text{ἰδρῦσθαι}\ \text{θεάν}.$

'men hereafter shall name the statue the Aphrodite  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἰππολύτῳ}$ .' And on the same lines, though with more discre-



tion and better taste, proceeds that of Meineke, ὠνόμαζον, 'I, Aphrodite, gave the name.' But not even this will pass. At the time when Aphrodite speaks, at the dramatic time of the prologue, the name ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ has manifestly not yet been attached to the statue; the goddess may intend that it shall be attached; but this is not expressed by ὠνόμαζον. Moreover the matter in hand is the feeling and purpose of Phaedra, when the dedication was made; if the name in question was not then given by her, this is no place to mention it; both ὀνομάσουσιν and ὠνόμαζον convert the sentence into a mere parenthesis, offensive in such a story and at such a point. In fact this road leads nowhere; the conferring of the name ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ, as a name, cannot, from the nature of the case, be that which the poet has here directly in view. If any way is to be found, we must start afresh.

The difficulty arises, as I think, from the fact that Euripides, repeating a legend which, whatever it was, must have been familiar to his audience, has told it, as a poet in such circumstances would, allusively; so that a certain point in it, though necessary and central, is not so much stated as implied. The legend did actually explain how the statue came by the description ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ, and how the goddess came by the title *Pandemos*; it derived both the description and the title from a name conferred on the statue by Phaedra in dedicating it. But this name was neither ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ nor *Pandemos*. The name which Phaedra gave, but which, with only too much reason, was afterwards changed to another, was *Aphrodite Endemos* or 'Love at Home'. When Hippolytus had returned from Athens to Troezen, Phaedra, finding that her heart had gone after him, and virtuously desiring to be rid of the passion with which Aphrodite had afflicted her, endeavoured to propitiate, and perhaps to control, the goddess by a symbolic offering and ceremony, signifying that she called back her errant affection, and bade it thenceforward abide and dwell in its own place. Because 'she was in love with one *not of her home*' (ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα ἔκδημον), 'she set up *in her home*' (ἐγ-καθίστατο) a shrine and figure of the representative goddess, and gave the figure a name (*Endemos*) importing and intending that henceforth for ever the goddess was *there fixed* or '*there established*' (ἐν-ιδρύσθαι). This name in itself, *Love at Home*, sounded of nothing but innocence and happiness. That she gave it ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ 'in reference to Hippolytus', and in the hope to cure herself of an ἔρωσ

ἔκδημος already kindled in her heart, was her own secret. Thus it was that

πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόψιον  
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κυπρίδος ἐγκαθίστατο,  
ἐρῶσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἐπι  
τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζ' ἐνιδρύσθαι θεάν.

The change, if such it is to be called, of ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρύσθαι to ὠνόμαζ' ἐνιδρύσθαι is preferable, though perhaps not necessary. However Aphrodite was not to be so appeased or so confined, as soon appeared when, in the course of fate, Theseus himself removed to Troezen, and Phaedra was compelled to share the city and home of Hippolytus, so that her 'Love at Home' in Athens became an idle figure, and its title a miserable irony—a connexion of thought which Euripides, with skilful touch, indicates by contriving, naturally and as if casually, to repeat and echo the significant word ἔκδημος:

καὶ τήνδε σὺν δάμαρτι ναυστολεῖ χθόνα  
ἐνιαυσίαν ἔκδημον αἰνέσας φυγῇν.

At Troezen the plan of Aphrodite went victoriously forward and her victims perished as the tragedy sets forth. Now when all this came to be known, men drew from it the lesson which Aphrodite meant to teach, that She is not of this place or of that place, not by any title or any figure to be fixed here or there, in Athens or in Troezen; She is of *all peoples, of all places and everywhere at home*, and Her power is everywhere under heaven (vv. 1-6),

πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος  
θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω  
ὅσοι τε Πόντον τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν  
ναίουσιν εἴσω φῶς ὀρώντες ἡλίου,  
τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τὰμα πρεσβεύω κράτη,  
σφάλλω δ' ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα.

And that Her name might remind men of this, and warn them to bear themselves humbly towards Her, they called Her thenceforward *Pandemos*; and of the statue, which Phaedra had dedicated in the hope to confine the goddess, and had so ineffectually named *Endemos* ὡς μελλούσης δὴ τῆς θεᾶς ἐνδημεῖν, they said that it was the Aphrodite ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ, the image of One who was not *Endemos* but *Pandemos*.

Such was the Athenian legend in the fifth century B.C., and not an ill one. It has at all events more religion in it, and not less morality, than the philosophic allegory made famous by Plato, and more interest than the curiously frigid piece of fictitious history

attached to *Pandemos* in Pausanias : to wit, that Theseus established the name and cult, in conjunction with that of *Peitho*, to commemorate his success in wooing and *persuading all the townships* (δῆμοι) of Attica to unite in one common city. A marriage of united parishes indeed ! When paganism was vivid, men had a notion of Aphrodite which certainly was not that.

It may not be superfluous to add, since the Euripidean version, equally with those of Plato, Pausanias and Harpocration,<sup>1</sup> in explaining the name *Pandemos* puts a strain upon the word, that none of these stories,

<sup>1</sup> Connecting *Pandemos* locally with the agora.

nor whatsoever others the ancients may have related, are relevant to the question, what, if anything, that title, or the description ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ, really meant or properly was. It would be unsafe even to assume that the very dialect, in which these appellations were first formed, was what we know as Greek, still more unsafe to assume, that their origin was such as the Greeks or we should consider appropriate, or are able to divine. They were merely names. Of their beginning the Athenians, it is safe to suppose, knew nothing, and we are not likely to know.

A. W. VERRALL.

## ON THE FRAGMENTS OF THE MINOR TRAGEDIANS.

(NAUCK'S NUMERATION.)

Achaëus. *fr.* 4, 4 :

ἄδην δ' ἐκαίου στέρνα καὶ †ποδῶν κύτος  
χρίουσιν.

Read π ν ο ὦ ν κύτος ('the chest').

*Fr. adesp.* 497 :

ὄστις λέγει †κακὰν φρονῶν σιγῇ στένει

Read

ὄστις λέγει κ ά κ', ἀ ν α φ ρ ο ν ὦ ν σιγῇ στένει.

*Fr. adesp.* 112 :

ὦ δυστυχεῖν φῦς καὶ κακῶς πεπραγένοι,  
ἄνθρωπος ἐγένου καὶ τὸ δυστυχές βίου

ἐκείθεν ἔλαβες, ὅθεν ἄπασιν ἤρξατο,  
τρέφειν ὅτ' αἰθὴρ ἐνδιδοὺς θνητοῖς πνοάς.

With this punctuation the only error lies in ἐνδιδοὺς, for which read ἐ ν ε δ ί δ ο υ.

*Fr. adesp.* 473 :

θεοῦ θέλοντος †μετὰ πάντα γίγνεται.

Probably μ ε σ τ ἄ.

Chaërem. *fr.* 13 :

κόμαισιν †ὥρῶν σώματ' εὐανθῇ ῥόδα  
εἶχον, τιθήνημι' ἕαρος ἐκπρεπέστατον.

I suggest ὥ ρ α ῖ σ μ α τ'.

T. G. TUCKER.

## THE 'DELIBERATIVE' INDICATIVE.

IN his paper upon 'Method in Study of the Modes'<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. C. Nutting posits as 'a general principle' of this investigation that *other aspects of the speech-form than the mode of the verb may be the essential features that convey to the hearer those ideas which it is generally felt to be the province of mode to express, e.g., deliberation,*<sup>2</sup> taking as his text the mood in *quid ago?* 'what am I to do?' I have more than once pointed out the mischief which is caused by the use of the term 'Deliberative' for the mood in such sentences: and here is another example. There is 'deliberation' indeed in the sen-

tence; but none in the mood. The deliberation is in the question. One might as well say that there is an 'interrogative indicative' and cite as an example *quis est?* The truth is that *quid ago?* asks a question about a contemplated future action (that should be or may be taken by the speaker); and it is this which the mood expresses or as Mr. Nutting thinks, fails to express. The confusion, whether of thought or expression, does not however matter so much here, as it is at least doubtful whether the mood in these sentences is really indicative at all. I have long suspected it of being subjunctive. No doubt the Roman of Classical times would not have regarded

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, Nov., pp. 420 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are Mr. Nutting's.

it as such ; but that proves nothing for an earlier epoch.

The earliest example of the idiom, one presumably far older than Plautus, is the set sacrificial formula *agone?* or *agon?* uttered by the attendant before striking the victim, to which the set reply was *hoc age* : Varro L. L. 6. 12, Seneca Rhet. contr. 2. 11. 19 ; compare Ov. Fasti 1. 319 *sqq.* 'nominis (Agonalium) esse potest succinctus causa minister, | hostia caelitibus quo feriente cadit, | qui calido strictos tincturus sanguine cultros | semper *agatne* rogat, nec nisi iussus agit,' where it may be noticed that Ovid changing the person changes (apparently) the mood. No one hesitates to see in *ero* a subjunctive, and our *ago* agrees with it completely in form and sense ; and were *ago* found in a similar Greek sentence no one would doubt its mood in spite of its ambiguous form. This idiom is not likely to have been a strained use of the present for the future, as it is strongly rooted in the colloquial language ; Cic. Att.

7. 17. 2, 13. 40. 2, Petr. Sat. 13, Juv. 3. 296, 4. 130 ; and in fact we may doubt whether it occurs in any context where there is not a flavour of every day speech. The punning which Mr. Nutting cites from Plautus (Most. 368) and Terence (Haut. 343) shows that the Romans consciously distinguished it from ordinary uses of the indicative and further that they regarded it as somewhat anomalous. If the 'indicatives' *ago?* and its like are really turncoat subjunctives, we might expect to find some elsewhere ; and it appears at least possible that in certain of the 'loose' uses of the 'present indicative' for the future, as after *antequam* or *priusquam* and *si* ('perficietur bellum si *urgemus* obsessos') the real source of the looseness is the original value of the mood, some of the instances being genuine survivals and others, it may be, mistaken imitations of a type no longer understood.

J. P. POSTGATE.

#### THE DICTION OF THE ROMAN MATRONS.—PLIN. *EPIST.* I. 16. 6.

WHILE reading Pliny's letters recently, I was struck by certain points of resemblance between i. 16. 6 'legit (Pompeius Saturninus) mihi nuper epistulas ; uxoris esse dicebat : Plautum vel Terentium metro solum legi credidi,' and Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 12. 45 'equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam—facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod multorum expertes ea tenent semper, quae prima didicerunt—sed eam sic audio, ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium videam audire : sono ipso vocis ita recto et simplici est, ut nihil ostentationis aut imitationis adferre videatur' (the words are those of Crassus).

I was surprised that it had not occurred to me before to place the two passages side by side, and still more so to find that no one of the editions of Pliny to which I have access quotes or refers to the words of Cicero.

If we may form a judgment of the manner of Naevius from his 'Description of a Coquette' in the Tarentilla, preserved by Isid. *Orig.* i. 25, Cicero's juxtaposition of Plautus and Naevius shows a truer stylistic feeling than Pliny's loose and uncritical *Plautum vel Terentium*. It would be interesting to know which of the two dramatists the lady's letters really resembled ;

but there seem to be no data on which to base an inference.

It is important also to know whether the epistles to which Pliny refers were the ordinary letters of correspondence or mere literary exercises. The preceding context certainly suggests the latter, as does Pliny's doubt as to the authorship of the letters, expressed in the following sentence : 'quae sive uxoris sunt, ut adfirmat, sive ipsius, ut negat,' etc. Such a doubt could scarcely have existed in the case of ordinary correspondence.

I am inclined to interpret Pliny's '*Plautum vel Terentium metro solum legi credidi*' as meaning that the letters made on him the same general impression that the conversation of his mother-in-law did on Crassus. As there is nothing whatever to suggest that Pliny had the words of Cicero in mind, while his doubt as to the authorship of the letters, and his *Plautum vel Terentium*, point the other way, we should then have independent testimony to the archaic flavour of the diction of the Roman matrons, and an indication that the characteristic was noticeable in Pliny's day, as well as in Cicero's. Even though the letters were doubtless literary exercises, it is natural to assume that the lady's style



was coloured to some extent by that of her ordinary conversation; cf. the words of Crassus, 'ea tenent semper, quae prima didicerunt.' It is certainly noteworthy that she suggested to Pliny writers who antedated by about a century at least the models whom her husband followed; and it is difficult to understand in what respect other than in archaic diction letters written as literary exercises could suggest Plautus or Terence. If we assume that the letters were those of correspondence, the probability of the hypothesis becomes even greater.

It is possible that the archaic style of the letters was consciously assumed; for that the

archaistic movement, which reached its height in the time of the Antonines, had already begun in some quarters, is shown by the well-known passage of Seneca, *Epist.* 114. 13 'multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba: duodecim tabulas loquuntur. Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimis culti et recentes sunt; ad Appium usque et ad Coruncanium redeunt.' Since, however, there is no indication of such a tendency in Saturninus, who, Pliny says, 'uxorem, quam virginem accepit, tam doctam politamque reddiderit,' this hypothesis may, I think, safely be rejected, in favour of the other and more attractive one.

J. C. ROLFE.

### MILTON AND DEMETRIUS *DE ELOCUTIONE*.

IN the earlier part of his *Apology for Smectymnus* Milton writes: 'There, while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and to make up the atticism, they were out, and I hissed.'

Milton is here clearly echoing the famous passage in the *Crown*: ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐπριταγωνίζεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριπτον (*Demosth. de Cor.* 265). But the reference to 'the atticism' suggests the scholastic point of view; and it is probable that he had read the words not only in their original context, but in the section (250) of DEMETRIUS ON STYLE, in which they are quoted (though not with approbation) as a well-known example of antithesis.

However this may be, it is certain that Milton was acquainted with the *De Elocutione*. Towards the end of his *Tractate of Education* he says: 'And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well-couched head and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric, taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.'

This passage of the *Tractate* is interesting

to the classical scholar for more than one reason. In the first place, it is clear that the order in which the names are arranged is designed to be chronological, and therefore clear that Milton follows the traditional view with regard to the authorship both of the *περὶ ὕψους* and of the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*. In assigning the latter work to Demetrius Phalereus he had behind him the high authority of Petrus Victorius, whose edition he no doubt used. Vettori, it is worth noting, had as decided a belief in the educational value of the treatise as that expressed by Milton a century later. In his Address to the Reader he says: *Possum etiam hoc vere de illo* (libro, sc. *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*) *praedicare, me neminem eorum invenisse, cum quibus ipsum diligenter legi* (*legi autem cum multis, et iis quidem magno ingenio ac iudicio praeditis hominibus*) *qui non ipsum statim amaverint ac magnopere admirati sint.*

Another noteworthy feature in Milton's list (if it is meant to be exhaustive) is the absence of the names of Dionysius and Quintilian, both of them manly and systematic rhetoricians, building with sober judgment on the foundations laid by a long line of teachers and writers. On the other hand, the inclusion of Plato shows a true perception, still far from common, of the great services rendered to Rhetoric by the philosopher who passed for its most determined foe.

In his reference to the virtues and varieties of style, Milton has in mind the predominant doctrine of the Graeco-Roman rhetorical schools. *Perspicuity* was accounted a primary, *elegance* an accessory

virtue; the latter is the result of the various devices by which style is heightened or embellished (*καλλωπισμός*). The sense of *fitness* or *propriety* (*τὸ πρέπον*) was, according to Dionysius, 'the most sovereign of all literary virtues'; and it had a fine field for exercise in the choice of appropriate styles, whether *lofty* (*χαρακτήρ ὑψηλός*), *lowly* (*ισχνός*), or *mean* (*μέσος*).

Milton thus adopts, in common with Dionysius and most of the Graeco-Roman theorists, the threefold division of style into grand, middle, and plain. The *De Elocutione*, in this matter, stands somewhat apart from other works of its class. It recognises four types of style: the stately (*χαρακτήρ μεγαλοπρεπής*), the polished (*γλαφυρός*), the plain (*ισχνός*), and the forcible (*δεινός*). From this circumstance it might, but precariously, be argued that the treatise is to be assigned to a date between the period of the upholders of three styles (e.g. Cicero, Dionysius, Quintilian), and that of Hermogenes, who substitutes for the three types the doctrine of seven qualities (*ἰδέαι*) of style.

It was mentioned above that the author of the *De Elocutione* takes exception to the example of antithesis which he quotes from Demosthenes. His censure is reserved not for what modern taste would consider the bad feeling exhibited in the passage, but for that excessive artificiality of expression which causes it to ring false. As he well says from this point of view, 'the elaborate balance of clauses produces the impression of false artifice; of trifling rather than of honest indignation' (*κακοτεχνούντι γὰρ ἔοικε διὰ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ παίζοντι οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντι*, § 250). His criticism recalls Plato's contention that, after all, sincerity is an essential principle of style. It is undoubtedly interesting, because it is rare, to find an ancient critic thus taking Demosthenes to task when he lapses for a moment from his high plane of eloquence. But whether such independence of judgment can give, as it has sometimes been thought to do, a definite clue to the date of the treatise is not so obvious.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

## REVIEWS.

### SPIEGELBERG'S EGYPTIAN AND GREEK PROPER NAMES.

*Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, gesammelt und erläutert von WILHELM SPIEGELBERG. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901. viii, 72 and 58 pp., 33 pls. Price M. 24.

EGYPTIAN mummies during the Roman period from the second to the fourth centuries were often ticketed with wooden labels indicating the names and parentage of the deceased. The inscriptions are commonly bilingual, the names being given in Greek and demotic; they may be given in Greek alone, but rarely in demotic only. A great number of such labels have reached museums from the neighbourhood of Ekhmim in Upper Egypt. Prof. Spiegelberg has copied 250 labels from one single collection, besides many smaller accumulations, and in the present work he discusses these along with all examples previously published. Facsimiles of 117 examples are given in the plates. The separate Greek names or variant forms of names reach

the respectable total of 463. Of these a large proportion are purely Greek, e.g. *Απολλωνιος*, *Αρτεμις*, etc. The bulk, however, are Graecised Egyptian names and very few are left in their pure Egyptian forms. Latin names—*Γαιος*, *Ποστομος*—are very scarce, as might be expected. In the demotic examples the name is most frequently set in a formula of prayer or good wishes for the deceased, and these formulae Spiegelberg discusses very fully. The names on the bilingual tickets are of interest as affording general corroboration of the reading of demotic to those who, not having studied it, may still doubt the trustworthiness of the decipherment, and as supplying new light on certain difficult groups. To the student of Egyptian philology, the Greek transcriptions are of great value as indicating with what vocalization words were pronounced in the Roman period including many which are obsolete in Coptic; but for these transcriptions the vocalization of such words would be entirely unknown, since the native writing represents

only the skeleton of a word without the vowels. To the Egyptologist, therefore, the work is of high value; to the Greek papyrologist also it will afford valuable insight into the formation of the Egyptian names which abound in the objects of his study. These names are often of significance in connexion with local cults or the worship of deities universally popular in Egypt in late times, and for that reason alone repay careful attention. Titles and geographical names are also found on the labels. The book is furnished with elaborate indices—of the names themselves, of later Coptic names discussed in connexion with them, etc.

It is much to be hoped that the study of Graeco-Egyptian and demotic proper names

will be continued by Prof. Spiegelberg or others, since very important results to Egyptology are likely to be attained through it. In the present work, so far as the rather slippery subject of demotic is concerned, there are few readings the correctness of which can be disputed, and it is only in two or three cases that one may see how better readings or explanations might have been substituted. In the interpretations of Egyptian names concealed under Greek forms there is much that is both ingenious and correct, but much of necessity remains to be done where there is no demotic version to be guided by, the Greek renderings of both consonants and vowels being often somewhat indefinite.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

#### TYRRELL AND PURSER'S CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO. INDEX.

*The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero.*

Edited by ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL, Litt.D., and LOUIS CLAUDE PURSER, Litt.D.  
Vol. VII. Index. Pp. 167. Dublin University Press Series. 1901. 7s. 6d.

MESSRS. TYRRELL AND PURSER have completed their edition of Cicero's Correspondence by issuing an Index to the preceding six volumes. They have not attempted to form a complete Onomasticon to the text, since to do so would be merely to repeat work already done by Orelli and others, but refer mainly to the Introductions and to the notes. By the exclusion of superfluous matter the Index, which consists of 167 pages only, is rendered compact and attractive, while the editors justly claim that they have omitted little which is of importance. The volume contains a Latin Index, a Greek Index, and two arrangements of the Letters, the first of which is similar to those found in the previous volumes, while the second gives a conspectus of the Letters ad Familiares, arranged according to the Correspondents, which will be found extremely useful, as there is no such list in Mendelssohn's edition. The Latin Index is closely packed with information upon points of history, grammar and style; some of the headings in particular e.g. 'ellipse,' 'epistolary style,'

'proverbs,' 'the subjunctive,' testify to a vast amount of conscientious industry. It is enlivened by many of those happy renderings which are familiar to the reader of the previous volumes, and the Greek Index which follows coruscates with gems. Many contributions have been made towards the criticism and exegesis of these Letters, during the period which has elapsed since the publication of the first volume, and on several points the editors have changed or modified the view originally taken. In such cases the Index will be found fully up-to-date. A notable example is Fam. viii. 1. 5. where *embaeneticam facere* appears in the Index as the true reading, with a reference to Mr. Walters' communication in the *Classical Review* 1897 p. 367, in place of the conjecture *iam πενητικὴν facere* (Klotz) printed in the text. Similarly the note on *Nanneianis* (Att. 1. 16. 5.) is supplemented by a reference to the conjecture of Turnebus, *Nævianis*, and under the heading 'Plural,' reference is made to Prof. Conway's dissertation upon the use of the singular *nos* in Cicero's Letters. In the Greek Index Gurlitt's clever conjecture *φαλλῶ Luciliano* (Att. xvi. 11.1.) appears, though it was not mentioned by the editors under the text.

ALBERT C. CLARK.



CONWAY'S *LIVY*, BOOK II.

*Livy, Book II.* With Introduction and Notes, by R. S. CONWAY, Litt. D. Cambridge University Press. 1901. Pp. xxiv., 208. 2s. 6d.

THIS edition is a really valuable aid to the study of the great Roman Historian, both as to his matter and his language. Prof. Conway possesses the first qualification for a successful interpreter—enthusiasm for his author. After passing through a phase of some depreciation, *Livy*, like the writer who is in some respects his English parallel, Macaulay, is again in the ascendant. We read with gratitude such appreciations of *Livy* as the following: 'In the depth and truth of his human sympathies, his feeling for and with the men and women whose outer life he records, no Roman writer but Vergil can well be compared with him... After nineteen centuries one still hears in his pages a living human voice.' Full justice is done to *Livy* as an 'artist in words,' and to his 'wealth of noble diction.' It may be permissible to note, by the way, as to the charge of provincialism or *Patavinitas* brought by Asinius Pollio against *Livy's* style, that Quintilian, in both of the places where he refers to it (i. v. 56 and viii. i. 3), regards the criticism as indicating not so much defects in *Livy*, as super-sensitiveness in Asinius Pollio. As to *Livy's* treatment of the old traditions 'it may be said,' says Prof. Conway, 'that it is to *Livy*, more than any other Latin writer, that we owe our conception of the Roman national character.' Naturally; for *Livy* is the great prose exponent of the phase of the world's history when Rome under Augustus became conscious of herself. The noble traditions of the past were not vanished beyond recall, but they needed recalling in order that they might become potent.

The treatment of historical points, both in the Introduction and the Notes, is concise, lucid and enlightened. On some points, particularly as to the origin of the *plebs* and their early inclusion in the *Comitia Curia* (pp. xiv. and 138) the views of Schwegler are preferred to those of Mommsen. Very good are the remarks (Intro. §§ 6 and 7) on the institution of the tribunate. We are reminded how the tribunate was the abiding record of the 'rift within the lute,' and how, long after the original rift had healed, there originated from this what was, from a con-

stitutional point of view, the main cause of the break-up of the republic.

The notes, both historical and philological, are enriched with many valuable suggestions by Prof. J. S. Reid. In a few cases slight ambiguities remain; e.g. p. 82 line 16 'for *facere*, *fecissem*' should rather be 'for *facere* or *fecissem*,' lest the reader should think that *fecissem* is to be substituted for *facere*, whereas *facturus fui* is to be substituted for either. On p. 88 line 24 for 'the latter is always used in the participial construction *opus est hoc facto*,' read rather 'in the participial construction, etc. the latter is always used'; and on p. 129 line 19 for 'It is a variation of a common type' read 'The variation is one of a common type.' But this is somewhat microscopic criticism.

Where renderings are given in the Notes they are generally excellent. But in the description of C. Mucius' heroism (ch. 12. 13) exception may be taken to the rendering, 'as though his consciousness were completely severed from the physical sensation' for '*velut alienato ab sensu animo*.' You can hardly distinguish between 'consciousness' and 'physical sensation'; the contrast is between the physical pain and the high soul that is able to ignore or condemn it; and 'soul' or 'spirit' would better translate *animo*. On ch. 30. 5 it is rightly pointed out that '*Tarquinius Superbus*' is not properly rendered 'Tarquin the Proud.' But 'cruel' is hardly the best translation; 'haughty' or 'overbearing,' the word suggested in the good etymological note on *superbus*, covers more of the associations of the word. In the note on *ultas* (ch. 17. 6), *comitatus*, at ch. 16. 4, might have been added to the list of deponent participles in passive sense. On ch. 58. 7. it might be pointed out that the use of the Subjunctive in General Past Conditions ('*si...vellet*' 'if ever he wished') is little removed from the use of *cum* with the same mood in General Temporal Sentences (ch. 27. 8 etc.) and a reference might be given to Roby §§ 1525, 1716. There is no doubt that this subjunctive use grew commoner in, and after, the Augustan writers. But Prof. Reid points out that there are examples of it in Cicero, and the same is true of Caesar; see B.G. I. 25. 3, B.C. II. 41. 6, III. 47. 7, 110. 4. The printing is extremely careful and accurate. At the bottom of p. 109 '46. 6' should be '46. 3.' I think the characteristic use of the pluper-

fect there illustrated may be due to a wish to concentrate the interest of a story on a particular moment in it, which is selected for painting a mental picture. Then what has to be assumed as antecedent to the picture is expressed by the pluperfect. On the unusual sequence in c. 33. 9 *ut, nisi foedus ...monumento esset, memoria cessisset*, we read: 'the more usual construction would be *cessurum fuerit*. A similar retention of the independent Mood and Tense in 4. 58. 3 *cum succurri si maturatum esset, potuisset*.' But this is not quite parallel, for two reasons—or perhaps for one reason, which we may view in two aspects. (1) *Posse* in itself expresses potentiality and so stands in the same position as the future ptp. (c. 1. 3.), or the ptp. in *-dus* (c. 38. 5), used with the indicative: (2) a construction analogous to *cessurum fuerit* is with *posse* impossible. But though *ut...cessisset* goes a step further

than *ut...potuisset*, we may in the former regard *cessisset* as representing the indicative of allied fact, *cesserat*. There are many most illuminating notes where the resources of etymology are brought to bear on the meaning of Latin words, as on *vindicta* (5. 10), *propitius* (10. 4), *temere* (20. 3), *instauro* (36. 1) etc. Space does not allow of an adequate examination of Appendix II, which deals with the 'alternation of Secondary and Primary Tenses of the Subjunctive in passages in the *Oratio Obligua*.' It must suffice to say that Prof. Conway appears to have shown conclusively that Livy's use has method in it, and is not arbitrary or due to mere love of 'concinnity.' As to the text, Prof. Conway steers a judicious course on the rather numerous doubtful points. There are two maps, one of West Central Italy, another of Early Rome.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

#### TYRRELL'S LATIN ANTHOLOGY.

*Anthology of Latin Poetry*, by ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL, Litt.D., Fellow and Public Orator, Trinity College, Dublin; Hon. Litt.D. Cantab.; D.C.L., Oxon.; LL.D. Edin. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: the Macmillan Company. 1901. Pp. ix., 310. Price 6s.

THIS little book forms a companion volume to the author's *Latin Poetry*. Its interest is twofold. In the first place it gives us a selection of Latin poetry which does not confine itself to the gems, but aims at illustrating at once the merits and defects of that literature. An Anthology on this principle, from the hand of Dr. Tyrrell, will, I think, be generally welcomed. But, apart from this, a number of fragments and extracts from authors seldom read by the average Classical student, and in many cases only accessible to him at the cost of much trouble, are here collected and briefly annotated for him.

The pre-Augustan writers occupy a little more than 84 pp., of which Plautus, Terence, Lucretius and Catullus occupy 50. The other writers of this period have been treated very unjustly by Fate, which has often left us much of the poor ones and little of the good. Dr. Tyrrell's selections bear silent testimony to this, and Cicero occupies a larger space than Lucilius and

nearly as much as Ennius. Some of the selections are quite brief: Furius Antias is represented by 6 monostichs.

Of the Augustans (85 pp. in all), Vergil, Horace and Ovid have each about 18 pp., Propertius 9, Tibullus 6. Of the later Augustans Manilius gets nearly 7 pp., Grattius, Pedo and Severus are represented, and extracts are given from the Culex, Copa and Moretum. Familiar specimens represent Maecenas and Marsus.

Of the silver poets, Statius, Martial and Juvenal each have 10 or 12 pp., Seneca's plays 8: the others get from 3 to 5 apiece. The Lydia and Aetna, and Calpurnius-Nemesianus are also represented. Late Latin occupies the last 18 pp. The Perugilium is given in full, Ausonius and Claudian receive each about half-a-dozen pages, Prudentius half this amount. A brief specimen of Numatianus is given, and a few lines of Boethius end the book.

The notes occupy 50 pp. Dr. Tyrrell gives practically none on authors 'universally read and copiously edited and commented on.' I cannot help thinking that most students would have preferred notes on the whole of the Lucan extracts to the complete translation of one of them, reprinted from *Translations*, Cambridge, 1878. Such notes, written on the scale so well observed in the rest of the book, would

not have occupied much more room than the page now occupied by the Translation, the insertion of which, excellent as it is, seems rather inconsistent with the plan of the book. The notes are brief, almost always to the point, and, I need hardly add, interesting. Dr. Tyrrell's disclaimer (in the Preface) of any attempt to convey 'higher instruction' must be discounted by the excellent notes on e.g. 14. 7; 35. 2; 240 and 246. In critical matters due cognisance is taken of the readings of the new Corpus.

I conclude with a few points that have occurred to me in reading over the Notes.

37. 10 *propter cunam capulum* etc., might have been illustrated by Manilius' *nascentes morimur* (and Seneca and Silius). 38. 23 sqq. are almost an exact versification by Cicero of his own words iii. Cat. § 19. 56 [Casina] 824 *malo suo*, 'to his cost' should be 'to her cost.' Pardalisca tells the pretended bride to be sure to cheat her husband: the latter says she had better not or she will suffer. 181. 58 (Ovid's elegy on Tibullus) *me tenuit moriens* etc., said by Nemesis, is of course a reference to Tib. 1. 1. 60 (given on p. 127). 193. The Seneca to whom we owe this fragment of Pædo is the elder Seneca. 207 [Sen. Med.] 618 'Ancaeus is called *indoctus*, not having been instructed, as Tiphys was, by Artemis.' Artemis is, I presume, a slip for Athena. But *indocto* here is simply used as a relative term: Ancaeus passed as skilful enough when not compared with Tiphys. 230 [Calpurn. vii.] 54. The editor suggests *tortis*, but *torta* is in the previous line. 232 [Sil. i.] 126. The translation implies Heinsius' conj. *stagnantes*, *flagrantes* stands in the text.

134. The other points of the prophecy are explained by Dr. Tyrrell, but no explanation is given here, where I think it is most needed. The tempest which the prophet foresees is that which was called forth by Hannibal's attempt to take Rome by storm (12. 605 sqq.). 237 [V.F. ii.] 270 *respicit* is surely 'look back to see that': cp. vi. 661. 241 (V.F. viii.) 23 *ferit* in notes, *premit* in text. 242 [Stat. silu. ii. 7] 57 sqq. are curiously misunderstood. *Noster Orpheus* of course means 'my son Orpheus,' not Nero, in Calliope's mouth. At l. 77 a word of caution is necessary to show that V.F. is not the poet referred to (as e.g. Kohlmann thought). 243 [silu. iv. 5] 52 *ensisque vagina quiescit*, *stringere nî iubeant amici* surely means that 'Septimius will not use his eloquence against anyone, except to defend a friend who seeks his help.' Dr. Tyrrell explains 'his friends are warned that the sword will no longer remain in the scabbard if he is given reason to draw it.' The word 'warned' here surely implies that S. is threatening his friends, an idea quite out of place here. In 253 [Stat. Ach. ii.] 180 *acclinem* is explained, 'leaning against the wall.' But Statius says plainly enough *acclinem hastae*, leaning against the spear. In 293 [Peruigilium] 9 *gemmis floribus* is rendered 'flower jewels' and ll. 14, 18 are adduced as proofs of its being one of the writer's mannerisms 'thus to couple substantives.' But *virgines papillae* (14), *virgines rosae* (18) present no difficulty to those who have already met *charta anus*, *virgo charta*, etc. *Flos gemma* is a very much stranger expression.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

## WUNDT ON THE EVOLUTION OF SPEECH.

*Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos, und Sitte* von WILHELM WUNDT. Erster Band. Die Sprache. Leipzig, 1900. [Erster Theil pp. xviii. + 627. Zweiter Theil, pp. x. + 644.] 29 M.  
*Grundfragen der Sprachforschung mit Rücksicht auf W. Wundt's Sprachpsychologie* erörtert von B. DELBRÜCK. Strassburg, 1901. [pp. viii. + 180.] 4 M.

THE comparative study of language has for a full generation made the effort to keep itself in touch with sound principles of

psychology. The romanticism of the early nineteenth century, in accordance with the tone of which languages were said to be born, grow, and decay, to be related as parent and child, and to be in health or disease, has, in principle, passed out of use. The 'teleological' principles of the 'old school,' which indeed recognised language as a function of human society, but postulated such conscious or semi-conscious activities as 'the effort for ease,' 'the effort to maintain important distinctions,' have also been abandoned. It has become an accepted principle that the essential laws of speech



are the same at all times, and that the changes of the past must therefore be explained by comparison with phenomena which we can observe at the present day, and by laws such as determine our own habits in the use of language. The two older views have thus come to be regarded as extremes almost equally opposed to the truth. Language is neither an organism living its own life independent of men, nor is it the creation of human ingenuity and persistent purpose. Its history is bound up with the unconscious workings of human faculties, partly within the individual, and still more in the continuous play of social intercourse. These human faculties are in themselves the field of the 'science of Psychology'; and, in connexion with social development, of a branch of that science which Professor Wundt calls 'Völkerpsychologie.' For this word we have perhaps no nearer equivalent than 'Anthropology,' which is too wide a term: 'Social Psychology' may serve as a translation for the moment.

In the generation during which comparative philologists have thus sought to base their studies on psychology, the latter science has shifted its ground. The conception of the human soul, as an entity distinct from the body (and perhaps from the 'spirit' also) has ceased to be postulated: in its place 'psychical activities' as distinct from but always associated with 'physical activities' of the man, have become the subject of study: and the 'psychical activities' are increasingly studied in the light shed by these associated 'physical activities,' or, in common language, by experimental research. Of this new school of 'experimental psychology' Professor Wundt is perhaps the most eminent representative: at any rate the undertaking of which the first part lies before us is surely the greatest enterprise to which it has put its hand, namely the tracing of the laws of psychology in the evolution of language, religion, and custom. To us as students of language it presents itself as a systematic testing of our first principles by a superior authority: we are prepared to find that old-fashioned methods which we have inherited from psychologists of a past generation must be abandoned, and that inadequate formulae produced by our inexperienced hands must be redrafted. In return we entertain the hope that here and there at least a practical problem that we have failed to solve will be illuminated by the new methods and more precise diagnoses presented to us.

The short book by Professor Delbrück, the title of which stands second of the two at the head of this article, is practically a review of Professor Wundt's book from this standpoint, written in a style remarkably free from technical difficulties, and representing generally the attitude of the expert student of language to the criticism of the psychologist. Delbrück's intimate association with Brugmann in the Comparative Grammar which has summed up the whole results of modern philological science, and his special familiarity with those problems of Syntax which remain as landmarks of past stages in the higher developments of human thought, are excellent qualifications for his task. Upon all questions which are distinctly psychological he is prepared to submit without question to recognised authority: but that this submission is in no sense a mark of indifference appears from the interesting sketch he gives of the development of modern psychology, and his explanations as to the adaptation of its terminology to the observed phenomena of language. On the other hand he is prepared to maintain the authority of his own science in its proper field. In matters of detail it is unimportant whether or not the psychologist is correct: he may be put right in his Sanskrit paradigm *bhara-mi, bhara-si, bhara-ti* (*Völkerps.* ii. pp. 132, 620) and allowed still to err in his Latin *fer-o, fer-is, fer-it* (*ib.* p. 132).<sup>1</sup> But in dealing with large questions such as (for example) Grimm's law or Sentence Accent, a precise acquaintance with the facts is essential: and a really precise acquaintance is only to be won by a life-time devoted to historical investigation (*Grundfragen*, p. 175). And, indeed, the idea of a complete harmonisation of Psychology and Comparative Language, which would place them in something of the relation which exists between (say) Pure and Applied Mathematics, is a dream by which practical men on both sides should not be deceived. Between the fundamental principles of human nature and the ancient history of the Indo-European languages lies the unfathomable abyss of the *millennia* of human existence on the globe. The two departments of human knowledge come into contact at several points, but in the main each must go its own way and use its own methods.

With this caution we may proceed with

<sup>1</sup> It is Professor Brugmann who is actually responsible in both cases; see the note to *Völkerps.* ii. 615. But the attitude is Delbrück's own (*Grundfragen*, p. iv.).

interest and expectation to study the material which Professor Wundt has collected as the result of modern investigation and experiment, and to watch the method by which it is analyzed by him. He is first engaged in analyzing human nature as we may suppose it existing before the use of speech. Its primary psychical activities appear to be the emotions, which can be analyzed or resolved in three directions connecting opposite extremes, viz. pleasure and pain, excitement and depression, strain and relaxation. With these are invariably associated physical activities, such as changes in the heart, the blood-vessels, and the lungs. If the emotions are violent, they are usually manifested also in contortions of the body as a whole, which may include such actions as produce the sensation of sound.

In this stage, then, violent emotion is unconsciously expressed in violent gesture: and, in the reverse direction, violent gesture produces the corresponding emotion, not only in the individual, but in his neighbour who watches him. The neighbour in consequence repeats, and appears to imitate the gesture: and the process is repeated till in the course of social development the gesture comes to be recognised as regularly associated with the emotion, and therefore an evidence of it. As soon as it is consciously used for this purpose it becomes part of gesture-language.

For example, a child in low spirits cries. On another occasion it sees its mother cry: this depresses its spirits, and it cries too. After repeating both experiences many times, it becomes conscious of tears as a sign of low spirits. Next day, being in rather low spirits, it cries purposely in order to indicate its low spirits to its mother. The tears are no longer gesture, but gesture-language.

In rising from instinctive gesture to gesture-language both the psychical and physical factors undergo change. The emotions sink into the background, and the phenomena of perception, apperception, memory, purpose, and volition come into play. It evidently occurs to Professor Delbrück, and probably will to most other readers, that such phenomena as purpose and volition are not treated with sufficient fulness in Professor Wundt's picture. I take it that it is a fundamental position with the new psychology not to resort to these activities in explanation except in the last extremity: how far this position accords with the facts of social life seems too large a problem to be discussed here.

On the physical side we notice that gesture-language tends to concentrate itself in the movements of the facial muscles (called mimic gestures), which chiefly indicate the feelings, and the play of the hands and arms (called pantomimic gestures) which indicates objects and actions. This space-restriction we could easily explain upon the assumption of a 'purpose' to confine the gestures to a neighbour's field of view: how otherwise it can be explained is to be seen in the pages of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and now of Wundt: but the last-named seems to me far more successful in criticising his predecessors than in establishing his own view.

Although gesture-language is common to man and the brutes, it seems to call into play every faculty that is employed in speech, which is but a very highly specialised form of gesture. The whole psychology of speech may therefore be studied, and best studied, by the observation of gesture-language. Professor Wundt gives a rich collection of material from the latest authorities, dealing in turn with the language of the deaf and dumb, the North American Indians, the Neapolitans, and the Cistercians: and illustrations from picture-writing are also given. All this matter is in itself of the greatest interest. As evidence of the early stages through which speech has passed it is however open to the criticism that all existing gesture-language is or may have been largely modified by speech itself. This objection does not seem to hold good as against those features which are common to all gesture-languages, as for instance, pointing with the finger to denote an object: and there is some ground for the claim that here we have the essential features of a universal language. We may notice that the animal world is soon left behind by its failure to acquire the gesture of pointing—much less can the brutes make use of the 'pantomimic' gestures of imitating an object in outline or an action in its general effect. On the other hand, gesture-language makes little progress towards the complexity of powers possessed by oral speech. A gesture represents rather a complete sentence than a word; the parts of speech can only be roughly indicated, and the more highly developed forms of reasoning cannot be in any way expressed.

Instinctive gesture includes certain sounds, such as the cries that are associated with hunger and rage: and gesture-language develops these further, most elaborately in the song of birds, in which the fierce cry of the male fighting for his partner is gradually



transmuted into the modulated notes by which he seeks to entice her from her hiding place. In gesture-language also sounds have their place: the contraction of the lips represented by 'mum' is a pantomimic suggestion of silence, and the imitation of a bird's note may similarly suggest the bird itself. Wundt lays particular stress on the first of these expedients, the unconscious imitation of an object by the vocal organs themselves: it requires no element of 'purpose.' From these various elements it is a tempting task to construct the elements of a primitive universal speech. For this purpose all the languages of the globe, except the Celtic, are placed under contribution. But it must be admitted that the result is not convincing. It is satisfactory to the Englishman to learn that in his use of 'pa' and 'ma' he is giving expression to the universal instinct: but after all the complete divergence of even child-language in every separate race is a far more striking fact than its occasional coincidences. What we lack in this discussion is some hint of the evolutionary forces which have led mankind to discard so largely (though of course the exceptions are important) the catholic system of gesture-language in favour of the particularist systems of speech. Is it possible that concealment has always been as important a part of social development as self-revelation? We can at any rate constantly observe a tendency to create fresh linguistic forms which convey meaning only to members of a limited circle, even where distinctive terms are already in general use.

Gesture-language has in its way a syntax, and at any rate gestures are to some extent capable of classification. We are thus led to hope for some kind of psychological explanation of such grammatical categories as the Parts of Speech, the Cases of Nouns, or the Voices of Verbs. Yet we look in vain for any systematic treatment of this subject in Wundt's book. That gestures express directly the Sentence, and only secondarily the Word is a highly important principle which we may accept without hesitation as an ultimate truth in all language. But if we ask by what process the Sentence or complete mental picture has become resolved into parts corresponding to Noun and Verb, or the Noun again into Subject and Object, Indirect Object and Possessor, we meet with little more than the stale repetition of those grammaticological definitions which have never explained anything, although by constant

iteration they have come to serve as opiates to the spirit of enquiry. Only in the discussion of gender do we get some real light. The languages of natural peoples shew us endless distinctions of dignity, as between living and dead, human and animal, male and female. Gesture-language is also rich in expressions of honour and contempt, haughtiness and subservience. Such distinctions as those between the master and his slave, the purposeful fingers and the inert clay, we can conceive to have been practically familiar to man in his first experiments at constructive thought. They suggest a basis not only for the parallel distinctions between animate and inanimate (masculine and neuter), male and female (masculine and feminine), but also for the distinction in another category between conqueror and conquered (nominative and accusative). Thus Wundt himself would, I imagine, accept the sentence 'man killed bear' as a typical use of the cases: whilst the sentence 'manna fed Israelites' only has the same form through a series of changes in which the original force of the cases has been lost. But these points are not followed up, although in such matters linguists would gladly sit at the feet of a philosopher. Instead we have some elaborate discussions on the less essential developments of the cases in the Indo-European and other languages, from which, as Professor Delbrück rightly remarks, nothing of fundamental importance emerges.

In dealing with the development of the system of sounds Professor Wundt goes over the ground that is most familiar to comparative philologists. He first brushes aside the supposed principle of 'the invariability of phonetic laws.' Such a principle is impossible: no one can mean that there are laws which are observed in each individual case, no matter what may be the counteracting forces. Yet that, as Professor Delbrück points out, is exactly what observation sometimes shews: thus a final *m* becomes in Greek *n* without exception. On the other hand the principle formerly called 'false analogy,' and now generally termed 'analogy' only, is not only welcomed by Wundt, but accepted by him as typical of almost all sound-change. Here alone, he points out with emphasis, have we law with reason behind it, here we have evolution that can be explained. Unhappily the *a priori* theories of Wundt correspond very little with observed fact. The great generalisation known as Grimm's law is a natural test of the adequacy of Wundt's



postulates. He discusses it at some length, and endeavours to shew that it may be the necessary result of the growing rapidity of enunciation amongst civilised peoples. We need feel no surprise that, in Delbrück's opinion, he would have done better to leave the subject alone. It has never been suggested that Grimm's law represents a universal tendency of speech: yet only on this supposition could we look for a purely psychological explanation. What could come of the discussion but that the psychologist should blunder in his facts, and even so fail to suggest any explanation that linguists have not long ago tried and found wanting? On the other hand the working of psychological principles such as 'analogy' or, as the psychologist terms it, 'association' can be fitly and interestingly illustrated in the history of changes of a simple kind and within the range of one man's lifetime and observation. Still it can hardly be said that the working of any such principle has yet been shewn to possess that degree of uniformity with which in common speech we associate the name 'law.'

The concluding chapter of Wundt's work deals with the evolution of meanings, or as it is now called, Semantic. This science is yet only in its beginnings: but several prominent philologists have endeavoured to draw out its general plan and secure its foundations: and it may be well to remember that G. Curtius laid stress on this side of the subject many years ago, in particular laying down the sound principle that all words have originally a meaning corresponding to some particular and concrete phenomenon. The title of the last important work on this subject (*La Vie des Mots*, par M. Bréal) has a slightly romantic tone which perhaps indicates the difference between the points of view of the French and the German professors. Professor Wundt lays it down as a fundamental postulate that the evolution of meanings is subject to a strict principle of law, dependent upon the necessary conditions of the development of the human mind. But as these conditions are often too complicated to be fully traced, we cannot expect to find a complete account of the changes that actually occur. Changes are regular, if they are such as occur simultaneously in a considerable number of individuals: sporadic (singular) if their origin can be traced to one or two. In regular change purpose should never be postulated; the unconscious associations which are always at work

between our ideas and the words that correspond to them being sufficient to explain all the facts. The most important, and on the whole, the most primitive class of words is that which denotes objects: yet objects are frequently named from some attribute or activity which characterises them permanently or temporarily. In such cases the origin of the name soon ceases to be remembered; it is identified with the object itself, and if some other feature of the object come in turn into prominence in the mental conception, the name may come first to include, and finally to be used exclusively for, objects which do not possess the feature from which the name was originally drawn. Associative processes of this kind are of many kinds, and Wundt proposes a classification which in its general features wins Delbrück's approval. Probably the most interesting class of associations to most readers is that which is bound up with the changing conditions of human society in successive ages, a class so important that it has suggested to some an 'historic method' for the treatment of Semantics as a whole: as for instance the word 'bride' first meant 'daughter-in-law,' then 'young wife,' and now describes only the status of a day, owing to the gradual break-up of the patriarchal system. Professor Wundt does not look upon such changes as a fundamental feature of language, but rather as themselves requiring psychological investigation. But whatever point of view we may adopt, there can be no doubt that there is in these directions a rich field still open for the scientific investigator. With regard to singular change, this seems more doubtful. The naming of newly discovered parts of the globe by their first visitants is only typical of the thousands of new names assigned every year by scientific men and inventors to describe newly discovered elements or machines. Doubtless the namers are subject, like other men, to psychological conditions, and some more or less adequate explanation of the name chosen may often be found: yet only a determinist can admit that the process is strictly one of natural law.

It is hardly too much to say that a book such as Wundt has written is almost an education in itself to persons trained in linguistic studies: it enriches their memory with a large collection of facts culled from a dozen cognate sciences, and stimulates their reasoning power by the example of bold and skilful methods of thinking that are prob-

ably new to them. But there appears to me to be a corresponding danger, in the temptation to select those facts which suit a preconceived theory, and to reject others which are inconsistent with it as 'impossible': and in an unwillingness to recognise in the records of history those phenomena which we classify, however imperfectly, under the rubrics of free-will and individuality. Delbrück does well in exhorting us to be always at work, observing and defining facts,

arranging and rearranging them: and to be satisfied if now and then we can explain them. This is indeed the position of the new psychology itself, as compared with its predecessor. For the friendly contact into which the two sciences have been brought they owe a great debt to the enterprise of Professor Wundt, and we may hope that each will reap increasing profit by a fuller study of the methods of the other.

E. V. ARNOLD.

#### ABBOTT'S SONGS OF MODERN GREECE.

*Songs of Modern Greece*, with introductions, translations, and notes. By G. F. ABBOTT, B.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1900. 5s. net.

THIS dainty little book meets the need, long felt by classical scholars, of a selection that will enable them to see what the Modern Greek Ballads are like, without the necessity of much preliminary study of the modern language. Fauriel's excellent 'Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne,' is too large and too expensive to serve this purpose, and moreover is not always to be obtained; Passow's 'Τραγούδια 'Ρωμαϊκά' does not offer sufficient help to those who approach Modern Greek through Ancient. A selection from either of these works, with translations and notes, would have served the purpose; but Mr. Abbott has done better. He has, as he states, avoided including any poems previously published in Western Europe; the sources from which his collection is derived are partly various local Greek publications, and in two or three instances, oral tradition. In the latter case, additional interest is given by Mr. Abbott's picturesque description of the blind minstrel at Salonica from whose dictation they were taken down. His

suggestion, that the alternation of instrumental prelude or interlude and vocal chant or recitation may throw light on the methods of the ancient rhapsodes and on the expression *φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰεῖν*, is certainly worth considering.

Mr. Abbott's introductions are interesting; if, as especially in that to the Romantic poetry, he perhaps underestimates Western influence, and sometimes seeks too far for ancient analogies to modern Greece, the fault may readily be pardoned. The translations are literal and accurate, and the notes, for the most part, are just what is wanted to help a classical scholar to recognise familiar words in their modern disguise. Sometimes a step is omitted, e.g., 'πηγαῖνω (= ὑπάγω) is hardly intelligible without the explanation that the new present is formed by a mistaken analogy from 'πήγα (ὑπήγα). And the association of the notions *swift* and *slow* with *early* and *late* is too general and obvious to need the fanciful explanation from the rapidity of the Greek dawn or the slow advent of darkness. However, such details do little to mar the attractiveness and usefulness of the volume.

E. A. GARDNER.

#### KUMANUDES'S HISTORICAL VOCABULARY OF LITERARY MODERN GREEK.

Συναγωγή Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὑπὸ Στεφάνου Ἀθ. Κουμανοῦδη Ἀδριανοπολίτου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1900. 8vo. pp. ι' + 1166. 15s.

PERHAPS few scholars outside Greece know

that the author of the above work—who died recently at Athens—had been for over half the century just elapsed Professor of Humanity in the National University of Greece, and that well-nigh every educated Greek, beginning with his Majesty the King of the Hellenes, has been a pupil of

the eminent master. But apart from his national services as a revered teacher, Stephanos Kumanudes deserves our thanks for his many learned publications on classical Greek, notably for his archaeological collections known as *Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ* (Athens 1860), and *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι* (*ib.* 1871), then for his *Συναγωγή Λέξεων ἀθησαυρίστων* (*ib.* 1883), which last forms a valuable supplement to our Greek lexica.

The present and last work of the learned professor is a welcome and in many respects worthy sequel to the well-known *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods* compiled by that other Greek erudite *Εὐαγγελινὸς Ἀποστολίδης* whom we know as E. A. Sophocles. Just as Apostolides has collected and interpreted the vocabulary peculiar to post-classic and especially post-Christian writers, so now Kumanudes has presented his countrymen and such other classical students, as are interested in the unbroken history of the Greek language, with a copious vocabulary of some 60,000 words (according to the preface) coined by Greek scribes since the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, and more particularly within the last 150 years. But while Apostolides has excerpted a definite though vast number of texts with a view to supplement the stock of the ancient lexicon, Kumanudes began his gleanings without definite object in view by noting down certain neologisms as mere curiosities.<sup>1</sup> Again while Apostolides was able to work out systematically his material and issue it through the press first in the shape of *A Glossary* (1860), then, in a modified and more complete form, as a *Lexicon* (1870), Kumanudes, already an old man, was asked to revise his material for publication at the eleventh hour. This undoubtedly accounts for the incompleteness of the book, the very frequent absence of all definition or interpretation, the want of precise reference to the sources, and above all for the absence of a good introduction or preface setting forth the author's views and principles. Death having overtaken him after a few sheets had been set in print, the further revision and superintendence of the work was entrusted to his elder son, but a like fate having soon overtaken that son also, the painful duty devolved upon the

younger brother, P. S. Kumanudes, who had not prepared himself for the task. However, fairness bids us own that, considering the circumstances, this dutiful son has acquitted himself very creditably.

As indicated by the title, the present *Συναγωγή* does not take account, except rarely, of the copious stock of the common language traditionally spoken by the Greek people. The author limits himself to words of specifically literary coinage, eliminating mostly also such ancient terms as are now used in a quite different sense (*e.g.* *συναυλία* 'a concert,' *ἐξαγωγεύς* 'exporter,' *βαρύτονος*, 'barytone,' *ἀνούσιος* 'insipid'). Now as he began his gleanings in a casual rather than systematic way from stray books and journals with no definite purpose, it is obvious that the vocabulary now offered cannot claim to approach completeness, especially in a country like modern Greece where the endless regiment of penmen often seem to consider their own historic and linguistic traditions as a sort of tyranny. It is true that, when the prospects of having the material published approached realization, he laid under large contribution many pre-existing glossaries and dictionaries (the *Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνο-ἰταλικὸν Περιόδης* of 1878 should not have been overlooked), but then we are merely referred to these glossaries and so remain in the dark as to the original authorship of all the words borrowed from these sources.

Even so, however, the reader will miss hundreds of new terms (*e.g.* *ἀρχοντολόγιον*, *ἐξαγορά*, *ἐξοικονομῶ*, *βαναισόπλιντος*, *βαναισότυφος*, *πλειστηρίασμα*, *κλασικός*, *χαρτοκοπία*, *ἐλαιόδενδρον*, *ἐνδιαφέρομαι*, *ἐμπορομεσιτικός*, *ἀκταιωρός*, etc.) and furthermore all phrases and proverbial expressions connected with these neologisms (*e.g.*, *πέπων πάθος πέφυκεν ἄνευ ἀκράτου οἴνου*, — *ράβδος ἐν γωνία*, *ἄρα βρέχει*, — *ὁ ἐν ἐνὶ εὐδόκιμος καὶ ἐν παντί*, etc.).

It is also to be regretted that of the 60,000 words incorporated in the book, a very large number, if not the majority, of them are left without any interpretation whatever, a point causing some perplexity through every page, but especially in the very frequent case of technical terms. In numerous instances again the source is either altogether omitted, *e.g.* in *ἀνασυνάπτω*, *ἀνασυναλέσις*, *ἀντεπύχομαι*, *ἀντικαταστήσιμος*, *διασταυρωτικός*, *διάτμις*, *διατρητήρ*, *ράκοστόλιστος*, *σκοπεντική*, *τελεύσανρος*, *παιδοκομῆιον*, *ἀεροπόπος* (read *ἀεροκόπος*) etc.; or imperfectly indicated, as in *ἀνασύνθεσις*, *ἀνασυλλογή*, *ἀνθοτέχνημα*, *ἐπιγραμματιστής*, *σκοπο-*

<sup>1</sup> As such curiosities I may cite for the sake of English readers the *γυμνοκνίμιδες Σκῶτοι* and *δυσολαυκόφθαλμος Βρεττανία* (ὡς ἔχουσα τὰς δύο Ἀκαδημίας τὴν τῆς Ὁξωνίας καὶ τὴν τῆς Κανταβρίας).



στοιχείον, etc. This is a very serious drawback, inasmuch as we cannot locate or verify the term in question by being merely referred to a certain writer without indication of the work, volume and page. But even in cases where the reference is more or less definite, it should be distinctly noted that the earliest authority quoted is not necessarily also the original coiner of the term. It simply means that Kumanudes met the word in question first in the particular author or journal named first in the list of references. And as he does me the credit of including me among his authorities, I may observe by the way, that the now popular terms ποδήλατον (velocipede, bicycle) with ποδηλατέω, ποδηλασία, etc. then ποτοπωλείον (Trinkhalle), νυκτωδία (serenade, nocturne), are erroneously fathered on other writers, my humble self being responsible for their coinage.

All the above blemishes, however, are easily counterbalanced by the manifold merits of this remarkable and very important book. The long experience and great industry of the author, his extreme conscientiousness and honesty, coupled with rare modesty, command our respectful attention and implicit faith in every statement he makes. Very much instruction, frequently accompanied by merriment, can be also derived from his numerous observations, scattered almost through every page of the book, concerning the origin and history of a neologism, or the boldness of the various schools now striving to enforce their principles about the future language of the Greek nation. Alike *Vulgarists* (i.e. Vilaras' three modern pupils, or epigoni: Psycharis, Pallis, Eftaliotis), who preach for the creation of a new language on the pattern of illiterate speech, limited and poor as it is, without having regard to the ancestral and traditional language; *Purists* (now reduced to a small number of pedantic teachers), who strive after ancient grammar and vocabulary with neologisms moulded thereon; and (linguistic) *Revolutionists* or *Anarchists* (chiefly licentious journalists and young penmen, more versed in French and German than in their own tongue), whose warcry is: Down with all grammar and dictionary!—all these ambitious extremists and many other eccentric reformers in matters of education and even politics, often elicit from our author terse, spicy and humorous remarks as their name comes under discussion (good instances may be seen s. νν. ἀνθρωποθάλασσα, γυορβωτής, διατρώω, νυξίωπυρος, — δερματοπούα, βουλε-

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τικισμός, ὑελεμπορικόν (with Note), ἔθνοβασίλισσα, ἀναποτελεσματικότης).

To sum up, the copious stock of neologisms contained in the present glossary is highly interesting and instructive as illustrating the spirit, thought, life, and education of the Greek nation in our time. As was to be expected, of the copious stock embodied in the book, very many terms are of foreign coinage, as καλειδοσκόπιον, ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, μεταφυσική, δημοκράτης. Θεϊστής, περιήλιον, νεολογία, μυστικισμός, μεγαλομανία, σεισμικός, τηλεφώνιον, μονογραφία, σοσιαλισμός, συφιλίς, σόδα, τορπίλλη (from French torpille), τραῖνον (train), etc.; others, no less numerous, have been pedantically or needlessly coined and so never met with popular acceptance; while another numerous class originated in mere caprice or anarchic eccentricity (often against both grammar and common sense), and so were doomed never to be heard again. On the other hand, the remaining bulk—I should think upwards of 20,000 words—are now common stock, and so, considered by themselves or rather along with the large number of neologisms still unregistered, tell a very instructive lesson. They show that the literary vocabulary has so permeated national life, thought, and speech that no living Greek, however ignorant and uneducated or however anti-purist, can attempt to talk or write without yielding to the sway of the literary language. As a matter of fact the literary stock added to the thousands of ancient words directly surviving in the mouth of the nation (as γάλα, οὐρανός, τοῖχος, καπνός, κόρη, πέτρα, κισσός, κωβιός, στόμα, αἷμα, ὄρος, δάσος, ναῦτης, τιμή, φός, κλαίω, γελῶ, χάσκω, πεινῶ, διψῶ, ἔρχομαι, etc. etc.)—not to speak of the grammar which is essentially ancient—these elements constitute the backbone of the language and as such ought to meet with due consideration on the part of fastidious penmen in Greece and self-constituted critics abroad.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A good illustration of the influence of literary Greek upon the uneducated people is afforded by the following letter written on the 18 Nov. 1897 from Syra by Φιλίππουσης, an incendiary who had just managed to escape from the prison at Athens, and go over to that island, whence he writes to the editor of the 'Ἀκρόπολις' newspaper to absolve the gaolers from all blame. The misspellings, chiefly itacisms, are retained here for the sake of curiosity. 'Ἐν Σηρο, τῇ 18 Nov. 1897 Κύριε Διευθυντά 'Ἀκροπόλεως Σέ παρακάω πολλή νά δημοσιευθεῖς τήν ἐπιστολὴν μου διὰ νά μάθῃ ἡ κηνωρία ὅτι ἡ φρουρή (for οἱ φρουροί) τὸν φυλακόν (τῶν -κῶν) δέν πτέουν τίποτε διότι ἐκτέλουν (for ἐξε-έλουν) ὑπερείαν (ὑψηλ-) τήν στιγμὴν ὅπου ἀπέδρασα. Τό πῶς ἐφίγα θά σάς γράψω

I close by recommending the book to students of language in general, and particularly to neogrecists who wish to form an *approximate* idea as to (1) what part of the stock of modern Greek has been preserved in the vernacular tongue from ancient times (which can be easily seen by opening an

εἰς ἄλλην ἐπιστολὴν. Παρακαλῶ τὸν Κύριον Φρούραρχον νὰ μὴν τιμωρήσῃ τὴν φρουρὰν διότι εἶνε ἁθώα. "Ὅλος ἡμέτερος (ὕμ-) Μ. Φιλιππούσης."

ancient lexicon); (2) what part has been coined or revived by modern scribes, which is fairly exhibited in the present volume; and (3) what part is of national creation since ancient times and so, added to the part preserved from antiquity, characterizes genuine or popular modern Greek.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### 'ASSOCIATED REMINISCENCES.'

IN illustration of Mr. Cook's thesis I can mention an amusing instance in modern Latin verse. In 1862 the Camden prize was won at Cambridge by the late lamented F. W. H. Myers, on the subject 'Alexander ad Hyphasin.' In the concluding lines he saw fit to compare Alexander to Ganymede, and with Virgil, then as always, *βομβῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιῶν μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλων ἀκούειν*, the name Ganymedes suggested '*Et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores*,' which at once reappeared as '*Qualis ab Ida | Pertulit invisum Ganymedes raptus honorem*.' But conscious of his own catachrestical transfer of *invisum* from *genus* to *honorem*, the poet added a note with the lame defence '*Junoni scilicet*!'

In Theocritus 1. 5, while not denying the reminiscence of Sappho, I believe there is a truly amusing reminiscence of a far more familiar passage, viz. Homer, *Iliad* 453 ὥς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαῖ ῥοὶ ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες. Without going so far—as our present Hellenic brethren would—as to say that *χείμαρρος* and *χίμαρος* were pronounced

*exactly* the same—I believe that the resemblance is near enough to warrant *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, like 'There shall pour down to you' [not the flood but] 'the flock.' It is the same sort of pun as if we should say, 'there shall come sailing in to you a sheep.'

I may mention here, in connection with the word *χίμαρος*, a singular misprint which has been copied, as far as I know, in every edition of *Childe Harold* from the earliest to the latest. In *Childe Harold* ii. 51, 3 in a description of the mountains of Albania (Epiros) we find the strange line;

'*Chimaera's* Alps extend from left to right.

Read *Chimari's*; so in stanza 72, we have twice

'Chimariot, Illyrian, and dark Suliote'

'Shall the sons of Chimari, who never forgive.'

Byron's hand was a hard one for the printers.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

### A CORRECTION.

On p. 392 of the *Classical Review* for November I said that Proclus' commentary on the myth of the *Republic* had been published for the first time by Kroll in 1901. In point of fact this part of Proclus' commentary was already published in 1888 by Pitra (*Analecta Sacra et Classica*, Paris and Rome vol. v. pp. 1-146). The particular

passage which I quoted is on p. 68, and Pitra makes the interesting conjecture *κεκολασμένοις* for *κεκωλισμένοις*. I am indebted to Professor J. Cook Wilson for drawing my attention to this error on my part.

J. ADAM.

## VERSION.

ODE FROM SHELLEY'S *HELLAS*, 'WORLDS ON WORLDS ARE ROLLING EVER,' TRANSLATED INTO DACTYLO-EPITRITES.

Worlds on worlds are rolling ever  
 From creation to decay,  
 Like the bubbles on a river  
 Sparkling, bursting, borne away.  
 But they are still immortal  
 Who, through birth's orient portal  
 And death's dark chasm hurrying to and fro,  
 Clothe their unceasing flight  
 In the brief dust and light  
 Gathered around their chariots as they go ;  
 New shapes they still may weave,  
 New gods, new laws receive ;  
 Bright or dim are they as the robes they  
 last  
 On Death's bare ribs had cast.

A power from the unknown God  
 A Promethean conqueror came ;  
 Like a triumphal path he trod  
 The thorns of death and shame.  
 A mortal shape to him  
 Was like the vapour dim  
 Which the orient planet animates with light ;  
 Hell, Sin, and Slavery came,  
 Like bloodhounds mild and tame,  
 Nor preyed, until their Lord had taken flight.  
 The moon of Mahomet  
 Arose, and it shall set :  
 While blazoned as on heaven's immortal  
 noon,  
 The cross leads generations on.

Swift as the radiant shapes of sleep  
 From one whose dreams are Paradise  
 Fly, when the fond wretch wakes to weep,  
 And day peers forth with her blank  
 eyes ;  
 So fleet, so faint, so fair,  
 The Powers of earth and air  
 Fled from the folding star of Bethlehem :  
 Apollo, Pan, and Love,  
 And even Olympian Jove  
 Grew weak, for killing Truth had glared on  
 them ;  
 Our hills and seas and streams  
 Dispeopled of their dreams,

Πᾶς ῥέει δὴ κόσμος ἐφαμερίων  
 γαίμ τ' ἐπ' ἄλλα γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἔρρει  
 ἄλλος, ἀρχὰς παραλαβόντες  
 γενέσεως, οἳ δ' αὖ τελευτᾶς,  
 ὡς βραχὺ στράψαν μὲν ἐν ὕδατι πέμφιγες θοαὶ  
 καδ δὲ βαγεῖσθαι ἔβαν. Μοῖνοι δ' ἄρ' ἦσαν  
 ἀνέρες ἀθάνατοι, ζῶν δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκις αὐτοὶ  
 ἰοστίμῳ  
 διὰ πύλᾶν, εἴτ' αὖ θοάζοντες μύχον εἰς Αἶδα,  
 εἶδεα πολλὰ περάπτονται βίου ῥιμφορμάτου  
 κρυπτόμενοι κοινορτῷ μαρμαρυγαῖς τε φαενναῖς  
 αἰθέρος  
 κὰς τέλος μορφὺς ἀμείψονθ' οὔγ' ἔτ' ἄλλας, καὶ  
 θεοὺς  
 καινοὺς τ' ἐναλλάξοντι τεθμούς,  
 λαμπροὶ ἰδεῖν τελέθοντες, τοὶ δ' ἄμανροὶ, λούσθιον  
 οἶανπερ οὖν κατ' ἀρετὰν αὐτοὶ βίον  
 ἰσόνεκυν ποίκιλλον ἀνδρῶν.

τῶν μὲν ἦν καὶ κείνος, ὃς οὐρανόθεν,  
 ἄλλος Προμαθεὺς, ἐκ Διὸς, ὅστις ἄρ' ὁ Ζεὺς,  
 κάρτος ἦλθεν μετὰ βροτοῖσιν  
 μέγα φέρων Σωτήρ· πικροῖς μὲν  
 στείχεν ἐν κέντροις ὃ γ' ὀνειδέσι τ' ἀνδρῶν, κὰν  
 τέλει  
 φαιδρὸς ἔβα θάνατον· νικᾷ γὰρ ἔμπας.  
 Τῷ περὶ εἶδος ἐτύχθη θνατὸν, ὅπα νεφελᾶν  
 μορφύματα  
 πλάσε μίνυνθ' ἀοὶ πυρώσας ἄλιος· ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ  
 δαίμονες ἀρχέκακοι θνατοῖσιν, εἰκαῖοι φόβοι  
 Δουλοσύнай τε βροτῶν δμᾶθεν Βάσανοί τ'  
 ἀνάρηθμοι τῶν χθονός  
 νέρθε, καὶ τυτθὸν περ οἶοι δεσπότη σαῖνον κύνες  
 πτώσσοντες ὠμησταὶ κατ' ὄψιν.  
 Ἄ τ' ἐν Ἄρασι σελάνα λάμψε μὲν, καὶ δύσεται  
 κείνου γέ μαν, μέσον ὅπως ἤμαρ φλέγον,  
 ἔτι βροτοῖς ἀστήρ ὀδαγεῖ.

Τοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δέϊματι παλλόμενοι,  
 μορφαῖσιν αἰγλάεντος ἀλγικιοῦ ὕπνου,  
 εἴτ' ὀνειρῷ μακαρίαν τις  
 ἀθίνατον κνώσσειν λέλογ' χερ.  
 εἴτ' ἐγερεθεὶς φῶς μὲν ἀνολβον ὀραῖ, τὰν δ' ἐκ  
 χεροῖν  
 κλιῖσεν ἀποιοχόμεναν· τὼς δὲ παλαιοὶ,  
 κάλλος ἀθέσφατον, ἐξώχοντ', ὀλιγοδρανία δ'  
 ὠκύπτεροι,  
 χθονὸς ἄμ' Οὐλύμπου τ' Ἀνακτες· διὴ γὰρ ἀμαι-  
 μίκετον  
 τοῖο γενέθλιος ἐν πάντεσσιν ὥρσ' ἀστήρ φόβον  
 μαλονόμος. φθινύθων μὲν βᾶ τότ' ἀκικυς  
 Ἀπόλλων, βᾶ δ' Ἐρως  
 Πᾶν τε, χῶ βροντᾶς κρατύνων Ζεὺς ἀλαθείας  
 ἄφαρ  
 ὄσσοισιν οἰδεῖς ὦν ἐλέγχθη.



Their waters turned to blood, their dew to tears,  
 Wailed for the golden years.

Ἦν δὲ τόθ' αἷμα μὲν ἐν πόντῳ· πρὸ δ' ἔρσας  
 Ἑλλὰδες  
 κρᾶναι ῥέον δάκρυα, καὶ χρυσεῶν στένον  
 ὄρε' ἔρημωθέντ' ὀνείρων.

## METRICAL SCHEME.

*Dl* denotes full dactylic colon.  
*D*    "    the same catalectic.  
*Ep*   "    full epitrite.  
*I*    "    the same catalectic.

1. *Ep D*.
2. *I Ep Dl*.
3. *Ep Ep* (the second resolved).
4. *Ep Ep* (the first resolved).
5. *Ep Dl E*.
6. *Dl Ep*.
7. *Dl Dl E*.
8. *Ep* (resolved) *Ep D*.
9. *Dl Ep E*.
10. *Dl Dl E*.
11. *Ep Ep Ep E*.
12. *p Ep Ep*.
13. *Dl Ep E*.
14. *p E Ep E*.
15. *Ep* (resolved) *Ep*.

(The letter *p* or *I* added in the next line means that the catalectic syllable is made up there.)

(GILBERT MURRAY.)

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

## DITTENBERGER'S GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Iterum edidit GULIELMUS DITTENBERGER. 3 volumes (1898, 1900, 1901). 46 M.

FIFTEEN years after the publication of the first edition appeared Volume I. of the second edition of Dittenberger's well-known *Sylloge*. The first edition contained pp. viii. and 806, of which 141 were devoted to Indices; the second edition has swollen to pp. x. and 644, vi. and 826, with Volume III. containing Indices alone, pp. 462. While it is clear that a very large addition of new matter, partly necessitated by recent discoveries, has been incorporated in the new edition, yet this has not been effected without considerable omissions of inscriptions which appeared in the earlier issue. The excision extends to almost all the documents relating to the Attalidae, the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies. By way of compensation the editor promises a supplementary volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae Orientis selectae*.

So also the specimens of the Tribute Lists given under nos. 15-21 of the first edition have been omitted on the ground that, in order to be of any use, the series

must be much more extensive than the dimensions of a *Sylloge* would allow. Still in so far as such a *Sylloge* may be supposed to be representative of inscriptional types, the omission may be deemed to be unfortunate.

The arrangement adopted in the new edition remains the same as in the old. Subordinated to a somewhat loose grouping of subject-matter, and without even this limitation in Volume I, the sequence is entirely chronological. The effect is sometimes a little distracting; a record of property-sales at Halicarnassus is followed by a dedicatory inscription from the Acropolis at Athens; a statement of expenses incurred in repairs of masonry in Attica is followed by an honorary decree of Erythrae, and so forth. An appendix contains results of the most recent discoveries. A striking feature of the new edition is the remarkably careful and complete Index covering 462 pages, or roughly one-third of the whole work. Grateful as we are for the experiment in this case, it is doubtful how far we can reasonably expect that it should be repeated in the case of other similar handbooks, adding largely as it does to the bulk and cost. The classification of the Index follows in the main the pattern set

in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and its successors. It begins, e.g., with *Nomina virorum et mulierum*, later comes a section *Res sacrae*, and lastly, occupying 200 pages of the 462, *Notabilia varia*. Being appealed to by friendly critics of the first edition to make the Index from end to end alphabetical, Dittenberger, as he tells us in his preface, decided to adhere to his original plan, though admitting that it was not without certain disadvantages. And it must be confessed that time is frequently lost in hunting for a word through several sections of the Index; for instance, first under some sub-section of *Res publica*, then under *Res sacrae* and as a last resource under *Notabilia varia*. The Index volume ends with a *Comparatio numerorum*, by which it may be seen whether an inscription appearing in any of the recognised collections and periodicals has been included in the *Sylloge*. Dittenberger is at pains in the preface to disclaim any imitation of the similarly useful device adopted by Prof. Michel in his *Recueil*, which was published a short time before the *Sylloge*. It is now so necessary a part of every work of the kind that no such disclaimer was needed. As a matter of fact neither Dittenberger nor Michel was the first to adopt the device in question.

The first edition contained 470 inscriptions, the second has nearly double that number. Of the added matter not the least attractive is that contained in the *Appendix titulorum his proximis annis erutorum*. Most of these indeed were already known to scholars who had kept pace with the current periodical literature, but some not previously published from *Magnesia ad Maeandrum* are inserted, thanks to the courtesy of Dr. O. Kern, who gave Dittenberger access to his proof-sheets. The arrangement of the inscriptions in the two volumes is substantially the same as in the first edition, except that there is a greater number of subordinate sectional headings. The long section, *Res sacrae*, for instance, is divided into 1. *Templa et delubra, arae, simulacra, suppellex sacra*; 2. *Sacerdotia aliaque officia ad rem divinam spectantia*; 3. *Sacrificia, pompae, mysteria aliaque caeremoniae*; 4. *Certamina gymnica, equestria, musica, scaenica*; 5. *Collegia et sodalitates sacrorum causa institutae*; 6. *Vota et dedicationes*; 7. *Oracula*; 8. *Dirae et imprecationes*. It would have added greatly to the convenience of readers if the titles of these sub-sections had been indicated briefly in running headings on each page.

It is only natural that in the commentaries subjoined to the inscriptional texts the lapse of fifteen years since the appearance of the first edition should have necessitated many corrections and many additions. The bibliography and references to current literature prefixed to the texts have notably increased in bulk, but it is not always easy to see where Dittenberger has drawn the line; for example, in the case of certain inscriptions in which reference is given to the corresponding text in Michel's *Recueil*, some of the works or periodicals cited by Michel are ignored by Dittenberger. The question indeed of deciding between fulness and limit is an increasingly difficult one for writers of similar manuals. An equally troublesome task is that of determining how far an editor is bound or expected to repeat for the purpose of refuting the obviously obsolete interpretations of former scholars. Dittenberger's notes might in many cases have been materially shortened or altered if he had been less scrupulous in this matter. Thus in the note to no. 463, 104 sq., on the words αἱ καὶ ἀποστάντι, 'cum magistratum deposuerint,' Vischer's explanation, written forty-six years ago, of the construction of these and the following words, might well have been omitted, and, instead, the formula of older Cretan inscriptions (ἡ κ' ἀποστᾶ, Law of Gortyn I. 53) might have been adduced in illustration.

The selection includes a considerable number of inscriptions in dialects other than the Attic and in the 'Kourj.' Those which are remarkable mainly for their dialect-colouring are naturally absent, but, less naturally, we miss even in this second edition some of profound interest both as storehouses of dialectic forms and as sources of information for ancient law and custom, such as the Gortyn Code and the Tabulae Heraclienses. On the other hand we have, with a copious commentary, the famous Labyadae-inscription of Delphi, one of the many texts which help to determine the reading in imperfect copies of inscriptions previously discovered; thus it is now clear that in Roehl's I. G. A. 319 (the archaic Delphian rock-inscription) we must read not Λαδβαδᾶν, but Λαββαδᾶν, and that this name is not that of a πατρία (gens), but of a φπατρία.

There is hardly a page on which we might not find material for criticism and comment, but we lay down the work astounded more than ever at the immense extent of Dittenberger's scholarship, and the complete

mastery of his material which he displays. Truly he is a prince among epigraphists.

E. S. ROBERTS.

### PUCHSTEIN'S GREEK STAGE.

*Die Griechische Bühne.* Eine architektonische Untersuchung. Von OTTO PUCHSTEIN. Berlin, 1901. Pp. 144. 43 Illustrations. Price 8 Mk.

THIS book is a very interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Greek stage. The author is a well-known archaeologist, who has made a special study of Greek architecture. The subject which he discusses is the structure of the proskenion and the stage-buildings in the ancient Greek theatre. In dealing with this theme he confines himself almost exclusively to archaeological evidence. He dismisses from view, as outside his own province, the testimony afforded by the ancient dramas. He takes no notice of the allusions in ancient writers, with the exception of Vitruvius, the architect. What he sets himself to do is to carefully examine the existing remains of the old theatres, and to see what conclusions can be drawn from them, and how far these conclusions tally with the statements in Vitruvius. His verdict is decisive and unhesitating. The evidence of the stone monuments is, in his opinion, fatal to Dörpfeld's theory, and entirely confirms the ordinary view as found in Vitruvius. He considers that the architectural structure of these monuments can only be explained on the supposition that there was a tall stage for the actors. This opinion has a special value, coming from such a source. It is true that many scholars have already pointed out that the archaeological evidence, so far from favouring Dörpfeld, was really against him. But the views of scholars on such points are apt to be received with some suspicion. Here however we have an archaeological expert vigorously enforcing the same conclusion; and it is possible that his arguments will convince many of those who are still suspending their judgment.

The book is not merely polemical. In fact the polemical part only comes in incidentally. The primary object of the author is to investigate the structure of the ancient skene. He divides his book into two portions, the first part dealing with the proskenion, the second and larger part with the stage-buildings as a whole. All avail-

able evidence is carefully collected and examined. The author has some advantage over previous writers, owing to the accession of fresh materials. He has been able to consult the full accounts, recently published, of the theatres at Priene, New Pleuron, Mantinea, and Ephesus. He has also personally studied several Graeco-Roman theatres of South Italy and Sicily, such as Pompeii, Tyndaris, and Segesta. With these advantages, and by his skilful and ingenious use of the old evidence, he has succeeded in throwing a fresh light upon many important questions.

As regards the proskenion, the most interesting of the new points brought out by the author is the process of development traceable in the character of the supporting wall. Originally the Greek proskenia were made of wood. Later on they were made partly of wood and partly of stone. The stage itself remained a wooden one; but in the wall in front the wooden supports were replaced by stone columns, resting on a stone foundation, and topped by a stone entablature, the spaces between the columns being filled in by boards or 'pinakes.' Herr Puchstein shows that these columns underwent a gradual transformation, so as to adapt them better to the purpose for which they were required. At first, as at Athens and Sicily, they consisted simply of entire columns. Later on, the columns were provided with rims running down the centre of each side, to hold the pinakes, as at Megalopolis and Eretria. Later still, the place of the columns was taken by half-columns resting against pillars, as more convenient for holding the pinakes. These pillars were at first without grooves or projections for the pinakes (Epidaurus); but in the later examples they are always provided with grooves (Priene, New Pleuron, Delos, &c.). This view of the development of the proskenia if correct, as seems probable, gives us a very valuable criterion for determining the date of the various theatres. For example, the proskenia at Priene and New Pleuron, in which the latest type of half-column is used, are known to belong to the third century B.C. Hence it would follow that the proskenia at Athens, Eretria, Epidaurus, and other places, where older types are employed, should be assigned to an earlier date than has been done hitherto, and should be put not later than the fourth century. Of course, a criterion of this kind must be used with caution. It occasionally happens in architecture that old forms survive side by side with newer develop-



ments; and there is always the possibility of a recurrence in later times to an earlier and disused type. Still Herr Puchstein's scheme will no doubt be of great assistance in determining the date of any given *proskenion*.

Another point on which the author makes some interesting suggestions is the decoration of the *pinakes*. Dörpfeld supposes they were painted in scenic style, so as to form the background. But, as Herr Puchstein points out, there is not a particle of evidence for such a view. A back-scene interrupted by a series of columns would be most peculiar. Also, the accounts of the theatre at Delos during the third century B.C. appear to demonstrate that the *pinakes* were not used for this purpose. We there find that the joiner who made a single *pinax* received 30 drachmas, while the painter who painted two only received 3 drachmas 1 obol. The smallness of the sum in the latter case seems a clear proof that the painting was not of the artistic kind we should expect in a back-scene, but a very simple affair, suitable to the supporting wall of the stage. As to the appearance of the *pinakes*, the author has obtained a new piece of evidence from the theatre at Priene. Here the old *proskenion* front was retained by the Romans when they altered the theatre, but the *pinakes* were removed, and the spaces between the columns walled up. In one space a considerable part of the wall has been preserved, and it is found to have been painted in imitation of a folding-door. Herr Puchstein thinks, very plausibly, that this style of decoration was copied from the old *proskenia*. Similar instances of vacant spaces made to imitate doors are common on Lycian grave monuments and Pompeian wall-paintings. Again, in the Graeco-Roman theatre of Termessos, the front of the stage is a mere wall, according to the later fashion, with five doors. The spaces between the doors are built in imitation of wood-work, so as to give the appearance of being decorated with large panels. The author thinks that this too may be a reminiscence of another type of *pinax*, representing a large oblong panel instead of a door. All these suggestions seem highly probable. At any rate there can be little doubt that the decoration of the *pinakes* was of some conventional kind similar to that just described.

The most important and novel part of the book is that which deals with the stage-buildings as a whole. These are divided by the author into three types. The basis of

the classification is the diversity in the structure of the side-entrances on to the stage. Every theatre had the usual entrances from the back-scene, intended for the occupants of the dwelling before which the action was taking place. But, besides this, entrances had to be provided for persons coming from the neighbourhood, or from a distance. This, he thinks, was managed in three ways. The oldest way was to enclose the stage between projecting side-wings, with doors from which the characters made their entrance. This type, which he calls the 'Western' type, is found in the earliest stage-buildings at Athens and Eretria, in New Pleuron, and in the theatres of Sicily. It was the one adopted by the Romans, and has been imitated from them in the theatres of modern times. But the Greeks of a later date apparently preferred a more realistic mode of entrance on the part of persons coming from a distance—one which would make their gradual approach to the scene of action more conspicuous. Hence the invention of the 'Ramp' type of theatre. In this type the stage is not enclosed with side-wings, but merely terminated at each end by a wall with a door in it. Outside there is a ramp, or sloping pathway, leading up from the *parodos* to the door, and visible to the spectators. Up this ramp the actor would make his way, and pass through the door on to the stage. Thus he would be seen by the audience some time before he reached the scene of action. This type, which dates from the end of the fourth century, soon became the prevalent one in Greece proper. The best known example is the splendid theatre of Epidaurus. It is also found at Oropus and Sicyon, and in the later stage-buildings of Eretria. Other examples, such as Megalopolis, Mantinea, and the later Athenian stage, are more doubtful. A third variety, the 'Eastern,' is met with chiefly in Asia Minor, but also at Delos. Here, too, there are no side-wings. The stage is rather longer than the skene, and is continued for some distance down each side of it. The ends of the stage are terminated by a wall containing no door. The idea seems to have been that the persons supposed to come from a distance should make their way down one of the passages on each side of the skene, and so come round the corner on to the stage. The best examples of this type are the theatres of Priene and Assos. Delos belongs to the same variety, but has this peculiar feature, that the stage is continued, in the form of a colonnade, not only

down the sides of the skene, but also round the back, so as to completely enclose it. At Termessos the same principle is applied rather differently. Here the stage is of the same length as the skene, and is terminated by walls without doors. There cannot, therefore, have been either side-wings, or ramps, or side-passages. The place of the latter is taken by two extra doors in the back-scene, on each side of the three central ones, and separated off from them by projecting walls. The same appears to have been the case at Ephesus.

Such is the author's scheme. There is much to be said in its favour. It is the only rational way of accounting for the ramp-like approaches to the stage in such theatres as Epidaurus. It gives us for the first time a satisfactory explanation of theatres like those of Priene and Delos, where the stage extends round the corners of the skene; and of theatres like Termessos, where there are five doors in the back-scene, and no means of approach from the sides of the stage. In these and similar cases it used to be supposed that temporary wooden side-wings were erected specially for the dramatic performances. But this has always seemed to me to be most improbable. It is far more likely that permanent provision should have been made for the needs of the actors. By the light of Herr Puchstein's explanations we see how this may have been done. It will be interesting to hear what the architectural critics have to say upon the subject. Very possibly objection may be taken to some of the details of the scheme. In several theatres the remains are almost too fragmentary to justify any certain conclusions; as for instance in the case of the supposed ramps in the second Athenian stage-building. But on the whole I am inclined to think that the new classification will be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of diversities of structure in the skene which have not hitherto been sufficiently considered.

In discussing the stage-buildings of the Athenian theatre the author, while recognising Dörpfeld's great services in the investigation of that theatre, ventures to differ from him on some points of chronology. It has already been pointed out by several writers that Dörpfeld's reconstruction of the oldest stage-building, the 'Lycurgeoan,' as he calls it, is open to grave doubt. The author brings forward new and very forcible arguments in support of these doubts. He comes to the conclusion that what Dörpfeld calls the Hellenistic proskenion, and assigns to the second century B.C., was

really erected by Lycurgus towards the end of the fourth. He justifies his view on this ground, among others, that the columns are of the oldest type, according to the scheme already mentioned in the beginning of this article. He supposes that the 'Lycurgeoan' stage-building, with its deep side-wings, was erected sometime before Lycurgus, towards the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. This date is certainly more probable on *a priori* grounds than that given by Dörpfeld. According to Dörpfeld's chronology the earliest stage-buildings at Athens were apparently later than those at Eretria and other Greek cities. But it is hard to believe that the city in which the drama was first developed should not have been the first also to provide itself with a permanent stage. Herr Puchstein also doubts whether the whole of the existing auditorium was built in the time of Lycurgus, and cites evidence to show that there were already stone seat-steps as early as the fifth century B.C. If his views about the auditorium and the stage are correct, they will enhance the interest of the theatre, as showing that parts of it were contemporary with Aristophanes, and possibly with Sophocles and Euripides. The question, however, is one which depends mainly upon architectural technicalities, and it would be premature to express a decided opinion about it till it has been further discussed by the experts. Dörpfeld's criticisms will be awaited with much curiosity.

The original stage-building at Athens is of the 'Western' type, as already pointed out, and contains deep side-wings. Between the wings there are no traces of any erection. But Herr Puchstein shows conclusively that the only possible purpose of the wings was to enclose a stage. The analogy of later theatres of the same type, such as those of Tyndaris and Segesta, where traces of the stage still remain, render any other conclusion indefensible. The disappearance of all traces of the stage is to be accounted for by the fact that it was made mostly, if not entirely, of wood. The height of this old stage at Athens may be determined approximately by a comparison with the contemporary stage-buildings at Eretria, where there is evidence to show that the stage must have been not less than nine or ten feet above the level of the ground-floor. Hence if Herr Puchstein's chronology is reliable, it would lead to the conclusion that as early as the end of the fifth century the stage at Athens, as far as height is

concerned, approximated to the Vitruvian type. Hitherto it has been supposed that there was no evidence for a stage of this height previous to the latter part of the fourth century. But even if we assume a high stage as early as the end of the fifth, there is nothing in this to prevent us supposing that in times still more remote the stage was a comparatively low one, such as would be suitable for the plays of Aeschylus, and the older plays of Aristophanes. Nor is the existence of a high stage about 400 B.C. inconsistent with the presence of a chorus. Some recent critics appear to imagine that as long as there was any chorus at all, the actors must have stood on nearly the same level with it. But this is not so. The whole question depends on the intimacy of the connexion between actors and chorus. As long as they freely commingled together, it seems that the stage must have been moderately low. But when the chorus ceased to take any active part in the play, the raising of the stage would be a matter of indifference. Now it was precisely towards the end of the fifth century that the chorus began to lose its old significance, and to assume the functions of mere interlude-singers. Hence there would be nothing surprising if it should be shown that at this date stages began to be erected as high as the rules of Vitruvius demand.

I have mentioned the points of chief importance in Herr Puchstein's book. But it is full of suggestive remarks on matters of detail. His discussion of the stage-buildings at Megalopolis is especially interesting, though it cannot be said that he has cleared up all difficulties in connexion with this mysterious theatre. But he shows very clearly the impracticability of Dörpfeld's theory as to the *scaena ductilis*. He points out the absurdity of supposing that a huge painted board, more than 100 feet in length, and more than 25 feet in height, was pulled out in front of the Thersilion to serve as a back-scene. He reminds us that the *scaena ductilis* was not a contrivance of this kind, but was a small affair, a variety for the *scaena versilis*, or *periaktos*; and that it was drawn *apart*, to disclose a new scene behind, and was not drawn *across* the stage. More over the construction of the ancient theatres, even those with side-wings, shows that there was no room and no opportunity for the hauling to and fro of huge boards such as Dörpfeld imagines. There are many other criticisms and discussions in the book which deserve to be mentioned; but enough has

been said to show its value, which is enhanced by excellent plans and illustrations. The book is not an easy one to read, and will hardly appeal to the general reader. The treatment is technical and minute, and the style is rather heavy. But it deserves to be studied with care by all those who are specially interested in the structure of the ancient Greek theatre.

A. E. HAIGH.

#### FURTWÄNGLER'S *AIGINETICA*.

*Aiginetica. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf Aegina.* Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol.-hist. Cl. d. k. bay. Akademie d. Wissenschaften. A. Furtwängler. München, 1901. Heft III.

THE twilight of the Pelasgian Gods grows clearer day by day and by the irony of fate never so clear as now, when, with Pindar, we turn our eyes to the 'Dorian isle of Aegina.' Among the 'events' of the past season of excavations Prof. Furtwängler's discoveries in Aegina stand out preeminent. Every one in England not less than in Germany has rejoiced over the prompt harvest that rewarded the enterprise—a harvest which includes not only Mycenaean deposits, valuable architectural fragments, but also the series of exquisite archaic heads that lay hidden so near the surface of the soil and which now far from their fellows in Munich await full discussion and determination in the little local museum. Meanwhile the mythological outcome of the excavations claims attention and first and foremost the dedication of the temple.

The Greek peasant with wise reserve refused to dogmatize; he refrained even from his wonted ascription 'Hagios Elias' and called the ruins 'stas kolonnas.' Cockerell when he brought away the pediment sculptures dedicated the temple to 'Pan-Hellenian Zeus.' He and others were misled by what Prof. Furtwängler with pardonable emphasis calls 'jener berühmte Stein mit der gefälschten Weihinschrift.' Later, when this dedication was seen to be impossible, Zeus was dethroned and his daughter Athene reigned in his stead. Did not Athene stand dominant over the combatants in either pediment? had not Herodotus (III. 59), spoken of 'the sanctuary of Athene in Aegina' (τὸ ἱεὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ), had not two boundary stones come to light not far from the temple, each bearing the inscription, ὅρος τεμένους Ἀθηναίας? Neither



ἰρόν nor τέμενος, be it observed, necessitates a *ναός* but the new theory found favour, somehow became orthodox and was speedily transmuted by current handbooks into a *fact*, an instance, if any were needed, of the deplorable fusion between certainty and possibility that still obtains in the history of Greek sculpture. When a writer appears who has strength of mind to set down for the use of students the actual *facts* of his subject, his book will be precious and—small.

Thanks to Prof. Furtwängler's excavations the 'fact' of the dedication to Athene goes back to its proper limbo of possibility, perhaps not even to rest there. In an inscription brought to light by the assistant excavator Dr. Thiersch (*Berliner Phil. Wochenschrift* Aug. 3 1901, p. 1002) we get one 'fact' beyond dispute. In the 6th century B.C. an altar, a house (*οἶκος*) and an ivory statue! (quaintly called *ὁ ἐλέφας*) were made, not for Athene, but for a goddess who is to most of us a somewhat shadowy queen, Aphaia. There remains, we suppose, the bare possibility that Athene, when the new temple was built, wrested it away from her ancient predecessor, but this in the face of Pindar's hymn to Aphaia is wildly improbable. There remains also another possibility, that Herodotus may have written Athene by mistake for Aphaia. Aphaia as will immediately be seen was near akin to Dictynna;—the defeated Samians had built a temple of Dictynna in Crete, the prows of their vessels would be specially acceptable to her Aeginetan double.

The goddess Aphaia who now, thanks to the inscription, stands out in sudden actuality was known of course before. Pausanias (ii. 30. 3) tells us that in Aegina, on the way to the mountain of Pan-Hellenian Zeus, is a sanctuary of Aphaia, and about her Pindar wrote a hymn for the Aeginetans. On the day when the hymn was sung the goddess must have been real enough, and Prof. Furtwängler conjectures that that day may have been the day of the dedication of the '*οἶκος*.' It is from Pausanias that we learn that Aphaia is but the Aeginetan name of the Cretan Dictynna, maiden goddess, spirit of the fishing-net. We are back in a very primitive stratum, among a fisher-folk who 'sacrifice unto their net and burn incense unto their drag because by them their portion is full and their meat plenteous.' In a word, Aphaia is one of the multitude of local maiden goddesses, Kore, Dictynna, Britomartis, Kallisto, Kyrene, whose figures, as Dr. Studniczka has shown, 'Kyrene' p. 146 ff., paled, and

faded before the coming of the Olympian Artemis. The crude etymological guess that she was called Aphaia because she faded away (*ἀφανής ἐγένετο*) contains accidentally an historical truth. Pausanias realised this fusion and confusion of the local maidens with Artemis. He saw at Sparta (iii. 14. 2) a sanctuary of 'Aeginean Artemis' and also of Artemis Issora, and adds 'they name her also Limnaia ('Lady of the Lake') but in reality she is not Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. *I have told the tale about her in describing Aegina.*' Prof. Furtwängler says that this Aeginean Artemis 'hat mit dieser (i.e. Aphaia) nichts zu thun'; he will pardon us if we suggest we might rightly have claimed their substantial identity. The 'Aeginean' Artemis is only Artemis as supplanting the local Kore. Greek mythology is full of the echoes of such conflicts and supercessions. Kyrene and Aphaia are not alone, a greater than these, Aphrodite herself, contended with Artemis and was worsted. In the 'Hippolytus' Euripides is consciously concerned with a human tragedy, but he borrowed his plot from immemorial tradition, and his human actors move perforce against the background of an ancient *θεομαχία*.

It is not only Aphaia, the maiden goddess of the fisher-folk, who emerges into new actuality. An ancient mother and daughter pair also borrow from the excavations a fresh vitality. Every one is familiar with the strange old figures, Damia and Auxesia, prototypes as it were of Demeter and Kore. Herodotus (v. 82-87) tells us of their kneeling olive-wood images, which the rash Athenians tried to take from Aegina with ropes, and of the storm and madness they sent in vengeance. At the end of the quaint aetiological tale we learn that in eternal penance for their crime the women of Athens who had pierced to death with their *περόναι* the man who brought tidings of their husbands' disaster had to change their dress to one that needed no pins, and the women of Aegina 'had to dedicate pins especially in the sanctuary of the offended goddesses.' Prof. Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece*, p. 572) has shown that these murderous skewers (*περόναι*) were the refuge of the destitute who had no safety pins (*fibulae*), and now, to confirm the story, Dr. Thiersch, joint excavator with Prof. Furtwängler, has brought to light an inscription dealing with the treasury of Damia and Auxesia at Oia in Aegina, the very spot where, as Herodotus tells us, these images were set up. By a delightful coincidence

in this inventory occur a number of *περόναι* vouching for the truth of Herodotus. Next year Prof. Furtwängler will seek out this sanctuary at Oia, and we may hope to hear more of the ancient mother and daughter, perhaps even something of the strange 'derisive dances' whereby they were 'pacified.'

JANE E. HARRISON.

#### HUTCHINSON'S *AEACUS*.

*Aeacus, a Judge of the Under-world.* By W. M. L. Hutchinson. Macmillan and Bowes, 1901. 2s. net.

THE new material from Aegina came just too late to be utilised by the writer of the monograph on Aeacus. She, too, is concerned to illuminate the twilight of Pelasgian gods and heroes and, as her enterprise is independent of these recent excavations, it is the more interesting as an indication of the trend of archaeological enquiry at the moment.

The Essay is, we understand, a preprint of a portion of a forthcoming monograph on Aegina; the argument is, however, sufficiently complete to allow of its separate criticism. As indicated by the title, the Essay falls into two parts, a discussion of the question who and what Aeacus was, and of a further issue that arises out of this question, why and how did he become a judge of the Hellenic underworld.

It is obvious throughout that the whole discussion is based on the teaching of Prof. Ridgeway,—that, but for this, the question 'who was Aeacus' would probably never have arisen in the writer's mind. Prof. Ridgeway's book was not published till after the Essay appeared, but of his unpublished views Prof. Ridgeway has always been generous to students, and of her debt to his teaching Miss Hutchinson makes full and frank acknowledgement. With such indebtedness we have no quarrel. It is surely a professorial function to inspire as well as to prosecute research. Moreover, in the case before us, the disciple is no wise disposed *jurare in verba magistri*. Starting from the borrowed thesis that the civilisation of Greece presents two ethnological strata, Pelasgian and Achæan, she asks to which stratum Aeacus belongs. Aeacus, ancestor of the Aeacidae, of the typical Homeric heroes, Achilles, Ajax, Peleus and Telamon is surely, if anyone, an Achæan.

The author, rejecting this safe and canonical conclusion, wrests the ancestor of the Achæans from the Achæan stronghold and hands him over to the Pelasgians. We think she succeeds in substantiating her apparent paradox.

The current or orthodox view from C. O. Muller (*Aeginetica Berl.* 1817, p. 18) down to Pauly-Wissova (*s.v.* Aiakos) is that Aeacus, eponymous hero of his clan, came from the north, primarily from Dodona, next from Thessaly, bringing with him the worship of the Hellenic Zeus. This view is adopted by Prof. Bury in his interesting paper (*Hermathena*, vol. xi. p. 128) on 'The identity of Ajax.' He says, 'Although in historical times there seems to be no record of the cult of Aeacus elsewhere than in Aegina, we know that he was a Thessalian god or hero, and we know that he was in Thessaly before he was in Aegina.' Against these weighty authorities Miss Hutchinson is prepared to maintain that Aeacus was of the primitive Pelasgian stock indigenous in Aegina, that he was found there by the Hellenes when they came south bringing Zeus with them and by them affiliated to their tribal god. This she substantiates by the examination of (a) the pedigree and descendants of Aeacus, (b) his local cult.

Aeacus, legend says, was the son of Aegina wooed by Zeus in the shape of an eagle. Here we have obviously a myth based on the general principle to which Prof. Ridgeway has often called attention, that conquest by an immigrant race and subsequent settlement of the conquerors is expressed mythologically and even historically by a statement that the conqueror marries a daughter of the land. Aegina is a local nymph, in like fashion the immigrant Pelops comes and marries the local princess Hippodameia. Here Miss Hutchinson makes the interesting suggestion that Aegina, like Salamis, Eleusis, and many another 'local nymph' are not merely abstractions intended for genealogical purposes but actual local divinities from which like 'dear mother Ida' come local ancestresses ultimately merged in the more general notion of Παμμήτωρ Γῆ. This view, as she says, lends colour to the derivation of Aiakos from Aia and its interpretation as meaning then a Son of Earth.

As son of the local Earth-goddess, as local hero and ancestor, Aeacus is progenitor not only of Ajax, Peleus and Telamon, but of a race more akin to earth or rather sea; he begat 'the might-lord,' Phocus, the sea-man, and the mother of Phocus was Psamathe,

the sand-maiden who herself, Thetis-like, had Protean powers and baffled her lover by taking on the form of a seal. Here is a peculiar stratum indeed, though in the lapse of years and before the glory of the Achæan its outlines grow misty, though even in the days of Pausanias Phocus had a grave and on it a large rough stone.

The strongest argument, however, for the local autochthonous character of Aeacus is his local cult. Wherever we find a grave, a precinct, and a local worship, we may fairly suspect an indigenous hero. Such is pre-eminently the case with Aeacus. We may think of him as shadowy and merely eponymous, effaced by his illustrious son, but at Aegina, down to the days of Pausanias, the Acæaean grave and sanctuary of Aeacus still stood conspicuous. Within the precinct stood a low altar and it was told as a secret, an open one probably by the time of Pausanias, that this was the hero's grave. These secret sepulchres became secret, because potent only as long as intact, and were not unknown elsewhere. Such were the graves of Oedipus, of Sisyphus, of Theban Dirce. From this grave Aeacus issued 'mighty to save' at Salamis. More significant still, Aeacus as a prince had power with the god and prevailed. When a grievous drought oppressed the Peloponnese the Delphian priestess (p. 9) told the enquirers to propitiate Zeus and if their prayers were to be answered *Aeacus himself must be their intercessor*; and Aeacus by sacrifice and prayers to Pan-Hellenian Zeus procured rain for Greece. Zeus is supreme, but here, as in many another case, a mediator is required, and that mediator is the local hero. Probably, as Prof. Ridgeway has pointed out, the sky-god, Zeus Ouranios, supplanted the primitive Kronos, god of mountain tops, sender of rain, worshipped under the name Lycaeus on Mount Lycaon with secret sacrifices, worshipped too as a weather-god on Parnes, Pelion and many another peak. With this Pelasgian Kronos Aeacus, if he is a Pelasgian, would be in close and natural relations, the substitution of an immigrant sky-god of analogous functions was no hard matter, the relation with the local hero as intercessor would remain unchanged.

In the upper world Aeacus had ruled as local indigenous hero, and it is by this natural indefeasible right that he reigns as judge in the under-world. Miss Hutchinson rightly points to the analogous case of Triptolemos, also a local hero, also an under-world judge. In primitive matriarchal days

the real ruler of the Shades is a Queen Goddess, Earth herself. He who would find 'easy access' must

Make leap up for joy the beauteous head  
Of Proserpine.

But because the goddess is nameless, unapproachable, everywhere a local intercessor is needed: at Eleusis it is Triptolemos, at Aegina, Aeacus. Then, as the local goddesses are resumed in Gaia and Demeter, the local intercessors take Pan-Hellenic form in Pluto, such is the making of a goddess and a god.

This we think is what the writer means though it is nowhere simply and expressly stated. The argument is somewhat impaired in its exposition at this point by an incursion based on Dieterich and Dering on the eschatology of Pluto, a subject the writer justly feels to be too big for the limits of her enquiry. This portion will no doubt be either expanded or extruded in the final treatise. Miss Hutchinson writes, and we trust may continue to write, with a freshness and picturesqueness of phrase too rare in archaeological monographs.

JANE E. HARRISON.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### ITALY.

*Atri (Piconum).*—An interesting find of votive terracottas has been made here, all deposited in circular trenches which formed the *favissae* of a temple of Roman date. The temple itself was of brick with terracotta decorations, and was destroyed at the time of the barbarian invasion. The *ex voto* objects consisted mainly of wreathed female heads, from statuettes in imitation of Tanagra types; they also include a human foot in a *calceus*, a *vagina* or *uterus*, and two fragments of Roman mural reliefs of which replicas are in the British Museum. One represents Satyrs treading out grapes, the other a combat of Gryphons and Arimaspi.<sup>1</sup>

*Mentana (Sabini).*—In some Roman tombs recently excavated were cinerary urns containing four leaden plates with *devotiones* or imprecations. Three of them are very fragmentary, but the fourth is almost complete and enumerates in detail the various parts of the bodies of the victims. A similar one has been published in *C. I. L.* x. 8249.<sup>1</sup>

*Rome.*—In Reg. xii. two fine marble heads have recently been found, one of which, of colossal size, represents Asklepios wearing a twisted fillet. It is apparently a copy of a well-known fifth-century type, earlier than any other known copy, with slight archaisms. The type of face resembles the head from Melos in the British Museum and that of a statue in Florence (Amelung, *Führer*, p. 68, no. 95). The other represents the head of a youth, and is also a copy of a Greek original. The archetype probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, March 1901.



and the style of the head is that of the fine Attic *stelae* of that period; the treatment of the hair recalls the Eubouleus head at Athens, and the head probably belongs to the school of Praxiteles. With these was found the hand of a man holding a child's left foot, perhaps from a group like that in Naples, supposed to represent Athamas and Learchos (*Röm. Myth.* x. (1895), p. 242).

*Pompeii*.—A small but interesting house was discovered in February last, with an *atrium* of the type known as *Tuscanicum*, the roof of which has since been restored in wood. The *impluvium* is very well preserved, and on one side of it is a marble table with four feet in the form of lions' claws. The decoration of the *atrium* is of the third style, with panels in which are animals. In one of the adjoining chambers is the painting of the death of Neoptolemos already described (*C. R.* Feb. 1901, p. 93); on the opposite side is a much-worn painting apparently representing Ares and Aphrodite surrounded by Eros. In the next chamber to this are two pictures on black panels, one representing the toilet of Aphrodite, the other Theseus receiving the clue from Ariadne. The *tablinum* is very magnificent, decorated in the third style. In the centre of each wall is a large panel, one representing Aphrodite and Ares with Eros and other figures, the other Dionysos and Ariadne in a chariot with attendant throng. The rest of the walls are decorated with architectural designs and *candelabra* to which are attached small panels with landscapes: river-scenes with houses along the banks, a domed temple with other buildings, &c. In an adjoining chamber are paintings of Narcissus and Eros; in another, of Dionysos and a Seilenos, and Thisbe falling on the body of Pyramus; and in a third, Europa and the bull, Poseidon, and a figure opening a chest (perhaps from the story of Danae). The peristyle is on one side of the house, and has only one row of columns; in it are paintings of wild animals and hunting scenes.<sup>2</sup>

In April, adjoining this house, was found a *pistrinum* or baker's shop, with a collection of buildings adjoining, part forming a dwelling. The buildings include three stables at the entrance, a place for storing bread, and three millstones for grinding. A long wing at right angles includes a kitchen with paintings on one wall indicating the *lararium*. There are three rows of figures: on the upper, a *genius familiaris* sacrificing over a tripod, two Lares, a flute-player, and a *camillus*, on the left a boar as victim; below, a large serpent; on the lowest row, kitchen utensils and food: an eel on a spit, gridiron, boar's head, tripod, &c.<sup>3</sup>

## GREECE.

*Aegina*.—After an interval the excavations were resumed on the site of the temple in June by Drs. Thiersch and Fiechter. Continuing the exploration of the lower layers of the eastern terrace they found some new painted fragments of Doric architecture from the older buildings, and below, yet older remains. The space between the terrace and the edge of the rock was full of votive objects, including numerous Mycenaean goddess-idols, with or without children in their arms, also later figures, and many of animals and birds. In bronze there were a fine statuette of a cock, fibulae, pins, and other implements, and fragments of 'Argive' bronze reliefs, one with Theseus and the Minotaur; in marble, an early archaic draped torso of a goddess

(cf. *Olympia*, iv. p. 23, no. 75); in terracotta, part of a large archaic statuette. The pottery was mostly geometric or 'proto-Corinthian,' with some local wares, and also inscribed fragments of Naucratic ware. But by far the most important find was that of an archaic inscription, definitely fixing the dedication of the temple to the goddess Aphaia, as had already been suspected. It runs: ΕΟΙΤΑ:

ΙΑΡΕΟΣ:ΕΟΝΤΟΣ:ΤΑΦΑΙΑΙ:ΒΟΙΦΟΣ|  
... ΕΘΕ:ΟΒΟΜΟΣ:ΧΟΛΕΦΑΣ:ΠΟΤΕ-  
ΠΟΡΕΘΕ | . . . . . ΓΔΙΓΟΙΕΘΕ, ΚΑ]εοιτα

*ιαρέος:έόντος τάφαία ό οίκος [έποι]ήθη' όβωμός χώλέφας ποτεποιήθη [τδ τέυχος περιε]ποιήθη.* The use of *ό έλέφας* as equivalent to *τδ ξδανον τδ έλεφάντινον* is interesting; *όικος* no doubt refers to the sacred chamber of the goddess. Another inscription relates to the building of the sixth century to which the painted fragments belong; it had probably been fixed in a frame of wood or tiles. It seems likely that Pindar's ode to Aphaia (Paus. ii. 30, 3) may have been composed at the rebuilding of the temple. Other buildings which have been explored are a hall used for sacrificial banquets and a large reservoir.

Not from the excavations but from a casual find is an inscription now in the Museum, forming part of an inventory of the shrine of Damia and Auxesia in Oia (Hdt. v. 83). Among the votive offerings a number of *περόνας* are mentioned, recalling the decree of the Aeginetans that women should offer up *περόνας* *μάλιστα* in this shrine, after the Athenians had abolished the fashion of wearing them (*ibid.* v. 88).<sup>4</sup>

## CRETE.

*Knossos*.—Mr. Arthur Evans in his report for 1900-01 states that the palace has turned out even more extensive than was expected. Ten more magazines have been opened, and the eastern paved area proved to be a great central court, to the east of which the principal state chambers are gradually appearing. In the centre of the eastern quarter the walls suddenly descended, and a triple flight of stone steps came to light leading down to a columnar *μέγαρον*, with double tier of colonnades round it, and another similar hall and porticoes adjoining. Among the detached finds must be mentioned the lid of an *alabastron* with the name and divine titles of Khyan, a rare Hyksos king; a magnificent 'draught-board' of ivory, partly plated with gold, and of crystal plaques backed by silver and blue enamel (*κύανος*); more linear scripts, one of twenty-four lines; clay seals with cult-scenes, giving new varieties of Mycenaean feminine costume; and parts of human figures in painted stucco-relief, perhaps the effigies of Mycenaean kings and princes.<sup>5</sup>

At *Kato Zakro* in May and June Mr. Hogarth found remains of a Mycenaean colony, with Cyclopean walls forming the basements of detached houses, and a *λάκκος* or deep pit containing Kamarais pottery and lamps, probably offerings; also several hundred clay seal-impressions. The British school excavated at *Prasos* at the same time, but found nothing Mycenaean. Among later remains were an inscription of seventeen lines in non-Hellenic language, geometrical vases, terracottas dating from the sixth to the fourth century, bronze votive models of armour, and part of an archaic statue of a youthful god. At *Gournia* two American

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, Feb. 1901.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* April 1901.

<sup>4</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 3 Aug.; see also *J. H. S.* xxi. p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxi. p. 331 ff.

ladies have explored a Mycenaean town containing many late Mycenaean vases and bronze implements.<sup>5</sup>

*Phaestos*.—Dr. Halbherr and his Italian fellow-workers have laid bare the whole palace of the Mycenaean rulers. To the south-east is a large open courtyard with corridors along which are *πίθοι* in cellars; in one corridor is a square pillar (for purposes of worship?). On the west is a smaller court, and an arrangement of steps, apparently to allow spectators to see processions or dramatic exhibitions in the triangular court below; in short, the earliest known theatre! In the middle of the building is a large hall or *μέγαρον* with pillared porch, and on the north-east of this, the women's apartments. Among smaller finds are early Mycenaean and Kamarais vases, a table of offerings, clay weights, and an ivory object with relief of four men with animals' heads.<sup>6</sup>

#### ASIA MINOR.

*Miletus*.—From Dr. Wiegand's report of his excavations we learn that a theatre-shaped building found in 1899 has proved to be the *βουλευτήριον*, as in its courtyard was found the marble base of a bronze figure with inscription stating that the *βουλευτήριον* was erected here about 200 B.C. The inscription is a decree of honour for Lichas, one of the generals in the Coalition War against Philip of Macedon. Other inscriptions all date from the first century of the Roman empire. The building had Ionic half-pillars with Doric capitals. Further discoveries have been made in regard to the Milesian water-supply and the course of the Hellenistic walls, in which have been found archaic sculptures, shown by an inscription to have come from the temple of Artemis, *i.e.* the principal one of the city, her cultus-image appearing frequently on its coins. In the course of tracing out the streets several buildings with Roman mosaic pavements came to light; one particularly fine pavement has busts of the nine Muses with their names inscribed.<sup>7</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

<sup>5</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 12 Oct.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 26 Oct.

*Revue numismatique*, Part 3, 1901.

Tacchella. 'La magistrature de Caecilius Mater-nus en Moesie.' The name of this *ἡγεμών* occurs for the first time on a coin of Commodus struck at Marcianopolis. Tacchella reproduces a limestone relief found near the site of this place, which is interesting as representing the Apollo Lycius seen on coins of Marcianopolis (one hand resting on head; serpent beside him): cp. Lucian, *Anach.* 7.—A. de la Fuye. 'Une monnaie du tyran Domitienus.' In November 1900 a find was made at Cléons, canton Vertou (Loire-Inférieure), of a jar containing 1,300 small bronze Roman coins (Gordian III. to Aurelian). The coins included a unique specimen, reading according to the description supplied to Col. de La Fuye, IMP. C. DOMITIANVS P. F. AVG *obv.* Radiate head of Emperor, *rev.* Concordia Militum. La Fuye suggests that this hitherto unknown emperor was Domitianus the lieutenant of Aureolus, who in A.D. 262 (time of Gallienus) defeated the two Macriani on the frontiers of Illyria. He is of course distinct from the Domitianus Domitianus who struck coins in Egypt and was contemporary with Diocletian. It is to be regretted that the coin is not reproduced by photography: one may venture to ask whether the obverse legend is absolutely clear and whether it is certain that it is not a coin of *Aurelian* reading IMP. C. DOM. AVRELIANVS.—Babelon. 'La silique romaine, le sou et le denier de la loi des Francs saliens.'

*Rivista italiana di Numismatica*. Part 3, 1901.

G. Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire d'Aquilée pendant la période Constantinienne.' A catalogue of the coins of the mint of Aquileia arranged chronologically.—F. Gnechi (p. 249 ff.) writes on the 'Restored' coins of the Roman Emperors, and points out some weak points in the recent theory of Mowat, viz. that these coins were struck not for general circulation but to supply gaps in a (supposed) collection of Roman coin-dies preserved in the Temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline.

In the *Revue belge de numismatique*, part 4, 1901, Svoronos continues his important papers on the chronological arrangement of the coins of the Ptolemies.

WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc.* Vol. 7, 4. 1901.

*Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, E. Schwyzer. Refers to Thumb's book on this subject. The *κοινή*, *i.e.* the Greek of ordinary life between 300 B.C. and 500 A.D. can only be understood by taking account of modern Greek and the dialects—old and new. The foundation of the *κοινή* was the mixture of the spoken Attic with Ionian elements which resulted from the Ionic-Attic naval confederation. The N.T. Greek is not a peculiar form adapted to a religious subject-matter but rather the fully-developed language of Hellenism. Foreign influence in it is slight and even the so-called Hebraisms mostly belong to the *κοινή* as such. *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*, E. Norden. The romantic tendency cherished for political reasons by Julius Caesar was encouraged by Augustus in his political

and religious measures and is prominent in the literature of the time—especially in Vergil. The reader would recognize in Aeneas a type of his great descendant. In his references to the Julian house V. does not lay so much stress on its genealogical connection with Aeneas as on its religious significance. The pontificate of Iulus is renewed in that of Augustus. W. Liebenam's *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* is favourably reviewed by O. E. Schmidt.

Part 5. 1901.

*Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*, E. Norden. Concluded. Vergil originally intended to write an historical poem on the Julian house culminating in the great deeds of Augustus. This plan was given up on political, not aesthetic grounds, for when the era of peace succeeded to the conquest of his foes Augus-

tus could only be celebrated as a new founder of Rome, the history of his own family being thus combined with that of the nation. The reader will perceive therefore that V. was not at liberty to give full play to his own poetical fancy, but had to deal with facts and legends as best he could. The result is that in the work we find many difficulties and inconsistencies.

**Mnemosyne.** Vol. 29, 4. 1901.

*De Crantor's fragmentis moralibus*, K. Kuiper. Ancient writings sometimes perish owing to later imitations. Thus perhaps Crantor's *aureus libellus* περὶ πένθους would have survived if Cicero had never written a *Consolatio*, and perhaps the latter would have survived if it had not been for its imitators, Seneca, St. Jerome and others. The writer concludes that the arguments of those who maintain that in the *Consolatio* the fragments of Crantor were preserved even oftener than when the name is given are of little weight, and that not even passages said to be quoted ἀπολεξεί are free from suspicion. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Thes. et Rom. comp.* 6 conjectures εὐνομίας for εὐνοίας. *De compositione Poenuli*, H. T. Karsten. The *Poenulus* is a conflation of two plays, one anonymous and one called *Carchedonius*, and the prologue has traces of both. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. In *Them.* 3 writes μάλιστα δι' Ἀριστέδην for μάλιστα δι' Ἀρ., and in *Public.* 14 (sic, really 15) inserts πέρα before τοῦ καλοῦ. *De Actolorum institutis publicis*, J. Breen. The writer gives an historical account of the Aetolians and holds that their league grew and became strong from the custom of granting to the communities under their sway the same rights as they enjoyed themselves without interfering with existing institutions. *Paralipomena Lysiaca*, H. J. Polak. Notes (to be continued) on the recent editions of Herwerden and Thalheim. *Ad Aristophanis Aves*, J. van Leeuwen. Various notes on the text.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1901.

18 Sept. *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, herausg.

von C. F. Lehmann. 1, 1 (A. Hück). This new periodical must be cordially welcomed. G. Schneider *Schülerkommentar zu Platons Apologie* (H. Draheim), favourable.

25 Sept. M. Hoffmann, *August Böckh* (W. Ribbeck). Interesting to all philologists. Euripides, *The Andromache*, by F. Hyslop (E. Bruhn). 'Very useful for beginners.' Tacitus, *Die Germania*, erkl. von G. v. Kobilinski (U. Zernial), favourable. Th. Gsell Fels, *Rom und die Campagna*. 5. A. (H. Belling), favourable.

2 Oct. *Herondae mimambi*, tert. ed. O. Crusius. Ed. min. (Fr. Spiro), favourable. *Antilegomena*, Die Reste der ausser-kanonischen Evangelien, herausg. und übersetzt von E. Preuschen (Soltau), favourable. O. Riemann et H. Goelzer, *Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin*. Phonétique (H. Ziemer), very favourable. J. J. Schlicher, *The origin of rhythmical verse in late Latin* (H. Draheim). 'Shews diligence and good judgment.'

9 Oct. *Florilegium Graecum* coll. a Philologis Afranis. xi-xv (F. II.), favourable. C. Hoerenz, *De vetustiore versus heroici forma in Homeri carminibus inventa* (H. Draheim). 'A scholar with keen observation and understanding for metre.' T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (Ed. Wolff). 'Useful and attractive not only to scholars and people of cultivation, but also of value to specialists.' *Römische Elegiker*. Eine Auswahl aus Catull, Tibull, Propert and Ovid, von K. P. Schulze. 4. A. (R. Helm), favourable. E. Hula, *Römische Altertümer* (G. v. Kobilinski), unfavourable on the whole.

16 Oct. C. Robert, *Studien zur Ilias*. Mit Beiträgen von F. Bechtel (Hoerenz). I. Th. Birt, *Der Hiät bei Plautus und die lateinische Aspiration bis zum 10. Jahrhundert* (M. Niemeyer), very favourable. *Der römische Limes in Österreich*. II. (M. Ihm), favourable. G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romantisches Wörterbuch*. 2. A. (K. Ziemer). 'The second edition of this useful book is much increased in size.'

## LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Aeschylus*. The House of Atreus, being the Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, and Furies, translated into English verse. (Second edition). 16mo. xxvi, 186 pp. London, Macmillan. 1901. 2s. 6d. net.
- Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius*. In English by G. H. Rendall. 16mo. xlii. 167 pp. London, Macmillan (Golden Treasury Series). 1901. 2s. 6d. net.
- Aristophanes*. The Knights. Edited by R. A. Neil. Demy 8vo. xiv, 229 pp. Cambridge, University Press. 1901. 10s.
- Beloch* (J.). Zur Geschichte des pyrrischen Krieges. Die Schlacht bei Kös. 8vo. 13 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. Mk.—70.
- Bottig* (C. G.). Easy Greek Exercises. Cr. 8vo. viii, 102 pp. London, Methuen. 1901.
- Cannizzaro* (M. E.). Il cranio di Plinio. 4to. 36 pp. Privately printed (London at the Ballantyne Press).
- Cicero*. Pro Archia. Edited for the use of schools, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by G. H. Nall. 16mo. xxii. 92 pp. London, Macmillan. 1901. 1s. 6d.

*Cicero*. Briefe. I.: (aus den Jahren 67–60) Mit Einleitung und Erklärungen von O. E. Schmidt. 8vo. 64, 48 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1901. Mk. 1.

— de Senectute. Edited with Introduction and Notes by A. S. Warman. 16mo. 115. iv, pp. London, Bell. 1901. 1s. 6d.

*Curtius* (G.). Griechische Schulgrammatik bearb. v. W. von Hartel. 23. Aufl. v. R. Meister. 8vo. viii. 266 pp. Leipzig, Freytag. 1902. Mk. 3.20.

*Demosthenes*. Brewer (H.) Die Unterscheidung der Klagen nach attischem Recht und die Echtheit der Gesetze in §§ 47 und 113 der Demosth. Midiana. (Extr. Wiener Studien). 8vo. 111 pp. Vienna, Gerold. 1901. Mk. 2.50

*Diodorus Siculus*. Büding (F. W. v.) Das Bericht des D. neber die Pyramiden. Roy. 8vo. 40 pp. Berlin, A. Duncker. 1901. Mk. 2.

*Duemmmler* (Ferd.) Kleine Schriften. I. Zur Griechischen Philosophie. II. Philolog. Beiträge. III. Archaeolog. Aufsätze. 3 vols. 8vo. xxiv.



355. viii. 580. viii. 374 pp. Portrait and plates. Leipzig. Hirzel. 1901. Mk. 38.
- Euripides*. Medea, edited, with Introduction and Notes by T. Nicklin. 16mo. v. 156. xxxviii. pp. Frontispiece and illustrations. London. Bell. 1901. 2s.
- Hecuba, edited, with Introduction and Notes by A. W. Upcott. 16mo. x. 139. xlii. pp. London. Bell. 1901. 2s.
- Furtwängler* (A.) Vorläufiger Bericht üb. d. Ausgrabungen aus Aegina (*Extr.* Sitzungsber. d. Bay. Akad. d. Wiss.) Roy. 8vo. Pp. 363-389. Munich. Franz. 1901. Mk. 0.40.
- Glover* (T. R.) Life and letters in the fourth century. Demy 8vo. xvi, 399 pp. Cambridge, University Press. 1901. 10s. net.
- Grenfell* (B. P.) and A. S. Hunt. The Amherst Papyri, being an account of the Greek Papyri in the collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney at Diddington Hall, Norfolk. Part II. Classical Fragments and Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. With an Appendix containing additional theological fragments. 4to. xii. 243 pp. 25 plates. London. H. Frowde. 1901. £2 10s. net.
- Heyden-Zielewicz* (J. de). Prolegomena in Pseudocelli de universi natura libellum. 8vo. iv. 77 pp. Breslau. Marcus. 1901. Mk. 3.20.
- Hicks* (E. L.) and G. F. Hill. A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions. New and revised edition. Demy 8vo. xxxiv. 341 pp. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1901. 12s. 6d.
- Hiller von Gaertringen* (F.) Die Götterkulte von Thera. Eine historische Skizze auf Grund der Ausgrabungen von 1896-1900. 8vo. 16 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. M.—90.
- Historiae Augustae Scriptores*. Lessing (C.) Script. Hist. Aug. lexicon. I. 8vo. Pp. iii. 1-80. Leipzig. Reissland. Subscript. price. Mk. 3.60. To be completed in about 8 parts.
- Holzappel* (L.) Die drei ältesten römischen Tribus. 8vo. 28 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. Mk. 1.50.
- Homer*. Odyssey. Book I. edited, with Introduction and Notes by E. C. Marchant. Crown 8vo. viii, 75 pp. Frontispiece and illustrations. London. Bell. 1901. 2s.
- Odyssey. Books XIII-XXIV. Edited with English Notes and Appendices by D. B. Monro. Demy 8vo. xii. 572 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1901. 16s.
- Horace*. Saturarum liber I. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. Gow. 16mo. xxviii. 120 pp. Cambridge. University Press. 1901. 2s.
- Carminum liber IV. et Carmen seculare. Edited by A. Latter. 16mo. viii. 91 xliii. pp. London. Bell. 1901. 2s.
- Isocrates*. Sheehan (M.) De fide artis rhetoricae I. tributae. 8vo. 48 pp. Bonn. 1901. Mk. 1.50.
- Kornemann* (E.) Die Zahl der gallischen Civitates in der römischen Kaiserzeit. 8vo. 18 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. Mk. 1.
- Krumbacher* (K.) Ein dialogischer Threnos auf der Fall von Konstantinopel (*Extr.* Sitzungsber. der Bay. Akad. d. Wiss.). Roy. 8vo. Pp. 329-362. 2 plates. Munich. Franz. 1901. Mk. 0.60.
- Lehmann* (C. F.) Die historische Semiramis und Herodot. 8vo. 23 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. Mk. 1. 40.
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- Marchant* (E. C.) and J. G. Spencer. Bell's Latin Course for the first year. Part III. Cr. 8vo. xx, 148 pp. London, Bell. 1s. 6d.
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- Meyer* (Leo) Handbuch der Griechischen Etymologie. II. Wörter mit dem Anlaut  $\iota$ ,  $\alpha$ !,  $\epsilon$ !,  $\omicron$ !,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\alpha\nu$ ,  $\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa$  (auch  $\xi$ ),  $\pi$  (auch  $\psi$ ),  $\tau$ . 8vo. 859 pp. Leipzig. Hirzel, 1901. Mk. 20
- Müller* (Iwan von) Handbuch des Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, III. iii. 2. Richter (Otto) Topographie der Stadt Rom. 2 Aufl. 8vo. x. 411 pp. Maps and Illustrations. Munich. Beck, 1901. Mk. 15.
- Neue* (F.) Formenlehre der lat. Sprache. Vol. I. Das Substantivum. 3 Aufl. v. C. Wagener. Roy. 8vo. VI. 1019 pp. Leipzig, Reissland. Mk. 32.
- Pischel* (R.) and K. F. Geldner. Vedische Studien. Bd. III. Demy 8vo. 213 pp. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer. 1901.
- Plautus*. Rudens. Editio minor with an Appendix on Scansion for the use of schools. By E. A. Sonnenschein. 12mo. viii, 176 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1901. 4s. 6d.
- Polybius*. Wunderer (C.) Polybios-Forschungen II. Citate und geflügelte Worte bei P., im Zusammenhang mit d. ästhetisch-litt. Richtung des Historikers untersucht. 8vo. v. 100 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1901. Mk. 2. 40.
- Propertius*. Carmina rec. brevique adnot. critica instr. J. S. Phillimore. 12mo. Unpagd. Oxford, Clarendon Press. No date, 3s.
- Roemer* (A.) Ueber den litterarisch-aesthetischen Bildungsstand des attischen Theaterpublikums (*Extr.* Abh. d. Bay. Akad. d. Wiss.). 4to. 98 pp. Munich, Franz. 1901. Mk. 3.
- Rostowzew* (M.) Der Ursprung des Kolonats. 8vo. 5 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. 1901. Mk.—30.
- Shilleto* (R.) Greek and Latin Compositions. Cr. 8vo. viii. 448 pp. Cambridge, University Press. 1901. 7s. 6d. net.
- Speck* (E.) Handelgeschichte des Altertums. Vol. II. Die Griechen. 8vo. viii, 582 pp. Leipzig, Brandstätter. 1901. Mk. 7.
- Studium zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, hrsg. von C. Wesely. Part I. 4to. 38 plates and 20 pp. text. Leipzig, Avenarius. 1901. Mk. 6.
- Tacitus*. Münzer (F.) Die Entstehung der Historien des Tacitus. 8vo. 31 pp. Leipzig, Dietrich. Mk. 1. 60.
- Terence*. Uppgren (A.) Über sprachliche und metrische Komposition und Kunst des Terenz. I. 8vo. 201 pp. Lund. Möller, 1901. Mk. 2. 60.
- Texts to illustrate a course of elementary lectures on the History of Greek Philosophy from Thales to Aristotle*. (Edited by H. Jackson). Demy 8vo. xii, 111 pp. London, Macmillan. 1901. 4s. net.
- Thucydides*. The Athenians in Sicily. Being selections from Books VI. and VII. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Idioms, etc. by the Rev. W. C. Compton. 12mo. xii, 237 pp. Maps and illustrations. London. Bell. 1901. 3s. 6d.
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- Xenophon*. Memorabilia. Book II. edited with Introduction and Notes by G. M. Edwards. 16mo. lxiv, 98 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1901. 2s. 6d.

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*Note.*—In the General Index names of actual contributors are printed in heavy type. The references marked \* in the Index Locorum denote emendations of text.

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<sup>1</sup> The Index is by W. F. R. SHILLETO, M.A., formerly Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.  
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